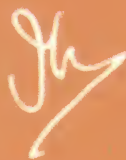


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"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote.... the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



FEEDING A PET PANDA AT HIS RESIDENCE, NEW DELHI, 1 JANUARY 1958

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Forty One

(1 January – 31 March 1958)

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund

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PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN : 0 19 807066 7

ISBN : 9 780198 070665

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Mumbai Kolkata Chennai

Oxford New York Toronto

Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PRINTED AT

Rekha Printers Private Limited

A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II

New Delhi 110 020

Edited by
Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

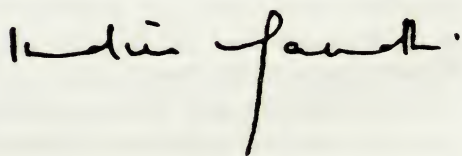
When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping line for the 'i' in 'Indira' and a distinct 'G' in 'Gandhi'.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

During the three months from January to March 1958, covered in this volume, the thoughts uppermost in Nehru's mind were world peace and disarmament. In his talks with the Prime Ministers of several countries who visited India in this period, Nehru emphasized the need for promoting peace and resuming dialogue on the issues of cold war and disarmament. He discussed with the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, the Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin's proposal for a high-level meeting to consider disarmament and associated issues. Interestingly, Bulganin had conveyed to Nehru the expediency of exerting influence on Macmillan for relaxation of tensions in international relations during his visit to India. Nehru's efforts at resolving these problems are well articulated in his correspondence with Bulganin, Marshal Tito, Norman Cousins and others, and also in several of his public speeches.

An important test of Nehru's leadership as Prime Minister came in the form of the Mundhra scandal. This led to the resignation of Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari and institution of an inquiry into the conduct of several high officials. This episode also raised questions about the correctness of the way the inquiry was conducted and about the role of the Attorney General. Nehru's concern about how his MPs should react to the issue in Parliament is reflected in his speeches at the meetings of the Congress Parliamentary Party held on 17 and 18 February 1958. Taking over the portfolio of finance, Nehru himself presented the Union Budget for 1958-59 in the Lok Sabha. The Gift Tax, as devised by Krishnamachari, was introduced and certain changes were proposed in the Estate Duty. But overriding all other concerns was the LIC issue which Nehru had to deal with in both the Houses of Parliament.

The difficult economic situation owing to the import of foodgrains to meet the food deficit combined with the import of capital goods led to a shortage of foreign exchange, which necessitated paring the Second Plan to the bone. The documents in this volume reveal Nehru's approach to these issues. He suggested ways to increase food production and control prices. The economic crisis and the food scarcity once again brought into focus the Community Development Programme and multi-purpose cooperatives.

Nehru also expressed concern about the lack of spread of education and wrote to the Chief Ministers, pointing out that both the quantity and quality of education were inadequate. He laid emphasis on giving good pay to teachers, according them respectable status and discarding the PWD approach of constructing school buildings first and exhausting the resources in doing so. He kept referring to this in many of his speeches. The Kerala Education Bill brought various other related issues to the fore.

The debate on the language question continued during this period and is also reflected in Nehru's correspondence with C. Rajagopalachari and in his public utterances. Nehru assured the people of South India that English would continue to be used even after 1965. However, he also emphasized the practicability of Hindi serving as an all-India link language. Underlining the importance of imparting technical education to the youth, considered central to rapid industrialization of India, Nehru moved the scientific policy resolution in the Lok Sabha. Moving the resolution Nehru said that it was important to develop the temper of science. By this he meant "the temper of the calm search for truth".

When on 8 January 1958 Sheikh Abdullah was released, after about four-and-a-half-year detention, Nehru felt relieved, but the former's utterances criticizing the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, the Sadr-i-Riyasat, the State Constituent Assembly and the State Constitution created a very unhappy situation. Nehru considered Abdullah's communal approach to problems 'most unfortunate'. On the situation in Kashmir, Nehru also had talks with Frank Graham, the UN representative, who spent a fortnight in the subcontinent.

In the domain of foreign affairs, the elections and electoral groups in Sikkim, border disputes with China, support for Algerian people's struggle for independence, concern for the situation in Indonesia and differences between President Soekarno and Prime Minister Mohammad Hatta figure prominently. He also clarified his position on the Hungarian uprising.

Nehru felt deeply the loss of a friend and comrade, Maulana Azad, who had fought by his side during the freedom struggle and was a trusted colleague as Education Minister after Independence. Nehru's letters and notes on the subject bring out his touching and extremely sensitive handling of the Maulana's personal affairs; he was concerned about the future of Azad's domestic staff, his immediate relatives as also about Maulana's books, papers and even carpets. No detail was too small for him.

The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as in the past, granted access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession, referred to as the JN Collection. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, the National Archives of India, the Sahitya Akademi, the Planning Commission and the All India Radio have allowed us to use the relevant material in their possession.

Last but not least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Consulting Editor Antony Thomas and to Sangam Lal, Geeta Kudaisya, Amrit Tandon, Shantisri Banerji, Etee Bahadur, Sailen Datta Das, Syed Ali Kazim, Anish Raveendran, Kalyan Kumar, Saumya Dey, Saroj Bishoyi and Mohammed Khalid

Ansari, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival and other material and its subsequent organization. We are no less deeply indebted to Malini Rajani, Saroja Ananthakrishnan, Bimla Rani, N.C. Bali, B.C. Minhas and Chandra Murari Prasad for preparing the script for the press. With their labour and commitment, it has been possible to place this volume, with its rich historical data, before the scholarly community and lay citizens, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
BIC	British India Corporation
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DK	Dravida Kazhagam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ECA	Exchange Compensation Allowance
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GOC	General Officer Commanding
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
I & B Ministry	Information and Broadcasting Ministry
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ICCR	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INA	Indian National Army
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J & K	Jammu and Kashmir
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
LSS	Lok Sahayak Sena
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NHTA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NSS	National Sample Survey
O & M	Organization and Methods

PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RCPI	Revolutionary Communist Party of India
RPI	Republican Party of India
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
Telco	Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA/US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WH&S Ministry	Works, Housing and Supply Ministry

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Exhortation to Youth to Take the Country Forward¹

Mr Vice Chancellor,² postgraduate students and other young friends,
First of all my apologies for arriving ten minutes late. You know that the Congress Subjects Committee is meeting now and the open session was meeting till about half an hour ago.³ Normally, I should have been there, but I am very glad to steal some minutes from these sessions to come here to this pleasant gathering. It is true that at the present moment my mind is not very fresh and is full of subjects that we have been discussing in the Congress session but I have always welcomed opportunities to meet young men, students especially, and young women. I do not know what good I might do to them and what I might tell them but I do know that I do a lot of good to myself because the mere fact of meeting eager young men and women on the threshold of their careers is itself good for me. It makes me feel a little fresher and a little younger than I am. So I am glad that you have given me this opportunity.

I am not quite clear in my mind what I should talk to you about. There are many things which I can talk about, of course, and sometimes I want to tell you, not only you students, but others in India, so many things which are bursting out in my mind. I want them to share my thoughts, my experiences, my hopes and sometimes things that I do not like. When I meet young students, often I think not of some kind of a formal address but what I would really like is to meet them informally, to commune with them, if I may say so, even to have questions and answers so that I may know what is going on in their minds. You know some of our ancient books which I have greatly honoured and respected include the Upanishads. Have you thought of what the word *upanishad* means? It means sitting nearby. It means the teacher and the pupil sitting near each other and trying to find out, trying to discover the truth of whatever they may be discussing. It means a spirit of enquiry, a spirit of search, the teacher helping somewhat and the pupil also helping somewhat. I like that idea and it shows the pure conception, even in the ancient days of the Upanishads, was one of an earnest search, not of dogmas, not of fixed grooves of thought which you must learn by heart without understanding them, without opening out your mind to them and examining them, and if you read the Upanishads, you will find the questions and answers. Then, talking about the ancient period of the Buddha, it is fascinating to read Buddha's answers to

1. Speech at the University of Gauhati, 18 January 1958. AIR tapes. NMML.
2. S.K. Bhuyan.
3. The sixty-third session of the Indian National Congress was held at Gauhati on 18 and 19 January 1958.

many questions put to him. Always he said: "Find out the truth." He did not impose anything. There was no dogma about him. All he would say was to point out the path by which you might find out the truth, mentally and otherwise. So, in a sense you might say, the spirit of the Upanishads and the teaching of the Buddha, basically, were the method of science: search, enquiry and applying your mind to it, and maybe something more than the mind but it was search by experience, by reasoning. It is well to remember that because we form grooves of thought, grooves of custom, which limit our horizon and make it difficult for us to keep the minds open. In an ancient country like India where we have had generation after generation living in a particular way, customs grow, good customs, bad customs, sometimes good customs at one time of our history which become bad customs at another time when they do not fit in.

Now, to jump from the ancient times to the modern age, we talk today very much about science and technology, the great developments of science, both inspiring and frightening. Inspiring, because it is inspiring to think of the amazing quality of the human mind which goes on probing into the secrets of nature, finding out what the physical world is, finding out, perhaps as in India in olden times, what other worlds were like, worlds of thought, worlds of imagination and of enquiry. And, on the other hand, there is a frightening aspect. Science produces the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb, and all the world lives in terror of them. Anyhow, we live in an age of science very much. Almost everything that you see roundabout you is a product of science or technology, which has come out of science. But I am particularly referring to the temper of science, the mental approach, that is, not an approach of a bigot, not the approach of a closed mind, but of an open mind of enquiry, realizing a special way of thinking as it used to be in India. The truth itself cannot be confined; it has many aspects, many facets. Therefore, we become tolerant. You may be in possession of a bit of the truth, the other person may be in possession of some other bit. So you do not think that you have got all the truth, you know everything about everything. Nobody does. And you become a little humble in search for truth and you are not so intolerant; the other party may have a bit of the truth, and so in the olden days in matters of belief, in matters of opinion and faith even, India was extraordinarily tolerant. But India was not tolerant in later ages in matters of customs and rituals and all that, which are really not fundamental parts of any faith but add themselves to it. And the caste system developed, which essentially is an exclusive compartment for each group to live in. That may have fitted in with an ancient period. We live today in an age when communications have developed at a terrific rate. Even in my lifetime, I have seen amazing changes in the world in regard to communications and in regard to many other things. And now no part of the world is far from us, and every

country is our neighbour; we can reach there in a few hours. So the whole conception of living in compartments disappears; in fact, even such a thing as a nation becomes more and more difficult in the sense of being cut off from other nations, living its own life. You cannot do it. We have nations, of course, and presumably we shall continue to have them. But the overall idea of a separate country, distantly related or connected with other countries living its own life, no longer exists. We are frightfully near each other, living on the threshold of the other person, whether he is in Asia or Africa or America or anywhere else. You see how the world is changing amazingly.

Unfortunately, the mind of man is not adapting itself to these changes quickly enough. We still live in our grooves, whether they are narrow grooves of opinion, religion, habit or any other. I am not referring to India. I am referring to every country and there is this grave discordance in the world today as it has been fashioned by science and the human beings who are so far removed from that particular aspect of the world which we have around us. We are not in concord with it, we are not integrated with the world of science. We quarrel, we are separate, we fight each other, we have wars which are perfectly ridiculous from a logical point of view. That is bound to happen when changes come quickly, and changes have been very rapid, and the pace of change becomes more and more rapid. I just said that I have seen very great changes even in my life. But the pace of change has become much more rapid now and I have no doubt that in your lives you will see far greater changes. I cannot say what they will be. People talk about going to the moon and all that and it appears to be a possible thing to do now. Whether going to the moon does much good or not, I do not know. But the point is that the power that takes you to the moon, the utilization of all kinds of energy, the peep into the nature's secrets and getting that enormous power into the human hand, that is important, whether you go to the moon or not, because that affects our daily life.

So, this is the world we live in and then if you look at our problems, national or international, they seem rather trivial in the context of this tremendously changing revolutionary period of human history. Well, you are at the threshold of your lives and your careers and I have no doubt that you will see many changes coming to your lives. How they will affect the world or our country, I cannot say. How are we to prepare for all of it because we should try to prepare for it as individuals, as a nation, because otherwise we get left behind. We do not fit in with things as they are and if we do not fit in with the changing world we suffer for it, the nation suffers. To some extent that happened to us some hundreds of years ago. We did not fit in; we were so conceited about having got all the knowledge that was necessary, discovered everything, being very advanced, that the rest of the world went ahead and we were left

behind, just nourishing our conceit; and we were conquered physically and to some extent culturally and all that. But the main fact was that we were left behind, we became stagnant, our society became stagnant, even mentally. On the one hand, you see that the Indian mind, in olden times, was an amazing mind, astonishing in its depth, its extent, its adventurousness, its fearlessness. And then you see the Indian mind becoming static, repeating something that was written or said previously, not discovering anything that probing into the secrets of nature needs. We need that habit which was to some extent scientific. Now we have to accommodate it again. We are accommodating it. I am not merely referring to what you may learn in your institutes of engineering and technology or in your schools and colleges. That of course is good, but rather the development of that temper, mental approach to things, so that you may be able to understand what is happening and fit yourself and serve your country and yourself in this way.

There is the Congress session going on here and we passed some resolutions. There is nothing very extraordinary about these resolutions. We find that similar resolutions have been passed before. It is not difficult to draft resolutions and pass resolutions in glowing language and resolutions which are exciting even in reading. Why then do we draft these resolutions in a rather humdrum way? Because there is a danger of our losing ourselves in exciting language, whether it is a resolution or a slogan, and imagining that you have done your job. A resolution is or should be a resolve to do something, not merely to just express your opinion about the wide world, like condemning this or approving of something else. The Congress is merely a body which occasionally expresses its opinion. Well, it is not difficult to function that way but that produces no results. For a long time the Congress was that type of a body. I am not criticizing that time, because I suppose we had to go through that period. Then the Congress became a body which talked less, which did not go in for resounding phrases and slogans, but which tried to lay down what we had to do. Because ultimately it is what we do that is going to make ourselves the nation, not merely the brave words that we throw about.

So, under Gandhiji we gradually began to learn this new method of working. I had the privilege of being associated with him for a long time and being pulled up by him many times for my tendency to indulge in brave language. He wanted action, not language alone, though language is a useful thing. And so, year after year, we were disciplined by him, disciplined not merely in what to say but disciplined in how to act and how almost to think. He disciplined not only us who were with him, he disciplined the whole nation. It was an amazing phenomenon, this frail man disciplining hundreds of millions of people who were at that time down and out, with little hope in them. I am talking about the

masses of India, the peasantry especially, who had been kicked and cast away and all the world seemed to be against them, nobody to help them. And then Gandhi came and breathed some energy into them, something which brightened their eyes, and something which straightened their backs, and lifted their heads. Their physical condition was the same, they remained poor, but their mental approach changed. It was an extraordinary phenomenon. That was the first step. Then, because of this change in them, they became naturally rather adventurous, undisciplined; having shed their fear they thought they could do anything, not realizing that it was not easy to do many things and doing a wrong thing produces wrong results. Then started his long period of disciplining a nation. Whenever something happened which he disapproved of, he did not hesitate to tell the people. He did not hesitate to put a stop to a whole national movement because some incident had happened that he thought was bad.

I remember, in 1921 large numbers of us were imprisoned. We were very excited by what was happening in the whole country, and reacted very strongly to Gandhiji's call for satyagraha, civil disobedience and non-cooperation. And we were on the crest of a wave of excitement. Just then in Uttar Pradesh, in a village named Chauri Chaura, some peasants burnt a police *chowki* and not only burnt police *chowki* but burnt half a dozen policemen with it, threw them into the flames.⁴ We were sorry to learn this in prison. It was an unfortunate incident. What did Gandhi do? He stopped the all-India movement because of that, not really because of that one incident but, as he said to us later, because he felt that there was a wrong atmosphere, violence coming in, and if he allowed this process, the movement would erode.

So this Commander-in-Chief of ours, in the middle of a movement in full flood, said: "Stop". When we heard of this in prison we were very angry with Gandhi and everybody said: "What is this business? Here, after great effort we shake up the nation and the whole nation responds brilliantly to this call and a hundred thousand people are in prison, and because some poor devils made fools of themselves and that something went wrong in a village in Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh, this national movement was stopped!" Well, there was nothing else to be done; it stopped, however angry we might have been.

When we came out later, naturally, we went to Gandhiji and poured out our sorrow to him. He gave an explanation and tried to soothe us but the basic thing was, as we began to realize, that he was out not so much to make it difficult for the British to rule in India, that was a side issue; the real thing was, he was building up a nation, disciplining the nation because, fundamentally, if the nation was strong, the other part of the problem, that is, pushing out the

4. On 5 February 1922.

British, would come inevitably. If the nation was weak, without discipline it would be weaker. Then even if we were to fight with the British we were not strong enough to do anything. The basic thing was building up the nation and disciplining it, and when I say nation, I refer to the masses, hundreds of millions of people.

I have given you one instance of how he did these things, how he had the courage to do them and I doubt if anybody else would have that kind of courage. Repeatedly, he did something of that type, just bringing us to a high pitch and when something went wrong, stopped it. And we had to think again and months passed and years passed, again and again we started this non-cooperation movement and civil disobedience, and he issued strict injunctions: this is to be done and this is not to be done. At one time he said that the only thoroughly disciplined person to do civil disobedience in India was himself and nobody else which surprised us that he was going to do it by himself. Not long after that, in the 1930s, came what is called the Salt Satyagraha. Again, when he first talked about making salt, it seemed a very curious way of challenging the British Government. Some of our elders, leaders of the Congress, were surprised and said, what is this? And we know, as we saw then, how that thing convulsed the nation. The act of salt-making is nothing much and any of you can do it but in the context of things, doing it in a disciplined way and peacefully, it became a mighty movement. He stopped it for various reasons and he became not quiet but kept working in a rather humdrum way. Again, a time came in 1940 or thereabouts when he said: "Well, I will not have disobedience movement. I cannot control it. I shall have individuals to be disobedient, all individuals, one by one." Well, the first person he chose was Vinoba Bhave because he had the fullest faith in his understanding of this movement. I had the honour to be number two.⁵ Vinoba Bhave represented the real—and he [Gandhiji] used the words—the inner spiritual essence of the movement. I was a mere politician, and I was chosen as a mere politician, and so one by one he chose. And we did it gladly, of course, but we wondered what this individual business would lead to. It did lead ultimately to something very big. But why am I telling you this? This is the way Gandhiji disciplined the Indian people, not a few people on the top. He had his ashram and that is a different matter but he was thinking in terms of the millions and millions of Indians: how to give them faith, courage, take away fear from them, and make them, to some extent, disciplined soldiers.

5. Before Nehru could offer individual satyagraha, he was arrested on 31 October 1940. See also his conversation with Mahatma Gandhi in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, pp. 192-199.

This process went on for ten years, twenty years, and more, and he pulled out this nation from the deep trough in which it was sunk, the morass to which it stuck, of hopelessness and weaknesses. The physical condition of India remained the same. We were poor, there were starving people and all that, but the atmosphere of India changed because of this. We became fearless and I tell you quite honestly that it was astonishing to see the fearlessness of the Indian people, and of that poor peasant who normally was kicked by everybody—by his landlord, his landlord's agents, by the courts, by the policemen, and whoever he went to. He went to the courts, the lawyers kicked him, everybody kicked him, there was nobody to help him and he had to submit unless he straightened his back and became gradually more disciplined. I do not say that any of us became more virtuous but still the change that came over large numbers of people was extraordinary. Oddly enough, the people who did not quite experience this change, this vitality, were some clever people, some intellectuals, who were arguing and thinking and could not get out of their ways. Of course, many intellectuals joined the movement but still it is true to say that it was some middle-class people who had doubts and who could not get over their doubts. Gradually they got over and many of them came in. But it was a hard task for them because they used to think in set grooves of thought and they could not understand this hurricane that had come to India in the shape of Gandhiji.

People of my generation had many faults, many weaknesses and failings but we have had this advantage of having gone through thirty years of hard training from a hard taskmaster. It was all voluntary. There was no compulsion about it. We could go there or not go there, could come away, but so long as we were there of our own free will, we had to submit to that training because it is only discipline that makes an individual strong enough to do big things. Self-discipline it was, not an imposed discipline. An imposed discipline is irksome unless one accepts it willingly but in the case of this country it was real self-discipline.

Now, we lived through this notable period of India's history. Independence came. Gradually, a new generation grew up which had not personally experienced this movement and whatever had happened then. They heard about it of course, they knew Gandhi's name and shouted *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*, but not having that personal experience and not visualizing that independence had come by the tremendous efforts, tremendous sacrifices and tremendous discipline spread out over a generation or two. Well, they took independence for granted and became rather light-hearted about things, became rather frivolous about things, became indisciplined. And they heard there was a movement—satyagraha had something to do with hunger strike—it was something which Gandhiji used to

do sometimes. Then we hear the strange phenomenon of every odd person who does not like something sending a message to the press: "I am going to do hunger strike." Most extraordinary! Here is a supreme thing which Gandhiji did, perilling his life and only after a lot of thinking, and even then we did not understand him, but he was a man in a different mould, and we put up with what he did. Now, every odd person threatens to go on hunger strike. Even sometimes I hear about students' hunger strike if they do not pass the examination. They want to go on hunger strike. It is extraordinary.

Secondly, we see people abusing this satyagraha, which is a tremendous weapon if properly used for a proper purpose and with a clean mind and heart. Suppose, we read in the newspaper almost every day, somebody or some group is going to perform satyagraha to enforce its will in regard to this or that. Well, it is a right thing twisted and thus becoming wrong and a very noble idea degraded. It is neither discipline nor satyagraha. The whole conception of satyagraha was trying to win over your adversary by your own suffering. Now, the so-called satyagraha is an aggressive weapon to hit you on the head. I am just showing how we may use the word or use or imitate an act without understanding it, without the real essence of it, without the vital spirit of it, and thereby do harm instead of good.

Anyhow, here we are, you and I, at this time of India's history when big things are happening in the world and in India. Big things happen not automatically but because people do them—the bigger the people who do them, the more the results. A nation after all can only go as far as its people can go. You cannot go farther; just as if you have got to build a bridge, you want to have the knowledge of an engineer about how to build a bridge. If it is a very big engineering task, you have to be a very big engineer. If you have to build Bhakra-Nangal you have to be a very big engineer of some world standard, only then can you build it. Anything worthwhile that you do, you have to be trained for it. And whatever profession you may adopt, you cannot do these things without training, without confidence: mental, physical and all that. And we have got to do very big things in India. It is obvious. And, therefore, we have to be trained for them, disciplined for them. I am not using the word discipline in a sense that you should be coerced into doing things. Coercive discipline does not go very far, it is the self-discipline that counts. And then also, of course, it is a much hackneyed word that I may use, character, and all that but there it is that counts. If a person has character, if a person has courage, that person has restraint. A person who shouts a lot produces an impression in me that he has not got much in him, that he is shouting too much, just like a broken-down car which makes a lot of noise when it moves. A good car moves smoothly and powerfully without shouting, without crunching and all that. Human beings too who shout

too much get exhausted by their shouting, there is nothing left in them after that. You have to conserve your energy for big deeds. Shout certainly if you feel like shouting, you have got to shout occasionally. I do not say it is bad. But the real thing is not the shouting but the doing and preparing yourself for doing these big things. And then, think of India. This vast country with a tremendous history with great variety, think of it with this great variety, people in the hills, people in the plains and the tribals and all that, it is in a sense an epitome of India. And think also that in spite of this variety, the tremendous bonds of unity which India has possessed throughout the ages, cultural and the other, even when politically it was split up, an astonishingly strong link worked. But in conditions as they are today, we have to make that bond very strong, not leave it just to chance. We are one country politically. We are one country culturally too within a big range in spite of our differences but still we tend to quarrel too much, whether it is on the basis of religion or province or state or caste or language, we have seen that. But the point is, how you deal with an important question—important or unimportant. The moment you do something which weakens the unity of India then you are doing a lot of injury not only to India but to yourself, to your state, to your language, to whatever you may be, because you can only go ahead on the basis of that united advance.

I talk often of one of our principal objectives to be at once realized. It is what I call the emotional integration of India; the political integration is there, many other things are there, but emotionally you must feel that. That emotional link broke last year when we discussed about the reorganization of states. Well, it broke in many places. Over the language issue people get very excited. Now, language is very important, I admit it, let us discuss it seriously, but why should we make any such issue more important than the fact of India? Because if you do not realize that if we break up, we have no strength left, we may lose our freedom. But anyhow we cannot make any great progress and today we have just got to go ahead fast if we are not to be left behind and we have to make up for past failures, past long periods when we did not advance. We have the resources, we have the human material, which is good. Given the opportunity, we can do anything. We produce good scientists, fine engineers, fine thinkers, fine men of action; not that the material is not there, but sometimes even good material goes astray because of these disruptive tendencies.

So, you who are on the threshold of your career, many of you will have to face these problems. Well, face them with courage, keeping all this background before you and realizing the great responsibility which rests on you because, after all, those of you who have the good fortune to go through the course of training in colleges and universities have inevitably to play a part of leadership in some shape or other. Your area of leadership may be very big or not so big

but you have to lead this nation. You have to shoulder the responsibility of taking this nation forward. Remember that always. We talk a great deal of rights, everybody talks about rights. And there are rights, of course, the right to freedom, the right to this and the right to that. But that is purely an Indian idea and I think the modern idea is that there is no right without an obligation. Freedom is a right, certainly, but an obligation goes with it, to behave as free men, to defend your freedom, to be disciplined and all that. If you go to pieces, your freedom goes. In fact, the higher, shall I say, your status, not official status, I mean the higher you grow in life's reckoning, the more the obligations you have to carry. Inevitably, that is the price of the high station that you may occupy. More obligations, more responsibilities, that is the idea given to you because you are considered good enough for them, because you have higher calibre. It is only the people of lower calibre who do not get any responsibilities. So today, to every young man and young woman, India beckons, the world beckons, and it is up to you to answer that call. *Jai Hind!*

2. Gandhian Philosophy and World Peace¹

Meetings and functions have been held here in the Ramlila Grounds many times in the past but never at this time. I found it a little difficult to take time off to come here in the middle of a busy working day. Perhaps many of you would have experienced the same difficulty. I hope that public meetings will never be organized in future at this time of the day. Moreover, it is difficult to see your faces in this blinding glare.

You heard Shri Jugal Kishoreji² telling you what our duties are. It is difficult for me to explain what your duties are. I think the world would be a much better place if all of us did our duties instead of advising others. It has become the way of the world to give good advice to others. Nobody wants to recognize the fact that the advice applies to oneself too.

We have assembled here for a special purpose. This day comes at the end of the week-long Republic Day celebrations which are held with great pomp and show. People come from various corners of India to participate in the celebrations. Visitors come from abroad too. Everyone who witnesses

1. Speech at a public meeting on the death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, New Delhi, 30 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Jugal Kishore Khanna (b.1905); lawyer and leading Congressman of Delhi; implicated in the Delhi Conspiracy Case, 1929; Convenor, Delhi Pradesh ad hoc Congress Committee, 1958.

the Republic Day celebrations is moved and the foreign visitor is amazed at the grand scale.

In short, after a week of celebrations comes the 30th of January when our thoughts are immediately drawn towards more serious issues. It is but proper that the two days should be linked together, for that is what life is all about, a mixture of lightheartedness and something more serious. A nation has its moments of pomp, glitter and show and of turning towards the deeper issues of life.

The Gandhian era has become a part and parcel of Indian history and in fact the history of the world. It has had a profound influence on our country. The Republic Day which we celebrate every year is also Gandhiji's gift to the nation, to us weak mortals who often stray away. He set an example to the whole world not by doling out good advice but by following that path himself. We learnt a little from him, not too much, and have forgotten much of what we had learnt. We remember those lessons sometimes. But whatever little we learnt from him has transformed the face of the nation, of all of us, at a time when it has become more than ever necessary to look for a path other than the destructive course on which the world is set.

We live in a strange world today. On the one hand, there are new forces and lethal weapons, which can destroy the world completely. On the other hand, satellites are being launched and man is thinking of going to the moon. In fact, the day is not far off when you will hear that man has indeed reached the moon. The world is changing rapidly and various forces of latent energy in nature are being brought under the control of human beings. Man is learning to realize the vast energy hidden in nature and to harness it for his own use. But the strange thing is that while man is gaining control over the forces of nature, he is not in control of himself. So the question that haunts the world today is, where all this will lead to. In a sense, the world is poised on a razor's edge and nobody knows which way it will tilt. A middle course is fast becoming out of reach. While the world continues treading the path of war and tension which may lead to total destruction, there are new forces and sources of energy which can benefit mankind immensely. History will show which path the world chooses, if anybody is left alive then to write about it. Anyhow, we are not mere spectators but have a role to play on the world stage. We can throw our weight one way or the other. Every nation and individual does it. There is nothing special about us. The question is which way we throw our weight. It is then that we are reminded of Gandhiji, of all that he propounded and did. What he did was even more important than what he said and it makes us realize that there is no alternative before the world today.

Well, let us leave the world aside and turn inwards. What are the courses

open to us? There was a time, you may remember, when India was engaged in a struggle for freedom. We were challenging the might of a great, strongly armed empire, and judged by the common yardstick of national power, we were weak. We had no weapons to fight against the armed might of a great imperial power. Even today, though we are proud of free India, what is our strength vis-à-vis the rest of the world? The old yardstick of judging by the armed might of a nation continues to operate even today. The countries which are regarded as Great Powers are judged solely by their military might, the strength of their armed forces and the number of lethal weapons and aeroplanes and nuclear weapons they possess. Judged by this yardstick, there are two superpowers in the world today, the United States and the Soviet Union. They are extremely powerful, so much so that even the second and third-rank powers are far behind them. In such a situation, where are we? Judged by the yardstick of armed strength, we are nowhere in the picture. India is a vast country with a huge population. But mere numbers do not constitute strength. If you count the strength of our armed forces or the number of planes and ships that we have, they are negligible compared to other Great Powers.

So we cannot compete with others in this area, nor do we wish to. What other yardstick is there to judge how strong we are? Then it comes to my mind that we faced the might of British imperialism for years and challenged it in our own way by our unity, sacrifice and inner strength, which was unique, and ultimately we succeeded. When Gandhiji first started the movement, many people could not believe that it would succeed. The common people in India, the peasants and others believed in Gandhiji. But the more educated among us could not understand what Gandhiji was doing. Step by step Gandhiji made them understand and instilled the belief even in those who lacked faith that the path that he was showing was good not only as a principle but would strengthen our hands and that we would succeed ultimately. In a sense, the question of defeat did not enter into it at all. There were obstacles in the way, and we often stumbled and fell but there was no question of decisive defeat. He proved ultimately by winning freedom for India that we could succeed fully by following his path. What conclusion should be drawn from this in the context of the complex situation in the world as well as our own internal problems?

Take the situation in the world today. The Second World War came to an end twelve years ago. Within a year, there was again the talk of rearmament, and mutual suspicion, distrust, bitterness and fear of one another gripped the world. There have been fluctuations in the balance of power situation in the world during the last ten years. But most of the nations have continued to follow the same path—increasing their military might and arsenal and making preparations for a new war. At least after the end of the First World War in

1918, there was no talk of war for about 15 years. It was only with the coming of Hitler on the scene that the talk of war started again. But as soon as the Second World War ended, nations began to think of a new war and are preparing for it. There is a great race for armaments and nations live in constant fear that others will overtake them. Everyone talks of peace but the path that they are following cannot lead to peace. The peace that prevails in the world today is a strange cloak for the constant talk of and preparation for war and there are forces operating which can catapult the world into war whether we want it or not.

Please remember that if, by some misfortune, war breaks out in the world, it will have no similarity to the wars in the past. That age is gone forever just as the age of bows and arrows has disappeared. The new age has dawned from the time the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two Japanese cities, twelve years ago, killing millions of people. There have been so many advances in the field of nuclear weapons since then that the bomb dropped on Hiroshima is now considered a child's play. There are far more terrible, lethal weapons in the world today.

How then can the world feel reassured so long as we continue treading this path? The new kinds of nuclear weapons have created a new fear in the minds of the people that the first strike capability will give an edge to the adversary. Gone are the days when we would read in the newspapers about one country declaring war against another. War now means a lightning strike, destroying cities and bringing ruin and destruction to countries within hours. In such a situation it is inevitable that fear should breed tension and bitterness and hatred for the adversary. Nobody wants war. But everybody is afraid that somebody may strike first. Therefore, they are always in a state of preparedness with bombs ready to strike at the first hint of threat. It is no laughing matter. It is very sad that countries should be constantly preparing for war with planes circling the skies ready to drop bombs in order to prevent the enemy from striking first. Thousands of planes carrying nuclear weapons are flying day and night over Europe as a security measure. In such a situation you can imagine the immense responsibility imposed on pilots. Ultimately, it will be their decision whether to strike or not. When speed is of the essence, there is no time to notify their government or take orders. The matter would be over within minutes. So the poor pilot has the responsibility of taking a split-second decision. Hundreds of people airborne with nuclear weapons have been told to strike if they think that the enemy is about to strike. You can imagine what would happen if one of these people were to go mad suddenly or even panic, make a mistake, and throw a bomb. A world war will break out, for then there will be no check on anyone.

You can imagine with what a slender thread peace hangs over the world today. It was bad enough when nations declared war after deliberate thinking. But at least it gave everyone time to try to prevent fighting from breaking out. Today the responsibility for decision-making rests with individuals who may, in a fit of madness or panic or for any one of a thousand reasons, commit an act which starts a conflagration. The world has come to such a pass that it makes it more than ever necessary to find a way for disarmament. Efforts are being made for years but no solution has emerged because everyone is full of fear of becoming weaker than the adversary. Since this is the attitude of both sides, the arms race continues more vigorously than ever.

As I told you, India is far behind the Great Powers in military might. In fact, all countries are way behind the superpowers in this respect and we have to decide which way to go. We come again and again to two conclusions. One, the direction in which the world has been moving for the last 10 to 12 years is not the right one, for it can never lead to peace. It has only succeeded in exacerbating cold war tensions, fear and hatred. Nothing is more debilitating than fear because it prevents thinking and man tends to commit mistakes out of fear.

So far one thing is certain, the direction in which the world has been going for the last 10 to 12 years has not yielded any beneficial results. There have been wars on a smaller scale in Korea and elsewhere, again as a result of fear and the cold war. So the conclusion to be drawn from this is that the path which the world is following cannot lead to any desirable goal. Secondly, if that is so, we will have to choose an alternative path. Then the question is what that alternative should be. It is obvious that it has to be a solution which does not place too much reliance on arms. So we come ultimately to the conclusion that the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi or before him, thousands of years ago, by Gautama Buddha, is good not only in principle but even in practice. What we once regarded as a noble ideal has become absolutely essential to save the world from destruction today. This is something which must be understood clearly because there are grave dangers threatening the world. I do not mean that war will break out in the near future. But the path that the world is following can lead to only one result and that is total destruction of mankind. Whether we join the war or not, all of us will be ruined because the modern weapons are such that once unleashed nothing can recall them. They must rain death and destruction on every living thing.

In a situation like this it is proper that we should think calmly about our duty. I do not like the idea of doling out advice to other countries. What right do we have to do so? India is not superior to other countries that we should advise them. We must put our own house in order first before we try to advise

others. However, in a dangerous situation like this we have to put forth our point of view at the world forum.

As I told you, there are two superpowers in the world today, the Soviet Union and the United States, each with an enormous stockpile of hydrogen bombs. Now they have come up with devices to launch these bombs on targets which are thousands of miles away. It is possible today for them to aim at a city four or five thousand miles away from the home base and destroy it. It shows how dangerous the situation is becoming.

Well, anyhow, apart from the superpowers, another country which possesses nuclear weapons is England, though it does not have a huge arsenal. So far there are only three nuclear weapon powers. But I feel that very soon, within a year or so, other countries like France will also join them. They are trying to produce nuclear weapons. In a few years, six or seven other countries may join this select group. So the circle will keep expanding and so will the zone of danger. If an agreement on disarmament between two countries is proving difficult, you can imagine how much more so it will be when ten countries possess nuclear weapons. Any agreement will mean relinquishing one's nuclear power and once a country acquires such power, it does not relinquish it easily. Therefore, it has become more than ever necessary that some agreement on disarmament should be arrived at instead of the countries abusing one another.

About a year ago I had gone to Bombay to visit our atomic energy station.³ We want to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes and not to produce a bomb. Atomic energy is far more powerful than electricity. There is no doubt about it that within a few years atomic energy will be widely used in industries and for transport and in other fields where power is essential. Coal or electricity is used for locomotion now. Railways consume enormous amounts of coal. If trains are to be run using atomic energy then a very small amount of atomic fuel would be required. This would dispense with the necessity of huge wagons to carry coal. Similarly, aeroplanes would have to carry lesser load of fuel. All this will help in creating a new world. India is leading, with the exception of five or six advanced nations of the world, in the field of atomic energy. We are not spending much on it. But our nuclear scientists are excellent and have made a name for themselves in the world.

Anyhow, I went to Bombay to inaugurate a small atomic energy reactor which has been built there. It cannot produce atomic energy for consumption.

3. Nehru went to Trombay, near Bombay, to inaugurate India's first atomic reactor, Apsara, on 20 January 1957. For his speech on the occasion, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 197-200.

It will be used for experiments so that we can build a larger unit in the future. So, as I said, India is pretty far advanced in the field of atomic energy. I named this heavy water reactor 'Apsara'. I do not know if the name is appropriate or not. But I made it quite clear on the occasion that though we will strive to advance in the field of atomic energy, we will never produce an atom bomb, whatever happens. There is no doubt about it that we have the expertise and the know-how to be able to produce a bomb within four or five years if we spend money on it. But in spite of this, I have given an assurance on behalf of my Government, and I can go so far as to say even for future governments of India, that we will never use this terrible weapon of destruction. If we ever did, we would be sacrificing all our noble ideals and pledges. I do not want that. Well, I want to repeat once again that no matter how far we advance in the field of atomic energy we will not use it for military purposes. That is certain. If anyone thinks that we will thereby weaken our position, I feel that they are making a mistake. We will weaken ourselves only if we forget our old principles and adopt a wrong course. That would really mean a falling off of standards.

As I have pointed out again and again, man has discovered new sources of energy latent in nature and harnessed them for his use. I want you to remember that power has to be counteracted with power, not with weakness. Now, there are different kinds of power. One is obviously the power, brute strength of the lathi, gun or atom bomb. But we did not use guns or other weapons in our struggle for freedom. Yet we won not by being weak but because of our strength. The whole world knows this. But it was strength of a different kind, the kind that does not harm anyone but is beneficial to everyone, to all those who wield that power as well as to those against whom it is wielded.

At a time when the terrible weapons in the hands of man can destroy the victor and the vanquished, the only conclusion that we can draw is that mankind must now resort to power which will benefit everyone. Gandhiji and others before him in India have shown us the path. It is not a glittering weapon to be brandished about to threaten others. It is a great strength demonstrated by the people of India. They were weak and downtrodden but, for a short while, they acquired great inner strength by the impact of Gandhiji's personality. He imparted some of his own unshakeable strength to weaker mortals like us. So, we have to decide the course India must follow in the context of the world situation.

Pakistan is our neighbour and we want to have friendly relations with it. We must live in amity as neighbours. There is no alternative. You cannot change geographic realities. Even though Pakistan is now another country, it will always be India's neighbour. Even now, thousands of families have members on both sides of the border. We speak the same language. Our lifestyles are similar. So

we want to have friendly relations with Pakistan. There has been tension over some major issues, which is not surprising. If you divide a large country into two parts, major problems are bound to come up. They will be solved gradually. The most difficult problem is the wound inflicted on the hearts of the people and the emotional uprooting they suffered. Millions of people crossed over from one side to another. But the solution lies only in friendly ties and in forgetting old disputes. We must try to resolve the disputes between the two countries but that does not mean that we will accept something which is blatantly unjust. We have to stand firmly by our principles and rights and at the same time try to maintain friendly relations.

Take the issue of Kashmir. We are not going to give in to threats. We cannot take any step which is detrimental to Kashmir's interests. Kashmir is an integral part of India and we are not going to endorse any further truncation of the country. We shall not budge from our principles. Yet we are fully aware of the need for friendship with Pakistan and will continue to make sincere efforts in that direction. The problem is that the Government of Pakistan places great reliance on armaments and threats of force. Unfortunately, the Great Powers are aiding and abetting Pakistan by supplying arms to it on a lavish scale. This adds to its reliance on armaments.

You may have read in the newspapers yesterday that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has requested the Baghdad Pact countries⁴ for nuclear weapons.⁵ I do not know if the report is correct and if it is so whether there is anyone in Pakistan with the technical know-how and expertise to be able to use nuclear weapons. But they have asked for them. Pakistan has already got vast quantities of armaments from the United States of America. The American statesmen have said that they cannot give nuclear weapons to other countries. Nuclear proliferation will be an extraordinarily dangerous development for Asia as a whole. When there was talk about some of the European countries going nuclear a few months ago, there was widespread panic. It has been stopped for the time being though I do not know for how long. The situation will become even more serious if nuclear weapons are acquired by the Asian countries. The fact

4. Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom were members of the Baghdad Pact.

5. Speaking at the meeting of the Baghdad Pact countries, held in Ankara from 27 to 30 January 1958, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Firoz Khan Noon, emphasized on 27 January, the urgent need for equipping the member-countries with "weapons similar to those which they may have to encounter should peace in this area be unfortunately disturbed." The US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, also attended this meeting as an observer.

of the matter is that if any Asian country acquires nuclear weapons, there is a grave danger that it may use them irresponsibly, without understanding its repercussions fully, and start a conflagration which may engulf the whole world.

I have given the example of Pakistan because in spite of the disputes and tensions between us, which may continue, our effort will always be to arrive at an amicable settlement of our problems. But Pakistan is engaged in an arms race, hoping to intimidate India. On the other hand, India, which is much more advanced in the field of atomic energy and can attain the capability to make an atom bomb within three or four years, has, instead of asking for arms aid, declared that we will not make atom bombs or use nuclear weapons. But the other countries must realize the danger of supplying nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, etc., as they are not playthings. Such an act will only lead to vitiating the atmosphere further in the world. There is bound to be tremendous opposition to the supply of nuclear weapons to Asia, except by the countries which acquire them. As a matter of fact, the greatest danger is to those countries which possess nuclear weapons, because in case of a war, their adversary will seek to destroy them by attacking first. So nuclear weapons do not add to the strength of a nation but, in a sense, give an invitation to the enemy to launch an attack on it. So setting aside the question of principle, the possession of nuclear weapons is not a good thing even from the point of view of self-defence.

I have talked at great length about nuclear weapons and pointed out that ultimately a nation's stability rests on its own power. But the question is, what kind of power. Had our survival depended on our armed forces alone, we would have lost a long time ago because there are other countries far more powerful than us. So we come around once more to the path shown by Gandhiji which is best for India and the world. That is the conclusion that can be drawn ultimately. There is no alternative to it.

The New Year, 1958, dawned a few days ago. Last year was a bad one for us in many ways. Crops failed and there were food shortages. We had to import foodgrains which imposed a great burden upon us at a time when we were already carrying a very heavy load. Our backs were bent but not broken. Anyhow, we faced all these problems. There were other developments, not all of them bad. We held the general elections in the beginning of the year⁶ which went off very well. But there were other things which were painful—internal disunity, riots over the issue of language in the Punjab and what not. Let us leave aside for the moment the question of right and wrong. If the means are

6. Second General Elections were held between 24 February and 14 March 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 3-153.

completely wrong, how can they lead to right ends?

A year and a half ago, there were riots in Bombay.⁷ A strange flag of rebellion was raised in Madras in South India demanding secession from India.⁸ The people in the South feel that the North dominates over them. These are all signs of a strange type of weakness. How can any part of India dominate over the rest?

However, two things are certain. India has won freedom and has a new Constitution. On the map, India is a large country. So whatever happens, we shall not allow this freedom to slip away, no matter what hardships we have to face or sacrifices we have to make. We may not possess powerful weapons but we have inner strength and we will fight with sticks or even with our fingernails if necessary. But we will not lose our freedom. Secondly, no part of India will be allowed to secede from the motherland. We shall maintain India's unity and not tolerate any division of the country.

Well, all this talk needs to be backed by strength. The strength of a nation lies ultimately in its intellect, character, unity, spirit of mutual cooperation and self-confidence. Last year was not a very happy one. Strange winds blew over the country and it seemed as if there was a diminution in our self-confidence. That is a very bad thing. If crops fail, we can make up by working harder next year. But if we lose confidence in ourselves and fight among ourselves, it will be a self-inflicted wound which is far more difficult to heal than a wound sustained at an enemy's hand.

Therefore, we must think carefully about these problems in the new year and try to face them coolly. I am sure we will do so and overcome the problems facing us. We must abide by our principles and have confidence in ourselves. Above all, we must remember that disunity creates barriers and should be avoided at all cost. It is bad to fight in the name of religion, language, caste and province, because it weakens national unity. It is bad at any time and particularly so in present times for it endangers our position as an independent nation.

We are engaged in the task of uplifting India's millions. But ultimately it is the people themselves who have to improve their condition by working hard. The Government in New Delhi cannot uplift 36 crores of people living in India. It would be amazing if the Central Government were so powerful. It can merely

7. Riots had broken out in the Bombay State on the issue of reorganization of States. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, pp. 153 and 209.

8. The reference is to the demand made by Dravida Kazhagam for establishing an independent Dravida Nadu. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, p. 58. For the anti-Hindi agitation in Madras State in 1952, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 19, pp. 65-67.

pave the way for the people to do work. Nations grow only by the hard work of their people. The task that was begun by Mahatma Gandhi remained half done at the time of Independence. The other half still remains to be done. We must rely on ourselves instead of looking to others for help as some of our neighbours seem to be doing. We have received help from other countries for which we are grateful to them. We thank the United States of America and the Soviet Union for their timely help. But we must always remember that the burden has to be borne by us alone. What we get from outside is a drop in the ocean, though even a little bit goes a long way in times of need. We are thankful to the countries which have helped us. But the moment we rely fully on outside help, we will become weak and lose confidence in ourselves.

We have just celebrated our Republic Day with great pomp and show. Ten years have gone by almost to the hour since a young man shot Gandhiji. Two things come to mind: one, it is really sad that a youth of our country should have done this. Two, for a man like Gandhiji such an end befitted him. A long, lingering old age and death are not for the likes of him. He died as he had lived. But, as all of us know fully well, he lives on in the hearts and minds of millions of people not only in India but also all over the world. He stands as a shining example to the world and even to this day the world looks up to his philosophy for guidance. He is not dead; he lives on in the history of India. He was nearly eighty years old at the time of his death and yet he was sharp-sighted, had a spring in his step, and had a youthful look about him. It is good to remember him like that rather than as a bed-ridden old man.

That is why I said that his end was befitting a great man like him. He taught us a great deal, though we succeeded in learning only a part of it. It is up to us to learn what we can from his life and the path that he showed. We must strive to follow in his footsteps in order to serve India and 36 to 37 crores of human beings inhabiting it to the best of our ability. We shall serve humanity by following Gandhi's path.

Gautama Buddha has said that victory must be such that nobody loses. We do not wish to vanquish anyone. It is our duty to serve the poor, downtrodden millions in India and to remove the poverty which afflicts them. We are waging a war against poverty, not against another country or any individual. We must fight our battle without bitterness or hatred in our hearts and with pure minds and as a homage to the memory of Gandhiji if we want to build a strong nation. Above all, we must live in amity and mutual harmony with complete confidence in ourselves.

Jai Hind! Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind!*

3. The Right Approach to Rural Development¹

Sarpanchs, panchs, brothers and sisters,

Sukhadiji² reminds me that I had come here three years ago for another *sarpanch* conference.³ Today you are all assembled here once again from different parts of Rajasthan⁴ and I am happy to have got the opportunity to meet you and talk to you. You, the *sarpanchs* and *panchs*, are the heads of your villages and you have your own responsibilities. You have special duties as you heard just now in the poem. The higher the post that you occupy, the greater are your responsibilities. You have chosen me as the Prime Minister which is a post of high honour in India and the world. But, at the same time, the duties and responsibilities which go with it are so vast that their burden is back-breaking. The fact of the matter is that no matter how great an individual is, he cannot shoulder the burden of the country alone. It can be done only by the people sharing the work of the country.

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In the rural areas, the panchayat is the foundation of all the development projects upon which the edifice of a new India and her freedom is built. Nobody can destroy something which is supported by 36 crores of people. One king or a few officers can be vanquished but not an entire people, even if the enemy possesses atom bombs. The panchayats must be strong and if one village is too small it should cooperate with other villages. But all village panchayats must be strong and must administer justice. They may make mistakes, which is natural. But there should be no internal fighting and tensions.

Secondly, there should be a cooperative society in every village. There should be cooperatives because big national tasks cannot be performed by individuals working separately. Machines cannot be purchased by every individual. If the villagers join together, they can buy machines for the village so that everyone can benefit. Similarly, you can get good seeds and implements and fertilizers, etc. A small farmer cannot do all this on his own. But a cooperative

1. Extracts from a speech at the Rajasthan *sarpanch* conference, Jhotwara, near Jaipur, 2 February 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

2. Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. Nehru had addressed the conference of newly elected *sarpanchs* at Chittor on 6 April 1955.

4. Sukhadia had mentioned that there were 3,500 panchayats in Rajasthan and that 2,500 *sarpanchs* and *panchs* had come to attend the conference.

society can benefit the whole village and increase production and ensure just distribution. It is not merely a matter of profits but a first-rate way of working. It is a sign of a high-class society when people work together in cooperation. When people live in isolated compartments without bothering about the neighbours, it is not good. So, you must strengthen your panchayats and cooperative societies. You can get whatever help you want from the Rajasthan Government or the Central Government. But I would like to tell you also that you should not rely too much on others but rely on your own strength. If you rely on others, you will become weak. You should form cooperative societies by your own income. You can take loans. That is a different matter. I am telling you this because in some places where loans were taken from the banks or the government, they have become government undertakings. I do not want a cooperative society to become a government society. Certainly, the government should help. But in the past some cooperative societies were run by officers and peons sitting in offices. What kind of village cooperation is this when villagers are scared to approach the officers and babus? A cooperative society means that the responsibility should be with the villagers who must take decisions. They may make mistakes, which may cause some losses, but at least they will learn from the experience. They must learn to trust one another and consult others, including officials. But there should be no officers in a cooperative society. This is how we want to build its structure. We want to train the men and women in India to become self-reliant.

There was a time in our country, especially in Rajasthan, when there were brave men, famous men. You must have heard the stories of their bravery and chivalry. But they remained backward while the rest of the world moved ahead because they lacked wisdom. Now, we want the people to be brave, of course, but they should also be wise enough to understand the modern world and cooperate with one another. The basis for this is the panchayat and the cooperative society. I am telling you these broad facts so that you may think about them.

Now, I am well aware that there are internal feuds and groupism in many panchayats. It happens in higher places too but they should be ended as they are signs of our weaknesses. I know that all the men in the panchayats are not good, which is our fault. But we must not be scared by this as we can gradually get rid of our weaknesses and ills by following the right path. We are not angels but the right path is necessary to avoid wrong-doing.

You must do all these things that I have been talking about. The five-year plans, for instance, cannot be implemented by one or a few individuals because they have thousands of aspects. The most important task before us is to increase production of foodgrains in the country because if there is no self-sufficiency

in food, progress is very difficult. This year there has been a great damage to the crops due to floods and other natural calamities and so there have been shortages. We had to import foodgrains from the United States at an enormous cost. It is strange that we should have to import foodgrains and waste precious foreign exchange. The country will thus get poorer. We do not want to import foodgrains except in an emergency. In fact we want the production to increase so much that we should be able to export foodgrains and earn foreign exchange with which we may set up industries. We can neither become industrialized nor improve our agricultural production if we do not increase food production. Therefore, this is the most important task before us and we must pay special attention to it. How is it to be done? It has been done wherever we have made the effort for it.

Now, the soil in Rajasthan is very fertile in some places and not so fertile in other places. But after a few years the canals from Bhakra-Nangal will supply water to Rajasthan and things will change, more electricity will be produced. But, above all, what is most important is hard work. You will forgive me for saying this but the farmers here do not work as hard as I have seen the farmers doing in China or Japan and other countries. The Indian farmers do work hard but their work often goes waste. A country's progress depends on hard work and skills. If you select good seeds and have proper facilities for irrigation and use fertilizers, etc., it is the general opinion of experts that production can easily be trebled. After all, if other countries can produce twice or thrice of what we produce, why can we not do the same? If we double our production, immediately the national wealth will be doubled and all of us will be benefited. When we set up industries that also adds to our wealth. So, the first task before us is to increase food production by getting together the families in the villages, setting targets and supplying seeds and fertilizers, etc. Thus every family in the village will participate in the task of food production.

The reins of administration of your village are in your hands. The village will follow the path that you show. So, the responsibility for showing the right path rests on you. You must know about the times we live in because there are upheavals all over the world. In your State, the old kings and princes no longer enjoy any powers. This itself is a great revolution. The zamindari and *jagirdari* systems have been abolished by peaceful means. So, gradually, revolutions are taking place and the world is changing fast. Those who do not change will remain backward. We need your cooperation in order to bring about change. All of us must write a new history of Rajasthan and India. In the past, the stories related to brave heroes. Now a different kind of story has to be written. Today, bravery and courage lie in uplifting your village or State and making the people better off. These are some of the major tasks before you and I hope you

will realize your responsibilities and work hard.

There is one thing more. No country can progress if its women remain backward. It is only when men as well as women make progress and are educated that a country can progress. So you must give all possible opportunities to women and give them full encouragement.

*Jai Hind!*⁵

You said that usually funeral feasts are held here which must be stopped. I agree with you entirely. For one thing, when there are food shortages we must not waste food because it is bad for the nation. We must consume as carefully as we can. I do not know whether the Rajasthan Government has issued such a circular or not. But in the rest of the country it is banned to invite more than 50 persons to a feast. I think it is extended to 100 persons in marriages. It is to ensure that there is no wastage of food. In any case, funeral feasts and other such customs are old traditions which cast a great burden upon the people which you know better than I and are not relevant in the modern times. But the poor people have to follow them due to the fear of criticism. The *sarpanchs* and others can help them by trying to rid them of wrong and burdensome customs.

5. When Nehru was about to leave, a *sarpanch* stood up and said that in order to meet the problem of food scarcity, the custom of funeral feasts should be immediately abolished. Nehru came to the mike again, agreed with him and expressed his views regarding this matter.

4. Need for Equal Opportunity for All¹

Sisters and brothers,

You have heard the citation presented to me by the Municipality just now. I thank the Municipality and its members for it. All sorts of things were said in my praise, recounting the deeds done by me. Then followed eulogies of Jaipur and the Municipality.

Well, once again I sit here, with a beautiful panorama spread out before me. I have addressed public meetings in various parts of India. But I have hardly ever seen a beautiful scene like the one that a meeting here at Jaipur presents. So, I am particularly happy to be here in Jaipur where my mind wanders back and forth. Jaipur is a historic city of Rajasthan which has played

1. Extracts from a speech at a civic reception, Ram Niwas Bagh, Jaipur, 2 February 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

an important role in Indian history. There are innumerable stories of valour and heroism related to Rajasthan. Every single stone in this city reminds one of its historic past. But my mind does not dwell for too long on the past though it is always there in a corner and I peep into it occasionally. My thoughts are directed more towards the future and the story of India which is being written by her people today by their deeds. The actual history will be written later on by historians. India's history dates back to thousands of years and it is a never-ending process. I wonder when the future historians look back at the times we live in what picture will emerge before them!

The era that has just gone by—the Gandhian era—has become a part of the history of India and the world, and has become etched in the minds and hearts of millions of Indians. The Gandhian era has not ended even now, in a sense, and neither will it ever end. It may change its complexion a little with the passage of time. I do not say that we are great Gandhians or that during the last ten years since his death we have been able to follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi in dealing with the tremendous burden that fell on our shoulders. Yes, we certainly have great affection and respect for Mahatmaji and have learnt a little from him and try to remember his principles and abide by them. But great problems keep cropping up before us. It is difficult to imagine what Gandhiji's advice would have been had he been alive. Moreover, it does not seem quite right that we should act without using our own intelligence and understanding our responsibility. Therefore, I do not think it is proper that I should try to take shelter behind Gandhiji's greatness and shirk my responsibility. The responsibility for whatever has happened during the last ten years, good as well as bad, rests with us, with all of you too, to some extent, but mainly with us who hold the reins of government. The responsibility for all the ills and wrongs rests with us. Nobody is trying to run away from it. Anyhow, this is something bigger than a personal responsibility. The stream of India's history flows on, involving the lives of her millions. The days are gone when history meant the lives of kings and emperors or the dates of a few battles. Today the history of a country is neither that of kings and emperors nor of such other individuals. Today, history means the story of the masses. It involves the history of millions of human beings, their deeds and actions, and the way to judge it is by the difficulties they face and the progress they make.

What has been the history of India during the last ten years? It is within your living memory and you have been participants in it. I will not go into it but we must remember the past and benefit from it, especially from the good things that happened in thousands of years of our history. The great events of our long past must strengthen our resolve. We must also learn from our mistakes and try not to repeat them.

Ultimately, the question arises where our duty lies today and what should be our country's policy. We must look towards the future though it is difficult to say anything about the future. Some people seem to think that the future can be predicted by gazing at the stars or by consulting astrologers. I am not interested in all this. I do not want to believe in it because the nation or the race which looks to the stars to know its future weakens itself. Can the stars push the nation towards progress? If we want to peep into the future, the only way to do it is by observing where the world is going and what we ourselves are capable of achieving. We must observe which way the stream of history is flowing and what are the new forces that are being unleashed in the world today. We can judge from this what the future is likely to be. I often see our young boys and girls and little children in schools and elsewhere and am reminded that they are the future of India. I see the future of India reflected in their eyes. These provide some glimpses into the future. But, ultimately, we have to live in the present and work in the present. The present changes every day and the future becomes the present. This is the cycle of time.

This is how history is made. But who makes history? I told you that it is the people who make history. This is partly right and partly wrong. It is right in the sense that history is no longer a chronicle of the lives of kings and emperors but of the people. It is wrong because it fails to take note of the role of the great leaders who show the path. A country which produces no great men is a second-rate or third-rate country. One Gandhi made history, not by himself but with the help of millions of people in the country, by attracting them and catching their imagination, by giving them strength and by giving them clear direction. Great men and leaders of the world have managed to infuse strength even into the weak. To say that India got freedom by the effort of one man would be wrong, because millions of Indians played their roles in the freedom struggle. But it is perfectly correct to say that our great leader showed the path to millions of people, gave them strength and enabled them to reach their goal. India fell because the people had become backward and were rigidly shackled by old customs and taboos. We failed to understand the changing times. It is easy to attribute the wealth and power of England and other Western countries to their plundering India and other colonies. All that is perfectly true but ultimately they advanced by their own strength, knowledge and application of science. This is how we can also advance; we cannot advance by shouting slogans. Now that the history of India has taken a new turn, a new chapter has begun in our lives and we have to evolve a clear-cut policy with regard to what we wish to do. There is a great debate going on what our international policy should be, which is a healthy trend. But, ultimately, a country can become strong only when its people are strong, fearless, well-trained and skilled, no matter what

policy they follow. People's progress does not depend on policies—policies only pave the way for progress.

So, the question is, how the people of India are shaping, because the future of the country depends on it. The five-year plans have been drawn up primarily to uplift the people of India, to train them in old and new skills and in science and technology, and to open up new avenues of employment. Today, science has advanced so much that man aspires to reach the moon and the stars. Man is also producing artificial moons. Two or three months ago, the Soviet Union launched two or three satellites into the earth's orbit which are still there.² Today's news is that the United States has also done the same thing.³ There is no secrecy about modern science. The people in our country can also do these things over a period of time provided we are prepared to spend the required amount of money. Given the time, we will also be able to do these things, if we have the resources.

So, for the progress of our people, we must educate them. They must go to schools, colleges and universities. But that is not enough. Select persons must be trained in specialized fields. You must look at India from this viewpoint. Today, history is being made in India. Our attention is focused on many things. First of all, we must be constantly prepared to defend and protect our freedom. If you read history, you will find that no foreign power conquered us by superior might. It was always our weaknesses and disunity which made us a prey to the foreign power. Disunity is an old vice of ours and we also failed to learn modern knowledge and could not realize what was going on in the world. If we allow these weaknesses to come over once again, our hard-won freedom will slip away. So, we must be always vigilant against any attempt to snatch away our freedom.

Huge armies and arsenals have been built up in the world today. How can we fight against the atom bomb? We do not have it, nor shall we have it in the future. A few days ago, I said in Delhi that we have made great progress in the field of atomic energy.⁴ We are among the five or ten countries in the world today which are advanced in this field. So, I said that it would not be surprising if we advanced so much in the next few years that we might acquire the technical know-how to produce the atom bomb but that we should not produce

2. Artificial (man-made) earth satellites, Sputnik I and Sputnik II, were launched by the Soviet Union in October and November 1957 and the launching of Sputnik III was scheduled for May 1958.
3. Explorer I, officially known as Satellite 1958 Alpha, the first US satellite, was launched on 31 January 1958.
4. See *ante*, pp. 17-18.

it. We are learning nuclear technology for two purposes. First, we have to be proficient in all branches of knowledge, as we do not want to be backward in any way in comparison to the rest of the world. Secondly, atomic energy is a great source of power which can be utilized for many purposes in the country as we use electricity today. Electricity is a very small thing compared to atomic energy. We can utilize atomic energy to make India prosperous and wealthy.

We do not want to produce the atom bomb and it is our firm belief that its use will lead the world to ruin and strike at the root of all our principles. We hope that gradually it will be discarded by the rest of the world also. You may have heard that we have repeatedly requested the Great Powers of the world not to resort to test explosions which are extremely harmful and to ban the production of the atom bomb.⁵ We have said this repeatedly but the process continues. In fact, the world is in a dangerous situation today. I do not say that war is imminent because everyone is afraid of war today. There is a tremendous difference between the old and new systems of warfare. War has always been terrible, but today it can destroy the whole world. So, nobody wants a war. But the Great Powers of the world are in a dilemma because they are gripped by fear and so they continue to make preparations against one another, produce all kinds of deadly weapons. Thousands of aeroplanes are airborne all the time laden with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. All this is because of the fear that the enemy might attack. It is an extraordinary situation that people do not want war and are aware of its dangers and yet prepare constantly for it. If there is the slightest mistake when the planes carrying these weapons are airborne or one of the pilots suddenly goes mad, then the world will go up in flames. The Great Powers and the great leaders of the world are indulging in such activities and are accusing each other of planning to attack, and what not. If this kind of thing goes on, nobody knows what the result will be. The world is no longer stable and will move further towards evil or towards good. So, it is felt that the leaders of the world should get together and hold talks and come to some agreement. Everyone realizes that it will be a good thing. But some excuse or the other is given to put it off, which is not good.

Well, I have shown you a glimpse of the situation in the world today. What is our duty in such circumstances? We cannot interfere unduly in international affairs. We give our advice and though we are not a great power, our words carry some weight in the world. But it is obvious that we can serve the world only by making India strong because a weak nation cannot do much for others. There are other factors which compel us to give priority to the national tasks.

5. For the appeal made by Nehru to the leaders of the USA and USSR in November 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 593-594.

We fought for freedom so that the British rule might be removed. That was only the first step. The most important task after freedom is to remove the poverty which has existed in India for centuries and to uplift the downtrodden people of the country and lead them towards prosperity and provide them better opportunities of education and employment.

We have pledged ourselves to these tasks and have drawn up five-year plans in this connection because such great tasks require careful planning. There may be mistakes in our planning because it is difficult to be one hundred per cent accurate while planning for such a large country. But you must understand that without planning it is not possible to progress fast.

The First Plan was not very big but it was good and we succeeded beyond our expectations. I will not go into the details. But you can see the progress that India made during that period. The Second Plan is bigger and more ambitious and requires a great deal of practical work because planning is not mere paperwork. We pinned our faith on the people of India. However, immediately after drawing up the Second Plan we sustained many shocks. For two or three years consecutively the monsoons failed and there was drought. Then there were floods, crops were damaged and we faced tremendous food shortages. Yet we are producing more than ever before in the country today. So the production is increasing in spite of droughts and floods. But it is not enough. We made some mistakes in our calculations. This is evident from the fact that we have had to import foodgrains. It is a great drain on our foreign exchange reserves which we could have otherwise utilized for setting up industries, etc. But food has to be imported when there is not enough in the country. This was one shock.

Secondly, we had to spend crores of rupees in foreign exchange to buy military equipment at a very high price. But we were helpless because we did not wish to put the country in danger.

Thirdly, we had to import big machines to set up industries. Eventually, we will make them ourselves. The prices of machines have gone up in the countries which make them. So our calculations went wrong in that also and we had to pay much more for everything.

Fourthly, you must have heard about the war between Egypt and England one and a half years ago on the issue of Suez Canal,⁶ which led to further increase in prices and consequently we had to curtail our Plan a little. We have kept the basic framework intact, for without that our progress will come to a halt. We requested some countries to give us aid to tide over this difficulty. We

6. The war lasted from 29 October 1956 to the night of 6/7 November 1956. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 388-449.

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were not begging—we merely asked for loans which we would repay in due course. The United States of America, the Soviet Union, Germany, Japan and some other countries have helped us and we thank them for it.

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Now, the zamindari and *jagirdari* systems have been abolished nearly all over the country and the few that are still there will also be abolished soon because they are anomalous in this time and age. So, only the small farmers remain. But they cannot go very far on their own, so it is better for them to form cooperative societies and help one another. Their ownership of land remains intact and cooperation with others enables them to do many things which they cannot do alone. They can get loans to buy good seeds and fertilizers and can sell their produce collectively and so will not be cheated by traders and offered lower prices.

So, cooperative societies are very essential. Cooperatives should not be too large. There used to be cooperative societies even during the days of the British. But they were headed by government officials. Cooperatives should not be run by officials though they can give advice and help in certain ways. Cooperatives should be self-reliant and should be run by the members themselves. Therefore, we must change the structure of our cooperative societies and make them smaller. If they are large, they will be like too large a family and the members will feel lost and officials will take them over, which is not desirable.

I want that there should be a good cooperative society and a panchayat in every village. They are fundamental to our economic and political democracy and the edifice of new India will be built on these two things. You must understand this clearly. Government help will no doubt be there but the actual work will have to be done by the community blocks and panchayats and cooperative societies working together. You must realize that you will be working not for your panchayat or your cooperative society alone. These are national tasks and today India is being tested in the eyes of the world to see whether we win through or not. So, the work that you are doing in your villages, on land or in industries, benefits you no doubt. But at the same time you are doing service to the whole country.

In this connection I would like to point out that there are shortages not only in India but all over the world. So, we must give up wasteful habits. The rich indulge in wasteful consumption during weddings and funerals, which is bad and definitely harmful to the nation and society, especially when there is a grave shortage of food. We are making a rule that at least for the next one year

or two, there will be no big feasts. I do not know what the Government of Rajasthan has done. But other state governments have framed a rule that not more than 50 people can be invited to a feast—the number can be increased slightly for weddings. We are waging a war at the moment not against some country but against poverty in our country, against our weaknesses and ills in society. This is a bigger war than one fought against an enemy.

These are some of the things that all of us have to do. We cannot afford to be weak, especially today when the world is becoming a dangerous place. We cannot rely on others to help us. We must become strong and implement our five-year plans, which will in return increase our self-confidence. When a task is taken up and completed successfully, it adds to one's strength and self-confidence. This is how other countries have advanced. There is no other way. Please think about these things.

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So, we want to build up a society in which there are equal opportunities for all. Once that is achieved, we want the society to advance and the people to become well-off. But at the same time we also want that the society should not aim only to achieve a life of ease because a society which forgets the higher principles and settles for a life of ease and comfort eventually falls. Therefore, we must lay emphasis on high principles and ideals and a strong moral character, and remember the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. History teaches us that, no matter how powerful and rich a country is, if it lacks truth and purity and high ideals, it must certainly fall.

So, we must bear all this in mind and make progress. We have taken up big tasks and those who do big things wholeheartedly grow in stature. You often heap praises on me. I have no special quality except that I and the millions in this country are engaged in a great task once again. We fought together for freedom and engaged ourselves in the task, oblivious of everything else, including our families. In the process, we grew somewhat in stature though we were small people. We grew in stature in the shadow of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. A man grows by engaging himself in big tasks and by having high ideals and the same is true of a nation. At the moment, our country is again engaged in a mighty task and there cannot be a bigger task than trying to uplift 36 to 37 crores of people, alleviate their suffering, remove their poverty and provide them all opportunities for progress. All of us are engaged in this mighty task and no matter what your profession is, whether you are a shopkeeper or businessman, a student, a doctor or an engineer, you must always remember that your job is part of the larger national task of building up a new India. If

you think of it in this spirit, even the smallest task will become significant and you will grow in stature. *Jai Hind!*

5. Social Change and 'Revolution'¹

Students,

Have you seen today's newspapers? I ask this because they carry the news of the successful launching of a space satellite yesterday by the United States of America. Two months ago the Russians had launched the Sputnik. It was obvious that the United States would have also succeeded sooner or later because, after all, these scientific things cannot forever be kept secret. Scientific knowledge by its very nature is bound to become known to others sooner or later, whenever there is sufficient scientific advancement. I want to know what impact this news has had upon you. How do you react to the tremendous scientific discoveries which are taking place in the world today? Do you think of them merely as some strange phenomena or do they have a special impact on your mind and body?

I am getting on in years and have seen a great many changes in the world in my lifetime. There is a tremendous difference between the world of today and the world fifty years ago, as I remember it. Apart from the fact that there have been two World Wars, there have been revolutions, empires have disintegrated and many countries of Asia have become free in this period. But the greatest revolution took place about 150 to 200 years ago in the field of science with the discovery of steam as a source of power. That was the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and 40 to 50 years later came the discovery of electricity, which led to an electrical revolution. All these things have brought about a great economic revolution in the world. Now the world is making a breakthrough in space travel.

If we fail to understand this rapidly changing world, we will become backward as we did in the past. While the West was making rapid strides in science and other fields, we, steeped in pride and conceit, became weak and backward and were conquered by the European powers. A weak nation has no stature in the world—it becomes backward and falls. This has been our experience. That is why I asked how you look at the changes that are taking place. There is no doubt about it that in the 42 years which are left of this century, there are bound to be revolutionary changes in the world. You must

1. Speech at Maharaja's College, Jaipur, 2 February 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

remember that the popular idea of revolution is violence and chaos. But in that case, the greatest revolutionaries would be the dacoits, which is an absurd argument. A real revolution means something that changes the society, whether it is through peaceful methods or violence. The greatest revolution in the world has in fact been not the French Revolution or the American or Chinese or the Russian Revolutions but the Industrial Revolution, the electric revolution, and the atomic revolution because they are changing the entire pattern of our lives.

You are sitting here in Jaipur. Three or four centuries ago, in the time of Akbar or Shah Jahan, people used to travel on horseback or in a chariot. So, the fastest mode of travel even a hundred years ago was on horseback. This was so a couple of thousand years ago, in the time of Asoka too. Things remained unchanged for centuries. A letter had to be sent through messengers. So, in a sense, for over two thousand years the world stood still in the matter of communications. Then came the Industrial Revolution and in its wake the railways, telegraph, telephone, motor car, radio and electricity and the means of communication and transport have been revolutionized. Now, we have aeroplanes. I came here by plane and reached Jaipur within an hour. It is a tremendous revolution which has reached every household, whether you realize it or not. So, in a sense, the Industrial Revolution which began 150 to 200 years ago is going on even today, and, in fact, is gaining momentum and will undoubtedly have an impact on our lives. This is something that you must remember. I am saying this because the news item of this morning is fresh in my mind.

Secondly, people often think that revolution means shouting slogans or passing resolutions and what not. They may be all right in their own way. But in a changing world, it is essential to change one's mental attitude, which I often find is very difficult, especially in an ancient country like ours. The thinking becomes stagnant. Of course, there have been glorious periods in our history when great intellectuals lived. We feel a sense of pride even today. We have been moulded by the events of thousands of years and the good things that we acquired should be retained. But there are other things which have been responsible for our downfall and slavery, like the age-old customs and traditions which held the society in shackles and prevented it from growing. A society is a growing thing like a human being who grows from childhood to adulthood and then grows old. If the world changes, the society will reflect that change. You cannot prevent a society from changing, just as you cannot prevent a child from growing. Any attempt to prevent its growth will lead to the society or the individual being deformed. Nobody can prevent its growth but there will be difficulties. So, if there is an attempt to bind or restrict the growth of society through customs and traditions, it will only result in

stagnation. But even then society does not remain unchanged forever. When change comes, it does so in a revolutionary way. So, if you wish to hold on to some old customs, except for some fundamental principles, it means that you want to shackle the society.

If you read the ancient history of India, you will find that our ancestors, who were great souls, had an open mind with a thirst for knowledge. Their minds were not closed in any way. If you read Gautama Buddha's teachings, you find that his answers to various questions used to be extraordinarily scientific. There is no attempt to shackle others. He used to go so far as to say that there is no need to accept what he said unless it had been proved by personal experience and practice. He was merely showing a way. Gautama Buddha had an extremely scientific approach and constantly exhorted his followers not to accept anything blindly but to experiment, think and understand first. But in spite of all this our society became shackled and bound by traditions. The strange thing in Indian history is that our minds were not closed though they might have become less alert. It is our society which became bound by all kinds of customs and taboos and the biggest symbol of that was the caste system. It prevented the society from growing in any way, created all kinds of barriers and perpetrated grave injustice against the so-called lower castes. But the real injustice was to the people of India as a whole because when the society stopped growing we became weak and backward. This was the condition of India.

You cannot understand what India is all about if you look at her from within. You will have to go away from India to realize what a tremendous country she was in the olden times. India had made an extraordinary impact on other countries and to this day you find the imprint of her personality on China, Mongolia, Japan, Tibet, Indo-China, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Siam, Malaya, Afghanistan, etc. India did not set out to make military conquests, but her culture and arts, philosophy and religion spread far and wide. There was a time when Indians would travel thousands of miles with the message that India had to offer. Then came a time when foreign travel was prohibited and began to be looked upon as bad. It was felt that by crossing the seas the man who did so lost his religion and caste and had to do penance and what not. It was extraordinary. There was a time when people from India went with great alacrity across the seas holding high the banner of India's culture, civilization, learning and religion. Then the caste system imposed taboos against overseas travel. So, you can see clearly how there was a steady downfall and India fell from the pinnacle of her glory to the depths of degradation, became weak and almost lifeless. It is not at all surprising that she fell a prey to foreign invaders.

Therefore, we must understand the importance of getting rid of the caste system which shackled our society in the past and continues to do so even

today to some extent. Secondly, the caste system has no relevance in a democracy and if it exists, there can be no socialism either. It is strange that our young men who uphold the banner of socialism and communism are often completely bound by the caste system, though there can be no socialism or democracy if the society is divided into various compartments by the caste system. Therefore, I want you to consider this, and not merely theoretically but in a practical way, because it has become extremely important that our society should grow and advance in order to exist in the modern world and to solve the problems of poverty. The society cannot grow if it is shackled and bound. It is useless to talk about socialism and communism if we do not understand the basic things.

It is all very well to use words like socialism and communism. We must try to understand the circumstances in which these ideas were born in this world and revolutionized it. But we will be committing a grave error if we think that these doctrines are the last word because we will once again shackle society needlessly. As I told you, society is a changing thing. Just because an ideology or a social organization is right in some age does not necessarily mean that it should be right in another age also because societies change. I have already told you how greatly the world has changed in the last fifty years. So, whatever views I might have been having fifty years ago they will have to be modified to suit the present times. I cannot blindly accept something that was relevant to another age. If we do, it will come to the same thing as our accepting the caste system because it was sanctioned by the *shastras*. First of all, I do not believe that it has the sanction of the *shastras*. But even if it does, I will not accept anything that my mind refuses to rationalize. I shall not accept anything blindly. This is how I look at all these things. I consider myself a socialist too but I have no respect for the people who shout slogans about communism and socialism without understanding the philosophy behind them, and merely because something was said by an individual a hundred years ago.

Karl Marx was a great man and the father of communism. No doubt he was a great man and a visionary. But it does not seem very wise to me to say that what Karl Marx said a hundred years ago is completely relevant even today. It seems more as if we were shutting our minds to reality. It is not right to keep repeating lessons learnt by rote. We must certainly learn from Karl Marx. But ultimately we must seek light from various directions to understand the times that we live in instead of shackling our minds in any way. Secondly, Karl Marx said something about Germany a hundred years ago. I cannot understand how it can apply to Indian conditions today. We must read Karl Marx and learn from his interpretations as we would from the precepts of other great men or the experience of history.

Well, anyhow, we reach the conclusion from all this that we must seek light from every direction, from religion, which teaches high moral principles and is equally necessary as economics and politics. There are other things also like morals, character or ethics, or whatever you may call them. They are vital for a nation's life. We must look at all our problems with an open mind and then try to find a solution.

All kinds of ills afflict this country but the worst of them is poverty. Till a hundred years ago, it was the basic affliction of the whole world and there was no solution to it. You hear of the great wealth in the times of the Mughals in Agra and Delhi and what not, and this was true. But there is no doubt about it that the common people were extremely poor, not only in the times of the Mughals but down the centuries. There was no means by which the world could battle against poverty. So, while a handful of men were rich, the rest remained extremely poor. It is true that in those days the population in most countries was far less than what it is nowadays. The slight increase in population used to be balanced by deaths due to epidemics and natural disasters. Therefore, the pressure on countries was not so great. Now the population has grown tremendously and proportionately poverty has increased too because there are more and more mouths to feed. Well, when most countries of the world were poor, how is it that the European countries became rich suddenly? Some of the countries of Europe were poorer than India. Though India was never rich, she was better off compared to the others. You may say that the West grew rich by plundering the East. Though they did plunder India and other countries that is not the real answer. They became rich by their hard work and effort, and by taking advantage of science and the Industrial Revolution. They increased their production enormously and it continues to increase even today. There is no end to it.

For the first time, the world has acquired the power to eradicate poverty through science. The West took advantage of it and advanced. We did not, so we remained backward. Now, we are trying to rectify that and there is no doubt about it that we will succeed. But it is an extremely difficult task because we want to accomplish in 15 to 20 years what the West took a couple of centuries to do. But we have no choice. If we do not succeed, we will be overwhelmed by our problems, especially of our growing population.

I have tried to give you a very broad outline of the problems that we face. We think that we can bring about socialism in the country by drawing up the five-year plans. But that is not so. Socialism will come only when a number of steps are taken. Socialism cannot be brought about by passing a law. It is a question of training the people in a thousand different ways. We have drawn up the five-year plans in a way we thought the best. There is no other way, for

socialism cannot be brought about by debates or shouting slogans and passing resolutions. You may ask me, what is the relationship between agriculture and industry? There is a great debate about this linkage in the five-year plans. But it is essential that we should have a right idea of our priorities and try to see how agriculture and industry can supplement one another. We have to think seriously about these things instead of talking in the air about building a communist society. The communist societies today face these very problems about the relationship between agriculture and industry, heavy industries and small industries, etc. Every country has its own problems and must face up to them.

I have put all this before you so that you may not close your minds to them. It is believed that the sign of youth is an open, enquiring mind, intensely curious, with a thirst for truth and knowledge. Young minds should be alive and if they are not, they tend to become rigid with the passing of years. I think that my mind is not rigid. But that is my personal opinion about myself. I find that the habit of thinking is becoming less in people and they resort more and more to shouting and sloganeering. They seem to think that by taking out processions or shouting slogans they can become great leaders, which is absurd. India and the world will grow and advance by hard work and intelligent thinking, not by shouting.

Suppose, for instance, you want to build a bridge. Either you have the technical know-how to do so or you don't. Shouting slogans will not help in building a bridge. You need engineers to build bridges. People seem to think that you can transform a society by making a noise. You cannot build a bridge by shouting slogans, let alone change an entire society. Or, take modern science, for instance. Suppose we wish to make a space satellite, it requires a tremendous amount of hard work and scientific knowledge. If we make a firm determination today, perhaps we may be able to train the people and do it in ten years. In the world today, the competition is tough and nations are working hard and aim at unity of effort. But in India, people seem to have closed minds and the quality of work is very poor. They are under the illusion that they are achieving something by shouting and screaming and often forget the need for unity in the country. People are always fighting over religion or state or caste or language. These tendencies are extremely bad for our unity. We must bring them under control and work against them, all of us. I want that our roots must go down deep into our history and our land. A country which loses touch with its heritage loses its moorings and becomes lifeless. There are certain things which are bad and we must get rid of them. Secondly, we must try to understand the times that we are living in. We must hold on to our past heritage but adapt ourselves to the present and look towards the future. The demand of modern times is that we should train our minds in the field of science and technology. We will

have to work hard and at the same time we need to make a joint effort.

This is a strange new world today. There is constant change and turmoil. On the one hand, there is a great danger that the whole world may be destroyed in a nuclear holocaust. On the other hand, there is tremendous progress. This is the world that we are living in and those who have the ability and grit and intelligence can go very far and achieve great things, if they do not indulge in petty things, and those who do so remain small in stature. These are strange times. I have seen a great deal of change taking place in the world in my lifetime and perhaps may see some more in the next two to four years. But sometimes I feel a slight sense of regret—not much though—that the world will change still more in ten or twenty years' time and I shall not be there to see it. But you will see a lot of change. And you must be thoroughly prepared for them. *Jai Hind!*

6. Towards a Classless and Casteless Society¹

For the past few days the newspapers have been full of reports about the proceedings of the commission of enquiry into the Life Insurance Corporation's investments in the Mundhra concerns.² Though the enquiry has nothing to do with the Government's policy or the country's goal of a socialistic pattern of society, it is but right that the investigations have been undertaken. The enquiry is being conducted by an eminent judge who is fully conscious of his task, and everything with the enquiry is as it should be.

I welcome the public interest aroused by the enquiry, but a section of the people of Bombay appears to be obsessed with it. There seems to be some morbid enthusiasm in the proceedings. There are loudspeaker arrangements and demonstration of frenzied interest on the part of the people.³ This has

1. Speech at a public meeting, Chowpatty Beach, Bombay, 3 February 1958. From *The Times of India*, *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 4 February 1958.
2. On 7 January 1958, the Government of India appointed a one-man Commission of Inquiry consisting of Justice M.C. Chagla, the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, to investigate certain investments of the LIC in the companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra.
3. M.C. Chagla wrote in *Roses in December*, his autobiography: "Thousands of people tried to enter the office [Council Hall, Bombay] where I sat, and had to be turned away. Thousands more stood outside hoping to catch a glimpse of one or the other of the star witnesses. One day the crowd was so large and became so unruly that it looked as though they would storm their way into the office. The Police Commissioner decided on his own to install a loudspeaker outside the office so that the people could hear all that was being said."

robbed a public investigation of its dignity and decorum.

The enquiry has been instituted in its present form in order to give the people an opportunity to be associated with the democratic processes. Due attention will be paid to what the commission will say. Let me assure you that the Government will be guided by the findings of the commission.

Well, it depresses me to find that many disruptive tendencies still prevail in the country. Communalism, provincialism, linguism and casteism are corroding the social structure. The people must overcome these weaknesses. There is a need for a dynamic approach to solve the economic and social problems facing the country. Casteism is an evil which suppresses the majority of the society. In ancient times there were laws which had done injustice to women. The society in which women are not honoured cannot raise its head. I hope the legislation enacted by the Government for women will certainly benefit the society. The people should break down narrow barriers and change their outlook in keeping with the fast-changing world. People should refrain from any action that threatens to undermine the unity and solidarity of India and abjure violence to achieve political or economic objectives. The methods adopted by the communists are calculated to create chaos and would only hold up progress.

I admit that there are sharp class conflicts in India and the Congress and the Government are committed to the evolution of a classless and casteless society by democratic and peaceful means, in contrast to the methods followed by the communists. The path chosen by the communists is based on the theory of aggravating conflicts till an upheaval results and one of the parties is completely overpowered, humiliated and wiped out. Certain events in Russia and China have led to violent revolutions but the idea of violent changes in social structure is now outdated. The tactics of the Indian communists are an echo of class warfare waged elsewhere in different circumstances.

From the time of the Buddha, and even before him, Indian traditions have been different. The imprint of these can be found in many Asian countries even now. Some two thousand years ago the people of this country were leading a glorious life. They used to go not only to the countries of Asia but to other countries also. The relics of their culture are still found in other countries. But after some time society was weakened by casteism and it became lifeless. If a man went out of the country he was expelled from his caste. When society started falling, all its culture, philosophy and art were downgraded and ultimately the country went under foreign rule. Now ours is an independent nation again, and if we do not take lessons from experience then it would be a fatal thing for us.

The idea of following democratic and peaceful methods is not an empty dream. It is important what path is chosen to achieve a welfare state. I warn

you that the wrong path will lead to a civil war. It is idle to pretend that India is not making progress. Because of her vast development projects, and the policy of non-alignment, she has gained in stature and has attracted the friendly interest of many countries, irrespective of their ideologies. More countries are now realizing the soundness of India's foreign policy and visits by eminent statesmen to this country reflect the growing appreciation of her role in international affairs. We welcome all those who visit us with affection and warmth without trying to change our convictions or alter our views.

I want to reaffirm the policy of my Government, its goals and the ways by which it wants to achieve them. It is clear as anything that the country is going towards socialism. But we shall achieve this only by democratic ways, by preserving the independence of individuals and by peaceful means. Nobody should ever think that the country is even slightly going away from this ideal. The ideal before us is very noble and high, but it is far off and we cannot achieve it by merely passing laws. The people will have to strive hard to reach their objective.

I attended the golden jubilee function of the Indian Merchants Chamber this morning.⁴ The people of the Indian Merchants Chamber have done very good work in the past. But the thing which was good at one time need not necessarily be good at other times. Every age has its own peculiarity. Once it was a time when the organizations of the capitalists were useful, but today such things have become matters of the past. Once landlords were considered to be high-class people. But today that is not the case. The people have to change according to the age. Either you go forward or backward, you cannot remain stationary. If you remained so then there will be no life left in you.

Though India is essentially an agricultural country, it is distressing to know that she has to import foodgrains from abroad. A vast amount of foreign exchange is drained off on this account. Unless India is self-reliant in this respect, no industrialization can be done easily. This calls for a supreme effort by all. National wealth cannot be increased unless the country produces enough cereals. It pains me to see a lot of food being wasted in this country when the poor are starving. This waste is particularly noticeable at feasts and even at funerals. The amount of food wasted in Bombay is enough to feed a few lakhs of people. In this context I am happy to note that the Bombay Government has recently put some restrictions on consumption of food.

You are aware of the launching of the earth satellites by the USSR and America. I want the people to consider these developments—the way the world is going forward in science, what tremendous achievement man has made and

4. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *post*, pp. 195-207.

what would be the effect of this great power which man has conquered over thousands of years. If a man of the time of Asoka happened to come to the days of Akbar, he could not have found much difference. But during the last fifty or hundred years, the world has entirely changed. Another new power of nature, atomic energy, has come into the hands of man. The question that arises is what will be its effect on the international situation.

I condemn the demand made by some countries for the supply of atomic weapons by their supporters at the Baghdad Pact meeting at Ankara last week. It is a horrible demand, a foolish and ridiculous request, for they do not even know how to use them, handle them or understand the scientific background of these weapons. Perhaps, they thought they would keep these bombs with them and throw them, if necessary, on somebody, as if they were playthings to be flung about. Perhaps they also thought they would be able to frighten their neighbours. I do not think Americans will give them atom bombs or hydrogen bombs at the present time. I am gratified to learn that the request has been turned down by the Western powers. The US deserves to be praised for its refusal to arm the Baghdad Pact powers with nuclear weapons, and I hope that the dissemination of atomic and hydrogen bombs in Asia would never come about.

In the event of another war, the entire civilization would be wiped out. One cannot think of destroying the world twice all over. If the two major powers in the world today can destroy each other and the rest of mankind, well and good. There are only two ways—peace or war. They possess such dangerous weapons that can destroy the whole world.

This has affected our thinking also. India has decided not to use atomic power for destructive purposes. In the matters of atomic science, India ranks high though she is behind the first-rate Western powers, such as the US, Russia, the UK, France and Canada.

India too has a centre for developing atomic energy. I visited Trombay earlier during the day and saw the atomic reactor, Apsara. Indian scientists working there are doing an excellent job. In a matter of a few years India will be able to manufacture atom bombs if she so desires. But when this centre was established I made it clear to the world that we are not interested in manufacturing atom or hydrogen bombs. We will never use them, come what may. This assurance still stands. We can never be dishonest about this utterance. We will not swerve from the avowed path of making use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes, come what may, and nothing shall change our determination.

The world desires peace, but the averting of a global calamity depends upon the path the nations choose. There is no alternative to an international conflict but *Panchsheel*. Otherwise it is a shooting war. The times are dangerous

and only the fear of each other's strength keeps a shooting war in abeyance. India is a non-aligned country, and *Panchsheel* governs her foreign policy. Whatever use *Panchsheel* may have been put to so far, we are absolutely sure today that there is no other way out for the world but to accept this principle. The constant use of pressure tactics and the desire to beat others into submission by these tactics is sheer fraud and will ultimately result in a conflict which will destroy the world. Between cold war and shooting war nothing stands except *Panchsheel*; either *Panchsheel* or war of destruction.

The cold war is no answer to the question of avoiding an armageddon. Cold war leads only to bitterness, rancour and hatred among nations and hinders international amity. I, therefore, warn nations against the use of destructive weapons, like the atom and hydrogen bombs and ballistic missiles. Imagine the horrors of an atomic warfare, should it ever befall mankind. Where would this race for armaments lead mankind to? Can any war last with the use of these weapons which will bring quick and great destruction?

7. Reply to Debate on President's Address¹

Mr Deputy Speaker,² Sir, during the last few days' debate on the President's Address,³ a very large number of topics have been referred to and it is a little difficult for me to touch on all of them. With your permission, Sir, I shall deal with some of the more important matters and, inevitably, I have to deal with them in a rather general way.

So far as the general economic situation of this country is concerned, I shall say something about it. But the House knows that we are going to have various discussions in connection with the Budget in the course of this session. Further, as I think I have stated previously, it is proposed to lay a paper or a memorandum before the House in regard to the Second Five Year Plan explaining the present position and what we are doing and what we propose to do. It is difficult to deal with the matter in bits. So, we thought that a full memorandum on this subject will be more useful to give some idea to the House and to the country as to our present position and our future prospects. So, these matters

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 18 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XI, cols. 1364-86.
2. Hukam Singh, Congress Member from Bhatinda, Punjab.
3. The President addressed the joint session of the Parliament on 10 February 1958.

are going to be discussed and it may not be particularly helpful for me to take them up in bits now. Nevertheless, I shall say something on this subject.

Criticism has been made on the part of the Opposition that the President's Address lacks imagination, there is lack of reality and there is a sense of utter complacency. Well, I do not know if any honourable Member in this House feels or thinks really that the members of this Government who have the honour to advise the President are complacent. No one, whether this Government or any other, who has to face tremendous problems which this country has to face can ever be complacent. He may occasionally err, as Governments may make mistakes, as anyone might. But for anyone to feel completely happy at the state of affairs would indicate that there is something very wrong about him, whoever he might be.

Now, there is no question of complacency and more particularly during the past year or two when we have had to face enormous problems, enormous difficulties, many of them at least not of our making—some may be of our making. There has been a continuous effort on our part, on the Government's part, as, I believe, there has been on the part of this House in Parliament, to face these difficulties, realizing what they were, whether they were domestic, internal difficulties or in the international sphere. So, if it is necessary, I should like to assure the House that there is absolutely no sense of complacency anywhere. But, it is one thing not to be complacent and another thing, shall I say, always to take a view which is on the verge of panic and to think in terms of slogans, or merely to denounce various things in the country. There are plenty of things in this country which nobody likes, which we struggle against. I realize also that it is the normal duty of the Opposition to object, to denounce and generally to find fault. I do not complain. But I would only beg the House to consider these matters in proper perspective with the least complacency and also for the moment to look at them, not from the point of view of a particular party or Government party or opposition parties but as Members of Parliament representing the great Indian people in this House, looking at this tremendous and exciting process of history in the making. Because we in this country are making history; whether it is good history or bad history, it is for the future generations to judge. And the world is making history perhaps in a more concentrated way than it has done in the past. So, I would beg this House to approach these big questions keeping this perspective into view.

Now, I think that the President's Address has by no means taken a complacent view but a realistic view of the situation and pointed out certain definite hopeful factors. I do submit that nobody can deny that those hopeful changes have taken place in the last few months in this country and are still taking place. That again does not mean that we should rest content with that. It

is right that we should point them out as it would be right to point out if the changes were for the worse.

Broadly speaking, the economic situation has improved noticeably and it may be said that the Government are in much better control of it than a year ago. Inflationary pressures have abated and the rate of drawal from foreign exchange reserves has significantly declined.

These are all the problems that worried us last year both in regard to credit policy and import policy. The reins are being fairly tightly held and the outlook of availability of external assistance is much better. These are important factors or tendencies.

The President's Address has referred to the index of wholesale prices. I did not quite understand how some honourable Members challenged that unless they took some figures which were for a slightly different period. The index of wholesale prices in the last five months or so has gone down by nearly five per cent. Food prices have come down by eight per cent. The index of price of rice has fallen from 111 to 101, that for wheat from 94 to 86, of *jowar* from 126 to 104 and of *bajra* from 137 to 114. I do not say these are very wonderful changes but they are definite trends in a right direction and they have been brought about at a moment when the previous trends were all in the wrong direction. That is to say, not only have wrong trends been stopped but they have been reversed somewhat, undoubtedly, not because of any new harvest coming or anything like that but because of the various policies adopted by the Government in the course of the last year or so.

But I repeat that while we have a right to be a little hopeful because of this change in trends, we must realize completely that we have to be very careful and cautious and not allow this matter to slip away again in the wrong direction.

There is always with us the problem of internal and external resources. External resources can come, broadly speaking, from our exports or from such loans or credits that we may get from abroad. I think that the policy we adopt in regard to our exports will bear fruit. To what extent, of course, I cannot prophesy because it takes a little time to develop this but it is not right to say, I think, as some honourable Members did, that attention is not being paid to our exports. Attention is certainly paid to the best of our ability and intelligence.

One honourable Member, Shri Naushir Bharucha,⁴ said—I quote—"I accuse this Government that it is holding back vital information which is of the utmost importance to the nation." He was referring to funds, etc., available to us and

4. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

how the gap in the Second Plan would be filled and so forth. I do not know, I am not aware of the fact that we have held back any vital information on this subject. How does it profit the Government to hold it back? It is obviously essential for the people to know what they have got to do and what the position is.

The difficulty is this. Take, for instance, the external assistance. We cannot, while we discuss matters, say anything definite about it. Therefore, we have to wait till a definite decision is arrived at. As a matter of fact, many items of information in regard to this have been made public in this House in answer to questions and otherwise in the public press and so forth.

But it is true that these separate items of information do not perhaps convey a connected picture. That connected picture is being drawn up to be placed before the House. As I just told the House a little while ago, we intend placing a memorandum dealing with the entire subject, dealing with the Plan, dealing with the gaps and also dealing with how we hope to fill them and so on. The present position, as I said, is somewhat more hopeful or, if I may use the word, considerably more hopeful than it was a year ago.

When I say that I am not guaranteeing the future, I am merely saying that it is more hopeful for the present. That is to say, during this year that we are beginning, we hope to go through the major works of our Plan as intended. We are not going to slow down on that. And we hope that in the next year also we shall be in a position to do so. We have not got hoards and we cannot say about the next five, six or seven years. That will depend on many factors: our own policies, our internal resources and the external resources that we hope to get. Anyhow, we propose to put before this House in the course of this month or probably in the month of March a full memorandum on this subject.

There have been, as usual, a number of references to corruption in the government apparatus. I do not wish to take the time of the House much now. But I should like to say that the apparatus that we have created last year or the year before to meet this question has worked with considerable success. It is improving daily. Nobody can deny that. Nobody can say that here or in any country in the wide world, everything is all right and there is absolute freedom from corruption. There is, though I think, that perhaps there is much less of it than in most other countries. So, there is no justification for this. I am merely pointing out relatively because it is sometimes made out that we are the big sinners in this respect. I do not think we are. I think we stand rather high compared to many countries, but it is there undoubtedly and we have to make every effort to remove that. I submit that the special arrangements we have made, the O & M Division, the Special Police Establishment and others, have met with quite a considerable success. I have been going through the various

steps they have taken, the number of cases they have started, the success they have attained, and I was impressed by them.

Of course, there are difficulties and the House knows, the real difficulties are that it is never quite easy to get real proof which would satisfy a law court. One may have suspicions, one may even have some kind of moral feeling that it is wrong, but the rules as they are and the law as it is do not make it particularly easy to deal with it. Nevertheless, we have met with considerable success, and we are constantly pressing every Ministry, every department to be particularly wide awake in this matter and to be in very intimate touch with the O & M Division whose special function is not only greater efficiency but also greater integrity, lack of corruption, etc.

May I add—it is not a subject I am discussing now, because this will come up tomorrow—that this report about the life insurance matter has been sometimes referred to here as an instance of corruption. Well, I have read the report fairly carefully as most Members must have done. I have not found any such charge in it. There may be here and there vague doubts thrown out but anyhow, whatever else there may be, it has not brought out any such charge.

Then, again some honourable Members complained, I think Shri H.N. Mukerjee,⁵ that there is no mention of rehabilitation in it or of the Dandakaranya scheme.⁶ True, there was no mention in it as there have been no mention of many other important matters. Unless there is something new to be said about it, it was not considered necessary to mention it, not that the question of rehabilitation is not important; of course it is important. Obviously it is, anything which involves the future lives of large numbers of people is of great importance. As for the scheme, it is a very vast scheme, as the House knows, and it will take a little time to develop. We are trying to develop it in a small way in a small area first and then in a larger way.

About the food position may I say—well, I cannot say that the food position is to our liking—that it is satisfactory in the limited sense of the word, in the sense that we have built up some stocks. It is a difficult situation, and it can only ultimately be met when we get the results we are aiming at, far greater production. And, I would still submit my own humble opinion that we hope to reach the target of self-sufficiency. I am not prepared to accept—I may be mistaken, of course, but I do want the country to aim at self-sufficiency as the President has said in his Address, not immediately I realize that—and I think it

5. Communist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

6. The Dandakaranya scheme was contemplated for the rehabilitation of persons displaced from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in an area comprising some districts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 282.

is somewhat a pessimistic view to take that this will take a very long time. I have no doubt that looking at it theoretically or practically too, it can be done. Whether we do it or not—we, meaning the people of India, the agriculturists—depends on so many factors apart from nature's vagaries that it is difficult to be definite about it. But I do not think there is any reason for us to be pessimistic about it. I think we can do it, and I think that we will do it.

Another subject that was touched upon was that the public sector is not doing well. I do not quite know what this criticism meant, because it is the public sector that is being built up in a big way. All these steel plants, all these machine-building plants and all that are the big foundations of the public sector, not the odd little bits, being done. It is the burden of that that we have to carry today, and the tremendous amount of imports of machinery, etc., coming are really for the public sector; the private sector comes in quite a relatively small way in regard to that matter.

Now, some honourable Members talked about atomic energy, and some said that we must immediately start atomic power stations. I am afraid that that kind of progress cannot be made. It is not merely a question of money, although money comes in, but it requires a good deal of preparation before we can think of starting atomic power stations. In the President's Address some reference has been made to it. That is true. That does not mean we can start them in the course of the next year. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission⁷ has been speaking about these matters on several occasions and discussing the economics of these because, after all, it is the economic aspect that counts. The factory can be built; that is known. You can build it, but if it is frightfully expensive, nobody is going to build it. We are not going to waste money over atomic power stations if the power that is produced is much more expensive than the power produced through ordinary methods. That is the main thing.

Apart from future progress, that is to say, probably it may become cheaper in the future, even now some factors are established that in areas far away from the coalfields, far away from hydroelectric power, it will be definitely economical to have an atomic energy station to supply power. There are many such areas in India. Of course, the matter has been considered. Naturally, we can only start one at a time, we cannot start several before our first effort. Where we can start it I do not know, nor does anybody else know, but among the places that have been chosen at present are Punjab, western Uttar Pradesh, South India, Rajasthan and Bombay, that is, parts of these areas which may fit in. You cannot just choose any area. It has to fulfil certain needs before you

7. Homi J. Bhabha.

can decide, and then you can calculate the economics of it. Anyhow, this matter is under consideration.

Then, Shri Mukerjee said something about cooperative agriculture, that it is not making progress. I presume he meant by 'cooperative agriculture' cooperative farming. That is so. I am myself of opinion that we should encourage cooperative farming wherever we can. But it is obvious that that can only be done, of course, with the consent of the people concerned, the farmers concerned, and in a process of development. You cannot suddenly go to a place and say that the people must have cooperative farming. The people will not understand, it simply will not fit in. You cannot do it like that. You cannot compel them. Nobody can compel them, not only a government like ours but even an authoritarian government cannot do it and ultimately production will suffer.

What we aim at today is to spread cooperatives in regard to various services, cooperative services, provided that it will later lead to cooperative farming wherever that is considered feasible at first. You cannot do it otherwise. You may and you should have cooperative farming where it is feasible—where, for instance, Government has a new land or where *Gramdan* villages exist, because there you have a fairly clean slate. You may do it and I would like it generally but the most immediate thing that appears to me is service cooperative, not merely credit cooperatives but service cooperatives.

May I repeat here what I have often said previously that cooperatives in my thinking have to be intimately concerned with the people. I mean to say it is not some kind of official imposition, officially run. I do not think a cooperative which has too much of an official element in it is a real cooperative. It must depend upon the people, upon the people's initiative and because of that I think the cooperatives should be relatively small.

Only yesterday or the day before, I saw a criticism from an eminent foreign observer, commenting about some organization and pleading for large cooperatives.⁸ The eminent foreign observer served in the civil service here in those days. Well, from his point of view, what he said may be correct, but then his point of view does not appeal to me, because my point of view is entirely

8. Malcolm Darling, a civil servant who served in Punjab before independence and wrote several books on the Punjab peasantry including *The Punjab Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt* and *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*, was also the Colombo Plan consultant to the Planning Commission at this time. In his report entitled "Report on Certain Aspects of the Cooperative Movement in India" submitted on 16 February 1958, he suggested setting up of large cooperative societies with or without Government participation. See also *post*, p. 175.

based on developing the people, getting their support, cooperation and their self-reliance and all that, and not merely by some official change from above bringing about a temporary result.

The real aim is the growth of our people, their cooperation fitting in with that and their self-reliance. Therefore I do believe more firmly than ever that the cooperatives we have should be relatively small, that is to say, a village cooperative or a cooperative of two villages, where people know each other more or less and can easily function together as a large family. These small cooperatives have to be linked up naturally to form larger entities, 20 to 30 to 40 or 50, and they can form a larger council for other purposes. We should concentrate on these service cooperatives, that is to say, fertilizers, manures, good seeds, marketing and there are so many other things that the cooperatives could do, and always keeping in view that cooperative farming should be aimed at wherever you can get the consent of the people.

Now, I talk about cooperative farming. Why do I do it? Not because I think it is some kind of an ideal, which is obvious. I am not at all sure that cooperative farming of that type will suit every part of the country. I do not know whether it will suit a rice field or a wheat field, certainly a wheat field, I do not know. But the main point is this. Where you have got these very very small holdings, as inevitably in India you must have, there are a great number of people who have an acre or two, and they cannot make much progress with their resources and with the two-acre farms. They have to function in a very small way, and therefore it becomes essential that either you have to have a big farm—you do not want big farms owned by an individual—or a cooperative jointly looking after a bigger area of land when they have some resources.

So, for me there are two reasons to think of joint farming. One is this reason that I have said. The other is that it is a higher form of social organization for the land. It is not merely farming, but a cooperative spirit coming in their various types of activities.

I should like to say a few words about international affairs, but before I do that, there is one matter I should like to mention just to indicate the curious types of problems that we have to face in this country and how nobody can ever go anywhere near complacency in this country. Recently, we have had the problem of the official language for India. This House will discuss it and I am not going to discuss that problem now. I have no doubt in my mind that when the matter comes up before this House—by the committee⁹ which has been appointed by this House, some suitable proposals will be made by

9. The Joint Committee of Parliament on Official Language, appointed under the chairmanship of G.B. Pant in September 1957, submitted its report in February 1959.

agreement—this House will gladly accept them.

But why I am referring to it is this. Partly because of this—partly maybe for other reasons—there are a group of people in South India, in the Madras State especially, who talk about an independent state, separate and cut off from India. This may be a matter with a comic element in it but it is a serious enough matter when even a few individuals talk in that way. It shows how skin-deep is this unity, that people can talk; and see the other reactions of it. One of these is, there is a new party I see from the newspapers—it was started a short while ago—which wanted to have this independent Tamil State, and what is more, it will incorporate Ceylon in that state¹⁰

Now, the response to this kind of talk is amazing. Immediately, we see reference being made to this in the newspapers from Ceylon, angry reference, frightening reference: "Oh, it is all right; the present Government of India, they may not do it, but who knows? And these people have the eyes on us." This created tremendous problems, this kind of wholly irresponsible attitude.

When, some months back, I was in Ceylon, I told them, and I used strong language. This particular development had not taken place then. I said that I find sometimes people in Ceylon have a fear that this great big country, India, may swallow them up. I said that it was totally unreasoned fear and any person, any individual who thought of that in India, who talked about it, was talking nonsense. I gave some reasons for it.¹¹ It is quite absurd that India should do that. It is in the interest of India—it is not a question of our being idealistic—that Ceylon should be an independent, friendly country, our neighbour, with whom we have friendly relations.

How does it profit in any way? Not only we go against our policies but we make ourselves a laughing stock in the world. Why add to us these burdens? This is feudal thinking. It is not the thinking of the modern age, thinking now you can add a little territory and a little zamindari to your bit of *taluka*. It is quite absurd in the modern age to think of adding territories. We do not want one inch of territory from anybody, except of course what is ours should be ours—a place like Goa—and that is a different matter. Apart from that, we do not want an inch of territory. I want to make it perfectly clear; whether it is Ceylon, whether it is Pakistan, we did not want the slightest change in regard to the agreement about Pakistan coming into existence. We do not want to put an end to Pakistan. It would be not only wrong but an egregious folly for

10. The Dravida Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam were then demanding a separate Tamil land. See also *post*, pp. 498-499.

11. For Nehru's speech in Colombo on 19 May 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 715-717.

anyone in India to do so and add to his burden and the country's burden and put an end to all our progress by these new burdens.

Jaipal Singh:¹² I am sorry to have to intervene. But from year to year I have been raising one particular problem, and now the Leader of the House has made it so definite about territorial aggrandizement or whatever language he may care to use. Does it mean that we will no more demand the Chittagong Hill Tracts?¹³

JN: It raises a new point. My answer would be that we cannot make any change to the Chittagong Hill Tracts except by agreement, if it ever comes. At the time when partition took place, it was accepted even by the partition-makers that the Chittagong Hill Tracts did not go, or should not have gone, to Pakistan. They did go and we do accept it as a fact. It was a wrong decision, and we accept it as a fact. If by agreement it can come to us, well and good, not that I want a part of a territory, but because the people, Buddhists chiefly, do not fit in elsewhere.

I will now refer to foreign affairs briefly. In foreign affairs, for a long time past, indeed for hundreds of years, foreign affairs have meant apparently the projection of the European point of view on the world, that is called foreign affairs. Naturally, because Europe was a dominant continent and it controlled the destinies of a great part of the world. It was stronger militarily, economically and politically, and so there was the European thinking, the thought of the world with Europe as a central factor of the world, just as possibly the Englishman in the 19th century would have thought of London as the central factor and the hub of the world. To some extent, that was a fact too.

So, it gave rise to this thinking, this Europe-centred thinking of foreign affairs. Then the United States of America came into the picture. They had come in gradually, of course. Till then, they had an isolated life. Now, by force of circumstances, and by various historical developments, they began to play a tremendous part in the world. We began to think after the end of the War of this century that it is America-centred. The world view becomes America-centred view. Others are nothing, Europe is an area attached to it.

Now, all those viewpoints have some justification in them, I do not deny it. They have their great problems, I do not deny them. Other factors can intervene, apart from them. Of course, the development of the Soviet Union is a very vital

12. Jharkhand Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Ranchi, Bihar .

13. For the allocation of Chittagong Hill Tracts to East Bengal by the Boundary Commission, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp. 3-5.

and important factor, which did not fit in with the Europe-centred view or the America-centred view. Here comes up a new picture of the Moscow-centred world.

Now, apart from all these great developments, other developments have taken place during the last dozen years or so, resulting in the independence of many countries in Asia. Therefore, there has developed a new angle in Asia of looking at these problems. We are even now a good deal impressed and conditioned by the European thinking, because we have ourselves been brought up in that way, or the American thinking or sometimes the Moscow-thinking, whatever it may be. I am not talking of communism. I am talking of political thinking.

So, this development of the independent nations in Asia naturally leads to, what might be called vaguely, the Asian way of looking at the world. I do not say there is one Asian way; Asia is a big continent and there are different ways of looking at it. It is a change from the European-centred view or any other view. Of course, the right view, ultimately I take it, will be neither European, nor American, nor Russian, nor Asian, but a proper world view, which can be developed.

But because of various factors—it is a painful process, the adjustment of the mind—many difficulties have arisen and are arising in other parts of the world, because they cannot quite adjust themselves to this thinking, that there can be a so-called Asian view, see conditions of Asian countries in a way which is somewhat different from their own view. They talk about it and express some resentment at that fact.

Let us take India. It is unaligned, uncommitted. It has not fallen into line with their policy. Their policy or approach takes for granted that the policy must emerge from Europe or America or Moscow, whatever it may be, and that the other countries cannot develop their own viewpoints, which they have to develop, apart from everything else, because of geography. Because geography counts a great deal in these matters. A country develops its world view or its political or international view, not only because of other factors like history, tradition, etc., but because of geography.

Since India has to take a world view from Delhi, naturally it looks first of all to the countries around India, then further afield and so on. India approaches the problems in that way. The view of a country in the North Pole about the world may be different from that of a country near the Equator. So, there is this development, this new angle, this new approach, which might vaguely, broadly, rather incorrectly, be called the Asian approach. Anyhow, it is a movement which is different from the European-centred view or the American-centred view or the Russian-centred view. Not that these views are against

somebody, I am not saying that.

It is not hostile. Because we do not align ourselves with the European-centred or the American-centred view, it does not mean that we are hostile to Europe or America or Moscow. We are thinking on slightly different lines, sometimes in line with them, sometimes not. Anyhow, the viewpoint, the approach and the way in which we look at the world, is somewhat different.

Now, there is one basic fact which I have said previously, and which I repeat now about this European-centred or other-centred view. To us, the attitude that has been taken in regard to China is really a thing which really cannot be logically explained. It is practically—I am not talking ideologically—a fact that a great country like China being bypassed, ignored which, in a sense, seems odd, unrealistic. So also in the case of so many other things that are happening in Asia. These problems are judged, not from the point of view from which Asia might do, regardless of policies and others, but from some other European-centred or American-centred or some other-centred viewpoint.

In other words, a number of new forces have gradually developed since the last War in Asia. They do not fit in with those other viewpoints which have been traditionally held by other countries. We talk about anti-colonialism. We know very well that in many countries in Asia, colonialism has ceased to be a force and countries have become independent in Africa too. Well, we welcome it, and we think this trend will continue. And we realize that sometimes it may take a little more time to bring about that change. It cannot be brought about quite suddenly.

But, nevertheless, the fact remains, as we see it, how some colonial countries stick on, adhere to their colonies, in spite of everything. Of course, the most glaring example of the present day is what is happening in Algeria,¹⁴ and in other places too. Our attitude has always been one of friendship with France, friendship of course with other countries too. But we have admired so many things in France, their high culture, and there are so many other things and we were happy to come to a peaceful agreement and friendly agreement with France in regard to Pondicherry. I am very sorry that *de jure* transfer is still not being done.¹⁵ I do not know what to do about it except to remind them from time to time. I am told whenever I remind them that it will be coming soon. But in spite of our friendly feeling for France, a country with its history, with its struggles for freedom, with its high culture and high intellectuality and all that, it does come as a deep shock—what has happened and what is happening in Algeria.

14. See also *post*, pp. 699-700.

15. See also *post*, p. 628.

Only a few days ago, an incident occurred which I think is likely to be numbered among those relatively few instances of horror which affect the whole population, which is numbered, if I may say from Indian history as something like the Jallianwala Bagh here. Many worse things have happened in India since then, much worse than the Jallianwala Bagh, but nevertheless the Jallianwala Bagh was a thing which very powerfully impressed the whole generation of India and possibly changed the current of history in India. Now, about this bombing the other day by French planes of that village in Tunis—Tunisia near the Algerian border—I think it is called Sakhiat.¹⁶ We are not depending upon partial accounts, because people from other countries have given full accounts, including French journalists, American journalists, British journalists and other Red Cross people, and the facts are pretty well known. The facts are shocking beyond almost belief that such a thing could be done. Apart from the horror of a 100 to 200 or 300 persons being bombed and I think, 20 or 30 being killed and the whole village being wiped off, the fact that this should be done in this way is itself more important than the unhappy deaths. It has a powerful effect, it is bound to have in countries in Asia and Africa. Of course, even in Europe and America it has had very powerful reactions. I do not know what to say except that if this kind of policy is to be persisted in and approved of, then there is only greatest disaster ahead in Africa.

The House knows that certain rather remarkable developments have taken place recently in West Asia, in what is called the Middle Eastern region—the Union of Egypt and Syria and possibly as a consequence of that, rather as a reaction of it, the Federation or Union—I am not quite clear which—between Iraq and Jordan.¹⁷ We heard of the Union between Egypt and Syria and it was obvious that this was a popular union, that is, the people in both those countries were eager for it and celebrated it, when the first news came, in a big way. Well, naturally, if the people of both the countries want this union, we are happy and congratulate them and the representatives of those two countries. Now, this has set in motion some forces which I do not quite know yet where they might lead to. If the people of Iraq and Jordan want union we are happy. But if it is merely a political counterpoise, then one does not quite know what the result of that may be.

There is a third aspect of it of which we do not quite know what might happen. There are ominous sounds coming from Israel. I say “ominous” because there is some danger that as a result of what has happened here, Israel might

16. See also *post*, p. 554.

17. Syria joined Egypt to form the United Arab Republic on 1 February 1958 and Iraq joined Jordan to form the Arab Federal State on 14 February 1958.

precipitate action, which would be bad, because one never knows, when that kind of thing happens, where that might lead to.

I have talked about many things. But the most important problem and subject in the world today is the basic subject of disarmament and cold war, that is, the relationship between the two major military groupings. That is the basic thing. Everything depends upon that. That has become even more an urgent matter since this new phase in the world, the Sputnik era, the Explorer era, all this has come in. Because now a false step or even an accident might give rise to that tremendous disaster from which there may well be no escape afterwards. Therefore, it has become the most urgent and important matter that something has to be done.

The other day, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said that it was something that we had kept the peace, even this peace was a fevered peace.¹⁸ No doubt, it is something better than war. No one can call this very satisfactory peace. It is hardly peace except that killing is not being undertaken on a large scale. Therefore, this question of disarmament and the question of some kind of settlement or approach to a settlement of the various big problems which affect these two great military groupings have become a question of high importance.

This has been discussed in the United Nations repeatedly and the present position there is that talks on disarmament have ended. No progress was made after they had raised high hopes last year. Another Disarmament Commission of 25 was formed. Nobody quite knows whether it can function satisfactorily or not because no Disarmament Commission can function with any hope of results unless the two Super Powers are in it obviously. Basically it is for the United States of America and the Soviet Union to agree. I do not mean to say that others can be left out. Not at all. Unless these two agree, there is no disarmament. Therefore, this Commission of 25 can only function satisfactorily if both of them accept it and function there. If either party goes out, it is a one-sided affair.¹⁹

As you know, there has been talk of a high-level, summit meeting and the like. Many letters have been exchanged between the authorities in the Soviet Union, the United States of America and other countries.²⁰ We would welcome a high-level or summit meeting. Not to have it or to refuse to have it would be

18. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan said this in a broadcast on 4 January 1958.

19. The Soviet Union refused to serve on the 25-member Disarmament Commission unless it was extended to 32 to include more socialist and 'uncommitted' countries. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 595.

20. See *post*, p. 739 and p. 742.

harmful. But it is obvious, at the same time, that one does not meet with a blank mind. There has to be some kind of mental or other preparation for it. It has been suggested that a Foreign Ministers' meeting should take place. Now, we are not opposed to it. But we feel that a Foreign Ministers' meeting, constituted as things are today, might not lead us forward, but might even lead to more rigid positions being taken and thus make it more difficult for the other high-level meeting. Therefore, some kind of thinking has to be done. It is being done, I believe, everywhere, perhaps on an informal level, private level, so as to prepare the ground for a high-level meeting which ultimately, I think, has to be held. A high-level meeting has also big psychological reactions in the world, good reactions, unless, of course, they quarrel—that would have bad reactions—which a Foreign Ministers' meeting can never have. And what is wanted in the world today are these psychological changes, this gradual relaxation of tension, freedom from fear, which can be brought about if this matter is dealt with from a high level, but, as I said, that has to be preceded by some quiet informal talk, meeting, etc.

I believe it is true to say that everywhere today, whether it is in Europe or in the United States of America or in the Soviet Union or indeed in many parts of India, minds are in a state of ferment; they have come out of their old grooves and they feel that something has got to be done, that it is not good enough repeating the old slogans. And you see instances of this.

When the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom came here, he talked about a pact of non-aggression. What exactly he meant by it he has not clarified, but even some talk about it shows that people are coming out of the old ways of thinking.

Then you know there is a proposal, originally from Poland, for an area in Central Europe comprising several countries being made atom-free, that is, no atomic bases, no atomic weapons there, etc. It does not take one very far, from a military point of view, it does not make very much difference if Poland and Czechoslovakia, or East Germany and West Germany, and maybe one or two other countries, are made free of atomic weapons, but even such a step would create a new atmosphere and lead to other steps.

Then there is an American who delivered a series of lectures the other day in England, Mr Kennan,²¹ a man of considerable experience in his own line, who advocated an area of disengagement; that is more or less the same, but he went further than the Polish proposal. He wanted all armies to be withdrawn—not only atomic weapons but all armies. Again, that by itself will not solve the

21. George F. Kennan: Professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University. 1956-74.

problems of the world, but this indicates the way people are thinking more and more, people who thought otherwise previously.

All these are hopeful signs, and so far as we are concerned, we naturally would like to help in every possible way in easing the path to some kind of a settlement or some kind of a conference. We do not want to push ourselves anywhere, in a conference or elsewhere; we made it perfectly clear that we do not want to go to a conference unless other parties concerned want us to go. If we can help, we will help. So that, while on the one hand the dangers have become much greater in the world, on the other hand there is a much keener awareness in the world of these dangers and a keener desire to meet them some way, and a coming out of the old ruts and grooves of thinking, which are hopeful signs. What will happen in future I do not know. We can go on working to the best of our ability.

We work in the international sphere, but everyone knows that we can only function with any kind of effect there if we have the powerful backing, and a backing supported by understanding of the Indian people. Of course, these subjects are not party questions in India. Maybe, some people differ here and there, but broadly speaking, they are not party questions.

Also much will depend upon how we function in India itself. If in India we become a party to conflicts, internal conflicts, internal disintegration, then, obviously, our voice does not count for much abroad.

People have talked about, in connection with our Five Year Plan and all that, the financial element. Obviously, it is a very important element which cannot be ignored. But in the final analysis, it is not the money that is counted, that is so important, but the element of human energy and human faith that we can put in the country's work. That ultimately is a thing that can move mountains, and that can get us over present difficulties. It was in the measure that we brought that human faith and human energy in our previous difficulties, whether it was in the struggle for freedom or later, that we succeeded. I cannot measure, nor can anybody measure, nor can any statistical apparatus measure human faith, but we can feel it, and we can help it on, and we are ourselves influenced by it. I firmly believe that our country has that human energy and human faith which will help us to overcome all the obstacles that face us.

8. All Must Contribute to the Progress of the Country¹

Sisters, brothers, young men and women and children,

....My mind goes back to the picture that Jamshedpur presented fifty years ago. It was a barren place and it is amazing that Jamsetji Tata² could think so many years ago of not only putting up a steel plant but also of building a whole new city, a beautiful city, in which people could live and work and earn their living, and at the same time lay the foundations of India's progress.

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The leaders of the freedom movement were no doubt aware of the need to make progress. However, they were mainly occupied with politics and the struggle to win freedom for India. It was at a time like this, when India was poor, downtrodden and crushed after 1857 that Jamsetji Tata showed great farsightedness in grasping the fact that there could be no economic progress without laying proper foundations for it. He knew that steel was absolutely fundamental to progress. As you know, innumerable textile mills had come up all over the country, in Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and other places, by this time. But textile mills alone do not lay the foundation for progress, nor can they bring about an industrial revolution of the kind that transformed the West. So, it was Jamsetji Tata who thought of a steel plant for the first time in India. It was a gigantic task which required a huge investment. There were no trained, skilled personnel available in India at that time. People had to be trained, and this was a difficult task. But he showed farsightedness and gradually advanced towards his goal. Finally, this plant was started, exactly fifty years ago from today.

Today, when we see this huge factory standing before us and all the new industries coming up all over the country, we tend to forget how difficult it must have been to build it when Jamshedpur was a vast jungle. The man who thought of producing wealth for the country and ushering in an industrial revolution in India in order to progress as the West had done was Jamsetji Tata.

1. Extracts from a speech at a public meeting, Jamshedpur, 1 March 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata (1839-1904); leading industrialist from Bombay who founded the Tata group of companies; established several mills, including Empress, Swadeshi and Advance mills; also founded Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, Tata Iron and Steel Works and Jamshedpur city and Tata Hydro-Electric Project; built Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay.

I want you to remember this because he was one of the greatest Indians of our times. Political leaders are highly praised. But politics alone cannot lead to progress. There has to be an all-round development for a nation to progress.

There should be at least three kinds of revolutions in a country before there is genuine progress. One is the political revolution, which was accomplished with the coming of independence. The other two revolutions are economic and social revolutions. Only when these three revolutions take place can a society progress. The moment our struggle for freedom, the political revolution in India, came to an end, we were faced with the task of initiating a socio-economic revolution. Centuries of bondage and poverty had made the condition of the Indian people pitiable. So, an economic revolution was absolutely essential. India is a poor country and freedom is meaningless when a country remains poor. Freedom gave us the means of ushering in an economic revolution. Then, again, a social revolution was necessary in order to rid our society of the outdated customs and traditions and to break down the barriers which had kept us in separate compartments in the past. There could be no progress without revolutionary changes in our socio-economic set-up.

We had thought of these problems even earlier but freedom gave us the opportunity to deal with them but it was a task more arduous than the struggle for freedom. Anyhow, we directed our attention to the social and economic problems. The people were extremely poor and we had to somehow improve their standard of living. We did not have the wealth to distribute. What is wealth? You are mistaken if you think gold and silver constitute wealth. They are merely symbols of wealth. Real wealth consists of essential consumer goods that everyone needs. Money is a tool of trade. When we buy cloth in the market the real wealth is the cloth and not the money that we pay for it. The country which produces a great quantity of consumer goods is affluent. The United States is an extremely wealthy country today because vast quantities of consumer goods are produced in the factories and from the land there. In India too we produce some wealth from land and in factories and cottage industries. But it is too little as our population is very large. So, the immediate necessity is to produce more, especially the essential goods.

The most essential commodity obviously is food. Everyone in the country must get enough to eat. The other essential requirements are clothes, houses and education. Another thing needed is health care. There are other things too but these are the basic necessities. All these things will be available to everyone only when we begin to make them available in sufficient quantity in the country. The only course open to us is to produce more goods through hard work. The United States and England and other countries of the West are affluent because they produce vast quantities of consumer goods from their land and in their

During the three months from January to March 1958, covered in this volume, the thoughts uppermost in Nehru's mind were world peace and disarmament. In his talks with the Prime Ministers of several countries...Nehru emphasized the need for promoting peace and resuming dialogue on the issues of cold war and disarmament....

An important test of Nehru's leadership came in the form of the Mundhra scandal. This led to the resignation of Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari and institution of an inquiry into the conduct of several high officials. This episode also raised questions about the correctness of the way the inquiry was conducted and about the role of the Attorney General....

The difficult economic situation owing to the import of foodgrains to meet the food deficit combined with the import of capital goods led to a shortage of foreign exchange, which necessitated paring the Second Plan to the bone. The documents in this volume reveal Nehru's approach to these issues.... The economic crisis and the food scarcity once again brought into focus the Community Development Programme and multi-purpose cooperatives....

Nehru also expressed concern about the lack of spread of education and wrote to the Chief Ministers, pointing out that both the quantity and quality of education were inadequate. He laid emphasis on giving good pay to teachers, according them respectable status....

The debate on the language question continued during this period....Nehru assured the people of South India that English would continue to be used even after 1965. However, he also emphasized the practicability of Hindi serving as an all-India link language....

When on 8 January 1958 Sheikh Abdullah was released, after about four-and-a-half-year detention, Nehru felt relieved, but the former's utterances....created a very unhappy situation. Nehru considered Abdullah's communal approach to problems 'most unfortunate'....

In the domain of foreign affairs...support for Algerian people's struggle for independence and concern for the situation in Indonesia figure prominently. Nehru also clarified his position on the Hungarian uprising.

Nehru felt deeply the loss of a friend and comrade, Maulana Azad. Nehru's letters and notes on the subject bring out his touching and extremely sensitive handling of the Maulana's personal affairs....

From Reviews of Earlier Volumes

Documents never before published and included in this volume (36) throw light on the nuances, subtleties, crudities and manipulations that suffused the situation. Particularly important and fascinating is the complete record of Nehru's marathon talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, in India, together with his notes on his equally prolonged talks with President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in Washington.

Indian Express

The 847 pages of Volume 39 (Second Series) of Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru can actually be read as the story of the unfolding of this long and troublesome journey towards progress under Nehru's stewardship during the period, August-October 1957....Here is an extremely important volume which gives us a good sense of the issues and problems India faced in the 1950s. Much more importantly it also tells us about the problems we face today.

The Book Review

Even a cursory glance at the contents pages of this volume (40) prompts one to ask which other Prime Minister in India or abroad had the same range of interests as Jawaharlal Nehru.... The series is a boon to students of the times and reveals the man who strode through them like a colossus.

Frontline

ISBN 0-19-807066-7



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factories and export these commodities to other countries to earn money from them.

So, we are faced with the problem of increasing agricultural and industrial production. You will turn around and say that India is after all a predominantly agricultural country and that eighty per cent of our population is dependent on land. That is no doubt true and our farmers work very hard. But the strange thing is that the average yield per acre of land in India is far below the average yield in the United States or other countries. They produce two or three times more than we do. You can imagine that if we too can double our production, immediately India's wealth will be doubled. The people will be benefited and the national wealth will also increase. It is not difficult to do this. How do other countries manage to do it? They do so by adopting improved techniques of production. Our poor farmers work very hard but their ploughs are outdated, the seeds are not of good quality, very little fertilizers are used and water for irrigation is scarce. We have to make arrangements to remove these shortcomings and increase production of foodgrains and other essential goods, like cotton. Now, this cannot be done by passing laws. Laws can remove the obstacles from the path of the farmers, no doubt. For instance, the zamindari and *jagirdari* systems, which had existed for centuries in Bihar and other parts of India, have been abolished. A society has to change with the changing times.

That is why I said that we need to bring about a social revolution in India. The Hindu society is riddled with casteism, which has kept people in separate compartments for centuries. The caste system has become an anomaly today. It can do only harm in the present times.

So, as I said, the most urgent task before us is to increase production from land and in factories, because that is the only way to progress.³ So, as I was saying, the most urgent question before us is to increase production in the country. So, we set up the Planning Commission to draw up the five-year plans. Unless we utilize the national resources in a planned manner, they will be frittered away. We have made much progress during the first five years. Food production has increased, industries have come up and we have started huge river valley schemes, like the Damodar Valley project, not far from here, the Mahanadi project in Orissa, the Bhakra-Nangal project in Punjab and others in the South and West. They will not only provide water for irrigation but also generate electricity. Power is extremely important. Two basic requirements of modern industry are steel and power. Only with a combination of these two

3. At this point, there was some disturbance in the meeting due to a drizzle. Urging the people to ignore it, Nehru said: "It is just a slight drizzle. Why do you panic? That is not a sign of bravery. Please sit quietly and those who wish to leave may do so quietly."

can a nation progress.

Another important requirement is manpower without which nothing is possible. The capacity to work hard, endurance and cooperation are all extremely important. The First Plan benefited us greatly. But we realized that the pace of progress has to be accelerated because though the production increases, the population also increases side by side. If production fails to keep pace with the growing population, there will be great shortages. Therefore, we must accelerate the pace of progress.

The Second Five Year Plan is more ambitious than the First Plan, which means greater effort and more resources. Our pace of progress will be in direct proportion to the amount of hard work we put in. You must have heard about the problems of financial resources that we are facing in connection with the Second Plan. There is no cause for panic. The alternative before us was either to slow down the pace of progress or to tighten our belts and work harder. We could not tolerate curtailing the Plan because then the country would continue to remain poor. So, we decided not to slow down our pace but to go on with the Plan and carry a heavier load.

We have decided to double the production of steel in the country. The Tata Iron and Steel Works will now produce 20 lakh tons of steel per year as against ten lakhs earlier. As you know, we are setting up three new huge steel plants in the public sector, one each in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur. I think perhaps no other country in the world has ever decided to set up four new steel plants simultaneously. We are expanding the existing plant here and setting up three new plants. But it is a tremendous burden and requires an investment of hundreds of crores of rupees, which is an enormous sum for a poor country like India.

However, we are determined to go ahead with the task, as once the foundations are laid, the national wealth will automatically increase. We have to utilize all our resources and energy for development and for increasing the production two-fold. If we slacken the pace we will be weakened. If there is disunity in the country, it will harm the country and the people and even those who are interested only in personal gains. We cannot look up to other countries for our progress, which is possible only through our own hard work.

Jamshedpur, with its huge steel plant and beautiful city, is a symbol of India's progress. Fifty years ago there was a jungle here and now a huge factory is thriving here, giving employment to thousands of people from all over the country. The steel which is produced here is sent all over India and abroad too.

We could achieve this in fifty years and I often wonder what would be the picture of India, not just of Jamshedpur, in the next fifty years. Great changes have taken place since my childhood. India has become independent, and we

have started laying the foundations of an industrial revolution and of a new India. The children of today will be of my age fifty years hence. What will be the condition of India then? Fifty years is a long time. I think even within the next 20 or 25 years the face of India will be changed and poverty will be eliminated. We shall win the war against poverty. We do not want to wage war against any country. We have friendship with all countries. We do not want to grab others' territory. We merely want to protect our own land.

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I want you to keep in mind how this barren land of Jamshedpur has been transformed within fifty years. We want to transform the whole of India, remove barrenness and poverty and bring in prosperity, not merely by setting up industries but also by improving agriculture, and by constructing buildings, parks and gardens. Above all, we want to raise the standard of living of the masses, ensure equality of opportunity to all, enable adults and children to lead a better life and make friends with the rest of the world.

I want you to keep this larger picture before you when you think of this plant. How can this plant work except through cooperation? In a sense it is true that this plant belongs to the Tata Company. But a gigantic plant of this size becomes the national property. The people who work in it are not mere workers but partners in a great task. This park that has come up here has been developed by the Tatas but it belongs to the people.⁴ Your children, elders and the womenfolk will go there. Similarly, this plant also belongs to you and the nation. But it does not mean that every worker is free to do whatever he likes. That would bring the company to a halt. The plant belongs to you and it can be run successfully only by mutual cooperation and by solving all disputes amicably instead of breaking each other's heads. That would be absurd.

You know about the tremendous progress made by the western countries during the last couple of centuries. They are now among the most affluent and powerful countries of the world. It is more than forty years since the Russian Revolution took place. The Soviet Union had to toil hard, face innumerable problems and bear hardships. If you read Russian history of the last thirty years you will find that it is a long story of hunger, tightening of belts, famines and what not.

There was a revolution in China just about nine years ago. China has made tremendous progress since then. But mere revolutions cannot bring about

4. The park, named as Jubilee Park, was laid out in an area of about 200 acres at a cost of Rs 15 lakhs to commemorate the golden jubilee of Jamshedpur city.

progress. You may say that a revolution paves the way for it. Progress requires hard work and labour. China faces problems similar to ours. Both India and China are big countries with huge populations. Both the countries are poor. We are trying to solve our problems in our own way, and they are trying in their own way. We can learn from each other. I do not know if you are aware that a number of delegations have gone from India to China to learn about their agriculture, cooperatives and industries. Chinese delegations have come to India on similar missions. Our problems are similar, and though China is a communist country and our methods are different, both the countries know it well that we can solve our problems only by hard work and not by shouting slogans.

Take, for instance, the Soviet Union. It has grown into a strong and powerful country only forty years after the Revolution. In India people seem to think that everything can be changed by shouting some slogans and cheering some leaders. However, if you were to look at India after 35 to 40 years or 20 to 25 years, you will find that the country has made considerable progress. Why, even today, ten years after independence, I believe, we have made a lot of progress. We are still far from our goals, I agree, and there is extreme poverty and there are other problems. But you must bear in mind the situation that we found ourselves in when India became independent. The country was partitioned with our consent, and Pakistan came into being. We had hoped that the two countries would live in amity after that. But during the partition, a great storm broke out which shook north India. There were terrible communal riots, barbarous acts were committed, millions of people were killed and large numbers were rendered homeless and they fled to the other side. This cast a tremendous burden on our economy and perhaps no other country in the world has ever been called upon to shoulder such a huge burden soon after gaining freedom.

We had struggled for freedom and challenged the might of British imperialism peacefully. As you know, our great leader Mahatma Gandhi was an apostle of peace and non-violence. He was not prepared to give up his principles no matter what happened.

As I told you, we faced a terrible situation after the partition. Then came the war in Kashmir. We were perturbed because we were getting embroiled in the war despite our intention to keep away from it. But when there is an attack upon our soil, we cannot sit back and watch. It is our duty to defend and protect our motherland.

Another matter that hurts us is the problem of Goa. Goa is a small territory in the west of the country. It is a part of India. Indian languages are spoken there, and Indians live there. When India became free, this little pocket of colonialism continued to be under the Portuguese rule. We have been trying to make a peaceful agreement with them as we did with France with regard to

their colony in Pondicherry. The Portuguese seem to live in the past even now and it is extremely difficult to talk to them. The world is a witness to the fact that the Portuguese have committed terrible atrocities, killed innocent people and hundreds of persons, including women, have been thrown into prisons for wanting their freedom, but we are determined not to resort to military action. The world knows it well that if we want we can wrest Goa from the Portuguese in a day. The Portuguese also know that. But we are determined not to do so because it is against the principles that India has propounded in the world. If we take military action our influence in the world will wane and we will be giving up our principles in the process.⁵

Even a small skirmish today can have far-reaching consequences. Therefore, we have restrained ourselves, though it is painful. Goa is like a thorn in our flesh which constantly irritates. But we have stood firm by our principles and I think it has had an impact upon the world. India is held in respect in the world because of this attitude of ours.

Normally, a nation is respected either because of its armed might, as in the case of the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which have nuclear weapons, or because of their great wealth. Now, India has neither military might nor great wealth. Its armed forces are good but they are quite small in size compared to those of the Big Powers. India is no doubt a poor country. But in spite of our not having either military might or great wealth, India is held in great respect in the world. So, there must be some reason for this. India is respected because we believe in peace and friendship with all nations, even with those whose policies we oppose. We do not wish to go to war with anyone, not even with Pakistan. We want to have friendly relations with Pakistan. That does not mean that we will give up our rights. But we do want friendship with Pakistan and we are convinced that we will succeed in having good relations with it because we are neighbours. We try to do what we feel is right and will not deviate from our path out of fear.

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There is one thing more. In the olden days, as you find in history and mythology, people went to far-off places for trade or for cultural contacts, carrying with them their religious beliefs, ideas and arts. You will find traces of Indian art and culture all over Asia, even in Mongolia, thousands of miles away

5. Goa was finally taken over by India in December 1961 following a military operation that lasted just twenty-six hours.

from here. The people of Mongolia take pride in the fact that fifteen hundred years ago people from India had gone there and propagated Buddhism. With China, Japan, Indonesia, Indo-China, and the countries of Arabia, Iran, etc., India has had relations for centuries. It shows that Indians were in the habit of travelling far and wide two thousand years ago, as they were full of spirit of adventure and daring. They used to cross the seas and mountains, braving great dangers, carrying their religious beliefs, arts, culture and ideas. Similarly, people came to India from other lands and there was a regular flow of ideas, art and religion from both sides.

Then came a time when we began to retreat into our shell; the caste system grew more rigid, creating great barriers, and there was no unity in the country. Indian thought, art and culture began to be affected and soon people thought that overseas travelling destroyed religion. Those who dared to do so were declared outcastes. Gone were the days when our ancestors used to travel thousands of miles in a spirit of daring and courage. Travelling became a taboo. You can see the difference it made to India. It was chiefly responsible for India's downfall and the country was enslaved by foreign invaders. We may criticize the British for their atrocities and draining away the wealth of the country, which is partly true. But the fact remains that the British were strong and capable while we had become worthless. The British came to India, traversing thousands of miles of ocean and braving great dangers. They brought with them their educational system and their arts. They did commit atrocities, but we were largely responsible for what happened. We were weak and disunited and the society was caste-ridden. We had no idea of India being once a united country. So we fell.

We must learn from history to avoid this pitfall in the future. I want you to remember that the moment a nation becomes disunited or complacent its freedom slips away. Freedom requires constant vigilance. It has to be defended not only by the armed forces on the borders but in every village and city, by our broad outlook, unity and hard work. If we are weak and disunited, anybody can come in and conquer us.

We fight in the name of religion, caste, language and province. It is true that you live in Jamshedpur in Bihar.⁶ But who in the world is bothered about that? Most people would not even have heard of Bihar. When you go abroad, you go as a citizen of India. This is what your passport will show. You will be respected because you are a citizen of the Republic of India, and not because

6. After the bifurcation of Bihar on 15 November 2000, Jamshedpur became a part of the newly created state of Jharkhand.

you belong to Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay or some other State. These are merely administrative units. Nor will you be respected because you happen to be a Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Rajput, Bhumi-har or Kayastha. Bihar is dominated by the Rajputs, particularly by the Bhumi-hars. Kayasthas are sometimes heard of. I do not know how many other castes are there. I am rather ignorant about these matters and get confused. It is enough for me that I am a citizen of India. I am proud of this fact. I need no other office or position.

So, it is our duty to guard and protect this precious freedom which we have got after many, many years. We have to defend it in every possible way, for there can be no progress without freedom. Protecting our freedom implies that we have to get rid of our weaknesses, the barriers which keep us disunited, the barriers of caste and language. All the Indian languages are national languages. Languages should not act as barriers. On the contrary, they should unite people. Religion is also a cementing force. It uplifts a person, teaches him to have friendship with others and love them and not to fight with his neighbours. All the religions in India, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism and others, belong to all of us. Muslims have been living in India for nearly 1300 years. It is wrong to think of Christianity as an alien religion. It is true that Christianity spread under the political cloak of British imperialism, which was not proper. But do you know that Christianity came to India nearly 1900 years ago, when it had not even reached Europe? Christianity first came to South India 1900 years ago and has flourished there since. How can it be considered alien? Christians are our friends and colleagues and they participated in the freedom struggle.

So, all these religions belong to India. Everyone should be free to follow his religion and should live in amity with others. The obligations of nationalism are same for all citizens and therefore people of all religions must work together for the nation in the political and economic spheres. Unity is most important. Secondly, we must learn from our history and culture the high ideals and principles. We must not give up our old ideals. We must cherish them. But, at the same time, we must get rid of some of our old customs and habits which are harmful and impose a great burden on society. As I said earlier, something which is relevant in one age can become irrelevant in another age. If a society chooses to remain static, there can be no progress.

What is a society? Take a child, for instance. A child outgrows its clothes with the passage of time. If you insist on the child wearing clothes which are too small for him, it will interfere with the child's growth. He will have to tear them in order to grow. Similarly, a society is clothed in certain traditions and customs which have to change as the society grows and changes. Otherwise,

its growth will stop and there will be problems. It should firmly discard rigid customs and start a revolution in order to grow. If there is no change, a society becomes stagnant.

We are living in the age of nuclear weapons and in the space age. People are going out into the space to explore other worlds, planets and stars. You may hear within one year that man has landed on the moon. So, we are on the threshold of a new age, a strange and complex age, quite different from the age of our grandfathers. Electricity and industrialization have transformed the world. Just imagine, 2500 years ago, in the times of Gautama Buddha and Ashoka, travelling was done only on foot or on horseback. Horse-drawn carriage was the fastest mode of travel in those times. A thousand years ago, in the time of Akbar too, the situation was the same. There was no faster mode of travel available. Though the world has changed a great deal in some respects in two thousand years, but not in any fundamental manner as far as our lifestyle was concerned.

In the last 100 years or so, the means of transport and communication have undergone a revolutionary change. You have trains, steamships, aeroplanes. You can send messages through telegraph or wireless; there is the radar; and the radio gives you news. The condition existing for thousands of years is suddenly transformed. We are living in a new world of speedy travel and communication. It is absurd to cling on to old customs and habits. Atomic energy is going to bring about even more far-reaching changes in the future. It is a thousand times more powerful than electricity. We cannot imagine how the world will change in the next 20 to 25 years. It will bear no resemblance to the world we see around us today. In these circumstances, we must prepare ourselves physically and mentally to cope with the new situation, and change our social organization and ways of doing work in order to make ourselves strong. We have to improve the standard of living of the masses, for a poor nation can achieve nothing.

As I explained to you, the five-year plans are meant for this. We can achieve our goals only if we refrain from frittering away our energy in futile internal dissensions, squabbles and disputes. Strikes and lockouts are totally irrelevant today. We must evolve new methods of solving disputes.

Secondly, we must also change our mental outlook and prepare ourselves for the new world. You will find that, in a few years, there will be thousands of young engineers in India. Engineers and mechanics are the symbols of a new age. Lawyers and barristers represent a bygone age. Above all, we must realize that we can play a role in this new world only if the masses progress, become better off, enjoy the basic necessities of life, and maintain unity and cooperation.

Cities like Jamshedpur are springing up all over the country, new industrial

townships are coming up which you can visit. Many of you working here today may find jobs in Rourkela and Bhilai someday. Apart from the huge steel plants, other industrial townships like Chittaranjan and Sindri have come up, which are symbols of the new age. Jamshedpur founded by Jamsetji Tata was the precursor of all these townships. You must take pride in your place of work. You are not mere workers but partners in this great task of India's progress. You must not do anything which may obstruct that progress, as it would be harmful to everyone. The world is watching intently how we fare. India has made a strong bid to become an industrialized nation under the Second Five Year Plan and the world is keen to see how we fare. We completed our First Plan which has earned us the respect of the world. It has increased our self-confidence as it has been proved that when we make up our minds to do something, we do it well.

Therefore, it is up to us to achieve the targets fixed under the Second Five-Year Plan despite the financial stringency and other difficulties. If we are able to achieve them, it will bolster up our self-confidence and our stock will rise in the eyes of the world. It is a great testing time and a tremendous challenge to us. I am the Prime Minister of India because your love and respect have put me in this position. I shall try to do as best as I can so long as I remain in office. But any man, even a thousand times abler than I, cannot carry India's burden single-handedly. It is a tremendous burden which no human being in the world can carry single-handedly. In fact, there is no alternative to the entire nation sharing the responsibility.

We often say *Jai Hind* or *Bharat Mata ki jai*. I ask people sometimes who *Bharat Mata* is or what India is. *Bharat Mata* means many things evolved through thousands of years of history, culture, thoughts and ideas and consists of mountains, rivers, cities, fields and factories. But ultimately *Bharat Mata* is the people of India. All of us are little parts of *Bharat Mata*. So, when we say *Bharat Mata ki jai*, we are wishing victory to ourselves. It is not some woman sitting in some cave. All of us are parts of India participating in the great task before us. We are partners in the five-year plans and in the factories where we work.

So, we have to fulfil the targets that we have set for ourselves. If mistakes are committed, we can rectify them. But at the moment we must show to the world that we can redeem our pledge and complete the work we undertake.

I would like to comment on one thing more. I mentioned agriculture. We are setting up huge industries in India. But a great revolution is taking place in the rural areas through the community development projects and the national extension schemes. We want to improve the lot of 30 crores of India's farmers because without it we cannot go very far in cities. India is still predominantly

an agricultural country. We must work with determination wherever we are, in the fields and factories, in shops, universities or schools. But everyone can help in one way. All development work means enormous investment. We can invest only as much as we save. For instance, if a nation's income is a thousand crore of rupees in a year and the entire amount is spent away, there will be no surplus money for development. If the expenditure exceeds income, we will go bankrupt. A nation progresses only when there are savings which can be invested. If the income is a thousand crore rupees and the expenditure comes to 900 crore rupees, then one hundred crore rupees will be left there for investment in development work. That in turn will generate new income. This is how a nation progresses.

Therefore, it has become extremely important for us to save money. We need many things, so it is essential to save money so that there can be progress. Now, we cannot leave it to the people to do as they like. So, their income is taxed and the money is used for development. Or public loans are taken for new projects. The postal savings certificates are another form of loans. You get interest on your capital which is used for new tasks of development. So, you can realize that every individual should save a little and help the nation. Your capital remains intact and earns interest. It is not charity as it benefits you too. The country also benefits because capital is available for new development projects. Therefore, I hope that all of you will contribute according to your capacity in postal savings certificates and monthly savings schemes on behalf of yourselves and your children. What can be easier than this? In this way, every citizen in the country becomes a participant, a partner, in the five-year plans. Please bear this in mind.

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NATIONAL PROGRESS

I. ECONOMY

(i) The Budget, 1958-1959

1. The Budget Statement¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,² according to custom, the Budget statement for the coming year has to be presented today. By an unexpected and unhappy chain of circumstances, the Finance Minister, who would normally have made the statement this afternoon, is no longer with us.³ This heavy duty has fallen upon me almost at the last moment.

The times are not propitious in many ways and within the last few days all of us here and the entire nation have suffered a grievous loss by the passing away of a leader⁴ of our people who had been a tower of strength to all of us, both in the days when we were in the wilderness and when a measure of fulfilment came with its new problems and burdens. So, I stand before this House today with a sense of desolation and a feeling of unfitness for the task that fate and circumstance have thrust upon me. I seek the indulgence of this House.

Last year, my distinguished predecessor in this office presented a Budget statement which, in some respects, was unusual and which involved substantial additions to taxation. Some novel taxes were introduced⁵ and an attempt was made to bring about gradually a reorientation of the tax structure of the country. I believed then, and I believe now, that this was the right direction for us to travel and that we should continue to pursue this path. With experience we may no doubt make changes here and there and advance further in that direction but I think that the major steps that we had taken last year have to continue.

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 28 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XII, cols. 3007-3033.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Congress Member from Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh; Speaker of the Lok Sabha, 1956-62.
3. T.T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister since 1 September 1956, had resigned on 12 February 1958 over the issue of investments by the LIC in certain companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra, leading to a major scandal. Consequently, Nehru took charge of the Finance Ministry.
4. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Union Minister for Education, died on 22 February 1958.
5. The reference is to the Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax.

The times we live in and the problems that our country has to face do not permit a static or complacent approach or any avoidance of the burdens which inevitably accompany an attempt to advance with some speed. Our objective of striving peacefully and cooperatively towards the realization of a socialist pattern of society also prevents us from thinking or acting along the old grooves, or seeking some present respite by slowing down or halting development. While we should always be prepared to reconsider the methods we adopt, should this become necessary, we have to strive with all our strength for our planned development by conserving all our resources, increasing production and trying to ensure progressively a more equitable distribution, and thus to raise the standards of the great mass of our people.

In the circumstances that we face today, I can only present before this House what might be called a pedestrian Budget statement, which is in the main a continuance of things as they are, with relatively minor changes, or such changes as naturally flow from what we did last year. This statement relates to the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for 1958-59.

Following the usual practice, I propose to review briefly the economic conditions in the country during the current year, i.e., 1957-58 against the background of which the Budget has to be considered. An economic survey, covering the major developments in the economy during 1957-58 and explaining the impact of the various measures adopted, is being circulated to honourable Members along with the Budget papers. I propose, therefore, to review only briefly the main trends in the economy.

There has been some improvement in the economic situation in recent months. Prices have tended to come down and the decline in foreign exchange reserves has slowed down markedly. The money market is easier and expansion of money supply and bank credit has been brought under control. The measures adopted to check inflationary pressures and correct the strain on the balance of payments are proving effective.

Wholesale prices were comparatively stable in the early months of the year, but there was a sharp rise between May and August when the index went up from 107 to 112. After August, prices have tended to fall. In recent weeks, the index has been around 105, which is slightly lower than the level about a year ago. The index for cereals which had gone up from 97 in December 1956 to 106 in March 1957 was again at 98 in December 1957. The improvement has been due to the various measures taken to hold the price level, including controls at particular points and restraints on bank credit; it is also a reflection of the improved supplies position. The latter is, however, due to large imports which the country can hardly afford.

Agricultural production in 1956-57 recorded a rise of some 6 per cent over the previous year's level, the improvement being shared by both foodgrains and other crops. The output of foodgrains in 1956-57 was 3.4 million tons more than in 1955-56. This year, however, there have been droughts over considerable areas in the country, and floods and the supply position is difficult.

Industrial production has continued to expand, but the rate of expansion this year has been much more modest than in the last few years. There have, nevertheless, been significant increases in certain lines, both in the capital goods as well as in the consumer goods categories, and further additions to production capacity are being made.

In the stock market, there was a declining trend in both prices and turnover. The prolonged period of boom which started in 1953 ended in 1956. The decline in equity prices, as measured by the Reserve Bank's index of variable dividend industrial securities, was 16 per cent in 1957, and 25 per cent as compared to August 1956.

The gilt-edged market was weak in the early part of the year. There has, however, been a revival in recent months in the demand for investment, especially in short-dated securities. Since September last, the stringency in the money market has been less acute, and investments of scheduled banks in Government securities increased by Rs 67 crores between September and December. State loans have also improved slightly and there has been sustained buying in some of them. The net decline in the prices of Government securities in 1957 has been 0.7 per cent.

A noticeable feature in the monetary situation in 1957 has been the smaller expansion in money supply and in bank credit in 1957 as compared to the previous year. Money supply with the public increased by Rs 97 crores in 1957 as compared to Rs 132 crores in 1956 and Rs 215 crores in 1955. The expansion of bank credit was Rs 80 crores, i.e., less than half the expansion in the previous year. The time deposits with the banks increased by Rs 201 crores during the year. This has eased the strain on the banks' resources.

Honourable Members are aware of the continuous strain on our balance of payments since the beginning of the Second Plan. The Reserve Bank's foreign assets which, at the end of 1956, stood at Rs 530 crores dropped to Rs 453 crores at the end of June 1957 despite the drawal of Rs 95 crores from the International Monetary Fund during that period. Between July and December 1957, the foreign assets declined by a further Rs 155 crores to Rs 298 crores. As a result of the remedial steps taken by Government, the rate of net withdrawal has perceptibly fallen in recent months. The monthly average rate of withdrawal came down from Rs 36 crores in the second quarter of 1957 to Rs 18 crores in the last quarter of that year. In recent weeks, it has been below Rs 3 crores

a week. Indeed, it has a tendency to go under Rs 2 crores now.

The House will recall that the last year of the First Plan closed with a balance of payments surplus on current account of Rs 17 crores, including credits totalling to Rs 42 crores on account of foreign assistance. During 1956-57, the position was reversed and a current account deficit of about Rs 292 crores emerged, after taking credit of Rs 40 crores of foreign assistance. The payments deficit during each of the quarters of that year was Rs 44.5 crores, Rs 81.4 crores, Rs 84.8 crores and Rs 81.8 crores respectively in the four quarters. For the quarter ending June 1957, the deficit was Rs 149.7 crores and it was also about the same—Rs 148 crores—for the quarter July-September. These large deficits in the balance of payments have been due to a substantial increase in imports and a slight decline in exports, and the bulk of the increase in imports has been in respect of capital goods and industrial raw materials required for development.

The improvement in the balance of payments, to which I referred earlier, thus relates to the period after September. Satisfactory as this latest trend is, it will be necessary to continue and accelerate the effort we are making both in the matter of keeping down imports and of increasing exports, in order to bring the balance of payments position to a satisfactory state. The problem is no longer one of reducing payments in terms of a particular currency or group of currencies, but of securing an all-round improvement.

The House is aware of the steps that have been taken to meet the difficult balance of payments position. Drastic cuts have been made in the imports of consumer goods, and strict vigilance is being exercised in respect of the licensing of imports, including imports of capital goods. Efforts are being made simultaneously to secure external assistance and deferred payment terms for projects in both the public and private sectors having high priority and likely to save foreign exchange.

In the current year the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development assisted in financing the country's development projects by sanctioning loans of Rs 43 crores for railway development, Rs 15 crores for the expansion of the Tata Iron and Steel Works and Rs 5 crores for the construction of the Trombay Thermal Station in Bombay. Negotiations are under way for obtaining loans from the Bank for the development of ports, the Koyna Hydroelectric Project and the Damodar Valley Corporation. In the last two or three months there have been various offers of assistance from friendly foreign countries for the economic development of this country. Last month the Government of the United States offered a loan of approximately \$225 million (about Rs 107 crores) from out of the currently available resources of the United States Export Import Bank and the President's Development Loan

Fund. An official mission from this country is now negotiating details of the utilization of this offer. The United States Government is also considering, as a matter of high priority, further measures to assist us in getting over the present shortage of foodgrains. The measure of assistance promised by the United States is expected to help us significantly in financing our imports of essential capital goods over the next fifteen months.

The question of obtaining a postponement of certain payments, which will fall due in the next three years or so, in respect of the Rourkela Steel Plant has been under discussion with the West German Government. This has been agreed to by that Government and an agreement for deferring payment of 660 million Deutsche Marks (Rs 75 crores roundly) was signed on the 26th of this month.⁶

On the 4th February 1958 an agreement was signed with Japan under which Japan would make available to India a sum of 18 billion yen (roughly Rs 24 crores) through the Export Import Bank of Japan to enable Government or parties recommended by Government to make purchases from Japan.⁷ This line of credit will be used for the purchase of Japanese goods, including mostly industrial plants, machinery and equipment. The loans will be repaid within a period of ten years and the rate of interest will be decided on the basis of rate charged by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Government of the USSR also offered us a credit of 500 million roubles (about Rs 60 crores) to be used in the form of technical assistance and equipment. This will be used for the setting up of a heavy machine building plant, a plant for the manufacture of coal mining machinery, an optical glass factory and a thermal power station and for the development of the Korba coalfields. This credit, like the one given by them for the Bhilai Steel Plant, carries interest at the rate of 2.5 per cent per annum and is repayable in 12 equal annual instalments.

The United Kingdom Government have also offered to assist us by paying in advance, on the 1st April 1958, three annual instalments of £4 million each due from them under the arrangements made in 1955 for the transfer of sterling pensions.

We have recently signed an agreement with the Government of France for economic and technical cooperation between the two countries.⁸ Under it the

6. The Deferred Payments Agreement was signed at Bonn in West Germany.

7. The agreement between India and Japan was signed in Tokyo.

8. The Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement between India and France was signed in New Delhi on 23 January 1958.

French Government will facilitate the financing of the manufacture and supply of capital goods, for which orders are placed by Indian purchasers with French suppliers in the twelve months following the date of signing of the agreement, up to a total amount of 25 billion francs (about Rs 28 crores). The terms of each contract would be settled separately with the approval of both the Governments.

The total economic assistance made available to this country by friendly foreign countries up to the end of March 1957 amounted to Rs 463 crores, out of which Rs 219 crores had been utilized by that date, that is, the end of March, 1957. The balance of about Rs 244 crores has mostly been committed for the supply of equipment and commodities. During 1957-58, Canada has authorized 21 million dollars as assistance to this country under the Colombo Plan. In addition, Canada has made a special grant of 7 million dollars for the purchase of wheat. She has also agreed to supply an additional quantity of 400,000 tons of wheat on reasonable terms of credit to meet the food shortage. The Ford Foundation has continued its assistance by a further allocation of 6.2 million dollars.

Under the various programmes of assistance already in operation or in sight, the total foreign assistance to this country in the coming year is estimated at Rs 325 crores for which credit has been taken in the Budget. This assistance would materially help in the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan and I am sure the House would join me in expressing our appreciation to our friends who have come to our assistance.

India, on her part, has continued to provide economic and technical assistance to neighbouring countries particularly under the Colombo Plan. In Nepal, where we have undertaken to provide aid up to Rs 10 crores, the expenditure in the coming year has been estimated to be Rs 2.2 crores. We also promised to give a loan of Rs 20 crores to Burma, of which Rs 15 crores will be paid this year and the balance next year.

The Budget for the current year, as finally approved by Parliament, placed the revenue at Rs 708.03 crores and expenditure at Rs 672.29 crores, leaving a surplus on revenue account of Rs 35.74 crores. On present estimates, revenue is now likely to amount to Rs 724.63 crores and expenditure to Rs 719.58 crores resulting in a small surplus of Rs 5.05 crores. The drop of Rs 30.69 crores in the surplus is largely the result of the additional transfer of Rs 34.5 crores to the States as a result of the Finance Commission's recommendations which have been accepted by Government.⁹

9. The Second Finance Commission, in its report published on 14 November 1957, had recommended additional transfer of money from the Central revenues to the States.

I shall first briefly mention the important variations in the revenue estimate. The revenue from customs is now expected to be Rs 183 crores against the Budget estimate of Rs 167.6 crores. Excluding the additional duties levied on sugar, cloth and tobacco, which accrue to the states, the Union Excise Duties are now expected to yield Rs 252.45 crores against the Budget estimate of Rs 259.57 crores. The decrease of Rs 7.12 crores is mainly due to a fall in the revenue from cloth and motor spirit. This is partly counterbalanced by increased revenue from cement and diesel oils. No change is anticipated in the budgeted figure of Rs 206.40 crores for Corporation Tax and Income Tax, but the share of the States will increase from Rs 65.98 crores to Rs 73.43 crores, as a result of the Finance Commission's award. The revenue from Wealth Tax this year is now put at Rs 9 crores, a drop of Rs 3.5 crores in the original estimate due to the time taken in obtaining necessary statements from assesses. The tax on railway fares is now expected to yield Rs 4.84 crores against the original Budget of Rs 7 crores. The revenue from Posts and Telegraph is likely to drop by Rs 2.72 crores to Rs 1.23 crores, due partly to a fall in traffic and partly to the interim relief to low paid employees granted recently. The dividend from Railways is now estimated at Rs 44.24 crores against the Budget figure of Rs 43.79 crores. Of this sum, Rs 37.91 crores, representing the interest element, is taken in reduction of interest payment on the expenditure side and the balance credited as contribution to revenue. The variations under other heads do not call for any special mention.

The expenditure this year is now estimated at Rs 719.58 crores—Rs 266.05 crores on Defence Services and Rs 453.53 crores under Civil heads.

The revised estimate of the net Defence expenditure is placed at Rs 266.05 crores against the Budget estimate of Rs 252.71 crores. The increase is largely accounted for by an additional provision of Rs 6.86 crores for the Army and Rs 6.80 crores for the Air Force. The increase in the Army estimate is due mainly to the purchase of additional stores, rise in prices, grant of additional dearness allowance and certain other concessions allowed to personnel; and that in the Air Force estimate, it is almost entirely in the purchase of aircraft and equipment, mostly for replacement.

Civil expenditure shows an increase of Rs 33.95 crores over the Budget estimate of Rs 419.58 crores. Payments to states on account of their share of Union Excise Duties and of grants under the substantive provision of Article 275(1) of the Constitution have increased by Rs 39.90 crores as a result of the Finance Commission's award and the levy of certain additional duties in replacement of sales tax. There is an increase of Rs 1 crore on account of additional dearness allowance granted during the course of the year and an

increase of Rs 2.5 crores in interest charges due to the larger expansion of Treasury Bills than anticipated in the Budget. A provision of Rs 3 crores has also been made for write-back to revenue of losses on the Food Trading Account. It will be recalled that a Food Subsidy Fund of Rs 25 crores was intended to be built up from the additional taxation levied this year, which, if unspent, would have been available for the current and future years. But since the revenue surplus this year has been more or less absorbed by the transfer of additional resources to the states under the Finance Commission's award, it has not been possible to meet the entire subsidy from revenue. The amount of this subsidy this year will be Rs 30 crores and next year Rs 20 crores and it is proposed to write this back to revenue over a period of 10 years. The increases I have mentioned amount in all to Rs 46.5 crores roundly but they have been offset by savings under other heads of Rs 12.5 crores. Thus there is a saving of Rs 5 crores under Education; Rs 1 crore under Community Development; Rs 2 crores under Scientific Departments; Rs 1 crore in the grant to states for development of backward classes; and Rs 2 crores in respect of grants to states towards expenditure necessitated by natural calamities. The balance of the savings is spread over a number of heads.

For the next year, on the basis of existing taxation, the revenue is estimated at Rs 763.16 crores and expenditure at Rs 796.01 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs 32.85 crores on revenue account.

The revenue from customs has been placed at Rs 170 crores, the decrease of Rs 13 crores as compared with this year's revised estimates reflecting the effect of the restrictions on imports. Excise duties are expected to yield Rs 260.45 crores, excluding Rs 41.48 crores from additional duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco which accrue in almost their entirety to the states. This is an improvement of Rs 8 crores over the current year's revised estimate. Under Income Tax, the revenue is placed at Rs 217 crores, allowing for a normal expansion in revenue of Rs 10.5 crores over the current year's revised estimate. The Wealth Tax is expected to yield Rs 12.5 crores, the tax on Railway fares Rs 9.22 crores and the Expenditure Tax Rs 3 crores. The revenue from Posts and Telegraph is estimated at Rs 2.34 crores against Rs 1.23 crores this year. The dividend payable by Railways next year is estimated at Rs 49.58 crores, of which Rs 7.04 crores will be taken as contribution to revenue and the balance of Rs 42.54 crores in reduction of interest payments on the expenditure side. The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank next year have been placed at Rs 30 crores, the same as in the current year. A credit of Rs 7.34 crores has also been taken on account of the surplus of the cement account of the State Trading Corporation to be transferred to Government. This amount

will be utilized on the development of national highways. The share of Income Tax payable to states next year will be Rs 76.97 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs 73.43 crores.

Expenditure next year is estimated at Rs 796.01 crores of which Rs 278.14 crores will be on Defence Services and Rs 517.87 crores under the Civil heads.

Estimates for Defence Services show an increase of Rs 12.09 crores over the revised estimate for the current year. The increase is wholly in the Air Force estimates mostly for the purchase of stores for replacement. The Navy estimates show an increase of Rs 1.46 crores but this is offset by a reduction in the provision for the Army.

Civil expenditure next year shows an increase of Rs 64.34 crores over the revised estimate. Of this increase, payments to states of the proceeds of the additional excise duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco account for Rs 27.96 crores. The greater part of the balance is due to larger provision for nation-building, development and social services. A detailed account of individual items is, as usual, given in the explanatory memorandum and only the more important items need be mentioned here.

The provision for expenditure on nation-building and development services under civil administration amounts to Rs 130.09 crores as compared with Rs 109.62 crores during the current year. The provision for education at Rs 29.63 crores is higher by Rs 5.48 crores and includes Rs 11.97 crores for grants to states, Rs 2.51 crores for scholarships and Rs 4.32 crores for grants to the University Grants Commission. For expenditure on medical and public health, the provision has been increased from Rs 10.43 crores this year to Rs 16.03 crores next year and for agriculture and allied services, the provision made next year is Rs 17.64 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs 16.85 crores. The provision for scientific research has also been stepped up by Rs 3.7 crores and that for industries and supplies by Rs 1.62 crores.

Larger provision is also being made for community development and national extension service and for welfare of scheduled tribes and development of backward areas and for employment exchanges, the increase next year over the current year's revised estimate being Rs 3.86 crores.

The estimates also include a provision of Rs 6 crores for grants to states to help them to raise the emoluments of their low-paid employees, the corresponding provision for 1957-58 being Rs 5 crores. The newly constituted Naga Hills and Tuensang District¹⁰ will cost about Rs 3.64 crores next year.

10. The administrative unit known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) was constituted on 1 December 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 389-405.

Gross interest charges will increase by Rs 17.60 crores, of which Rs 15.04 crores will be recovered from the commercial departments and the State Governments. The rest of the increase in civil expenditure is spread over a number of heads.

The current year's Budget provided for a capital outlay of Rs 455 crores, excluding an adjusting item of Rs 95 crores in respect of loan assistance from the USA Government, which is transferred to the Special Development Fund by debit to capital. The revised estimates provide for an outlay of Rs 427 crores, a reduction of Rs 28 crores. Owing to better availability of materials, particularly steel and track materials, following the special arrangements made for the procurement abroad and the extension of the scheme of electrification to certain sections, Railways are expected to spend Rs 14 crores more than estimated. Against this increase under Railways, a saving of Rs 29 crores is expected in the provision of Rs 157 crores for steel projects, Rs 11 crores on food purchases and Rs 2 crores under other heads, leaving a net saving on capital account of Rs 28 crores.

Capital expenditure in the coming year is estimated at Rs 412 crores excluding a formal adjusting debit of Rs 78 crores in respect of loan assistance from the United States Government mentioned earlier. The drop of Rs 15 crores over the revised estimate is due to a reduction of Rs 38 crores in the net outlay on food purchases and the special receipt of Rs 16 crores from the United Kingdom as advance payments on account of sterling pensions which is taken in reduction of expenditure, partly offset by increases under other heads. An increased provision of Rs 31 crores has been made for the steel plants and Rs 10 crores for industrial development. Details of the provision under the various heads are given in the explanatory memorandum.

In addition to the provision for direct capital outlay by the Centre just mentioned, the estimates include Rs 288 crores for loans to State Governments and Rs 71 crores for loans to port trusts, statutory corporations, foreign governments, etc., in the current year against the original provision of Rs 238 crores and Rs 86 crores respectively. The increase in the loans to State Governments is largely due to ways and means advances and payments on account of their share of the net collections from small savings. In recent years the State Governments have been receiving a portion of these collections in their states as loans from the Centre. This share was raised during the current year from about 1/4th of the net collections to 2/3rds. Some arrears were also due to the states in respect of the previous year which have been paid to them. Savings of Rs 15 crores are, however, expected in the provision for other loans despite the fact that the Government of Burma are drawing an additional sum of Rs 5 crores against the loan assistance of Rs 20 crores

promised to them some time back and an increase of Rs 5 crores is also expected in the loans to the Industrial Finance Corporation.¹¹ The provision of Rs 15 crores made in the Budget for loans to the Refinance Corporation is not likely to be required this year.¹² For the next year a total provision of Rs 362 crores has been made for loans, of which Rs 284 crores will be for State Governments and Rs 78 crores for others. Broad details of these loans are given in the explanatory memorandum.

Before passing on to a consideration of the ways and means position, an account may be given of the total provision included in the estimates of the coming year for the execution of the Five Year Plan and the magnitude of the total Plan outlay in the coming year. The Budget now presented to the House includes a total provision of Rs 743 crores for the implementation of the Plan—Rs 122 crores in the revenue Budget and Rs 621 crores in the capital Budget. Out of this provision, Rs 53 crores will be provided from the revenue Budget and Rs 178 crores from the capital Budget for assistance to the states. In addition to this, the Railways will be spending Rs 93 crores from their own resources on the Plan and the states Rs 181 crores. The total Plan outlay in 1958-59, including interest on loans on river valley projects treated as capital outlay and short-term loans, will amount to Rs 1017 crores.

The current year's Budget provided for an overall deficit of Rs 284 crores, of which Rs 275 crores were expected to be covered by the issue of treasury bills and the balance by drawing down the cash balances. The revised estimates place the overall deficit at Rs 380 crores which will be met entirely by the expansion of treasury bills. This deterioration in the ways and means position is due mainly to three factors. First, the anticipated revenue surplus of Rs 36 crores has, as explained earlier, been mostly absorbed by the additional payments to the states as a result of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. Secondly, the net yield from small savings has been below estimate, and a drop of 20 crores is now expected in the budgeted receipt of Rs 80 crores. Thirdly, external assistance, for which a credit of Rs 150 crores was taken in the Budget, is now expected to amount to only Rs 105 crores, the balance being carried over to the coming year. Part of the shortfall will, however, be met by savings in the capital outlay under a number of heads so that the net deterioration in the position is not likely to be more than about Rs 95 crores.

11. The Industrial Finance Corporation was established in 1948 for providing medium and long-term loans to existing industrial concerns and new manufacturing and processing concerns.
12. The Refinance Corporation was established on 5 June 1958 mainly as a channel to disburse the American fund of about Rs 22 crores earmarked for private enterprise.

In the current year, Government floated two new loans—the 3.5 per cent National Plan Bonds 1967 at an issue price of Rs 99.5 and the 4 per cent Loan 1972 at par. Conversion facilities were offered for the 3 per cent Victory Loan 1957 and the 3 per cent Loan 1958 which was due for repayment in the following year. Subscriptions to the new loans amounted to Rs 106 crores, of which Rs 45 crores came by way of conversion. Later in the year, when a demand for investment developed in the market, a re-issue of the 3.25 per cent 1962 loan was made through the Reserve Bank. The entire sum of 30 crores of this re-issue has been absorbed by the market. The outstanding balance of the 3 per cent Victory Loan 1957, which was not converted into the new loans, was repaid in cash. The net market borrowings this year have thus amounted to Rs 68 crores, the sum for which credit was taken in the Budget.

Mention was made earlier of the decline in the receipts from small savings. For some months the net receipts have been much smaller than in the past particularly under postal savings banks. In the first ten months of the current year the net receipts amounted to Rs 37.6 crores against a sum of Rs 44.8 crores in the corresponding period of last year. The deterioration is wholly due to a drop in the receipts from savings banks which are Rs 14 crores less than in the previous year. In recent weeks there has been a slight improvement and it is hoped that collections will increase steadily in the future.

The intensification and development of the small savings movement have been under the constant consideration of Government in consultation with the State Governments who have now a predominant interest in the net proceeds from this source. The House will remember that as part of the programme for attracting larger investments the rate of interest on the postal savings banks was raised by 0.5 per cent and the yield on the 12-Year National Plan Savings Certificates and Treasury Savings Certificates was increased with effect from the 1st June 1957. Since then, the yield on the 15-year annuities has also been raised to the same level as the yield on the 12-Year National Plan Certificates. The increase in the yield has had a good effect on the sale of certificates but the heavy withdrawals from postal savings banks are somewhat disquieting. The introduction of a scheme of recurring monthly deposits which will assist persons with small regular income to accumulate savings for meeting expenditure such as on the marriage and education of children is under consideration and it is hoped to be introduced soon.

The National Savings Organization, in cooperation with State Governments, has been making continuous efforts to improve collections of small savings. Internal agents are being appointed in both Government and non-Government institutions for securing regular investments from their fellow employees through organized saving groups. The recent amendment of the Payment of Wages

Act¹³ permitting voluntary deductions at source for purposes of investments in small savings is likely to assist in the mobilization of savings in industrial establishments. State Governments are undertaking intensive campaigns in the rural areas and special attention is being given to the community project areas and national extension service blocks. The procedure at post offices, through which the bulk of the small savings is collected, is also being simplified wherever possible and a special Small Savings Board, consisting of representatives of the Posts and Telegraph Department, the Accountant-General, the Finance Ministry and the Reserve Bank of India, has been constituted for this purpose.

In the Budget for the coming year credit has been taken for a net receipt of Rs 125 crores from market borrowing and Rs 100 crores from small savings. Market conditions in the last two or three months having been easier and if these continue, as may be reasonably expected, the target of Rs 125 crores is likely to be reached. For small savings, although the net receipts this year have been disappointing, it may be hoped that, with the more intensive development of the movement with the cooperation of the states, the net collections next year will show a substantial improvement. As mentioned earlier, foreign assistance next year is likely to amount to Rs 325 crores, of which Rs 40 crores will be by way of grants and the balance by way of loans.

The overall budgetary position next year may now be summarized. At the existing level of taxation and expenditure there will be a revenue deficit of Rs 33 crores. Capital outlay will amount to Rs 412 crores, loans to State Governments and others to Rs 362 crores, and debt repayments to Rs 28 crores. This total disbursement of Rs 835 crores will be met to the extent of Rs 75 crores from repayments of loans by State Governments and others, Rs 145 crores from market borrowings in India, Rs 100 crores by small savings, Rs 285 crores from foreign loans and Rs 25 crores from miscellaneous receipts under debt and deposit heads, leaving a deficit of Rs 205 crores which will be met by issue of treasury bills.

On the basis of the above estimates, the total amount of outstanding treasury bills at the end of 1958-59 will be a little over Rs 1400 crores, the bulk of which will be held by the Reserve Bank. The expansion of treasury bills has been not merely to meet the internal requirements but also for the replacement of the external assets held by the Reserve Bank, which have been drawn down mostly for development purposes in the last two or three years. The treasury bills represent something more than mere floating short-term debts and will gradually be funded into loans of appropriate maturity.

13. The Payment of Wages (Amendment) Act was enacted on 28 December 1957.

I now turn to the proposals for dealing with the anticipated revenue deficit of Rs 32.85 crores in the coming year.

Less than ten months ago Parliament approved proposals involving very substantial additions to taxation of a magnitude rarely equalled in peace time. These covered not merely the extension of existing taxes but the levy of new taxes such as the tax on wealth and the tax on expenditure. All these measures resulted in a major reorientation of the tax structure of the country. I do not propose to make any major modification in it but to confine myself to making such improvements as are necessary to make the present pattern of taxation an integrated one, and to plug any loopholes in taxation.

I shall first deal with direct taxation. My first proposal is to introduce a tax on gifts which will fill a gap in the scheme of direct taxation and would not only make evasion or avoidance difficult but also spread the tax burden more equitably.

The idea of a Gift Tax is not new. Many honourable Members have stressed both in this House and the other House the need for introducing such a measure at an early date. The transfer of properties through gifts to one's near relations or associates is one of the commonest forms of avoidance of not only the Estate Duty but also of Income Tax, Wealth Tax and even the Expenditure Tax. The only way of effectively checking this practice is to levy a tax on gifts. Such a tax is already being levied in other countries, for example, USA, Canada, Japan and Australia. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also had accepted the Gift Tax as theoretically an attractive proposition.¹⁴

It is proposed to levy a tax on gifts by whomsoever made, the only exceptions being charitable institutions, government companies, corporations established by Central or State Acts and public companies whose affairs are controlled by six persons or more. The tax will be levied on the donor on the value of all gifts made by him during a year but for the purpose of determining the rate of duty, the gifts made during the four years preceding the year will be aggregated. Such aggregation will, of course, be made only in respect of gifts made after the date this tax comes into force. Gifts up to a total value of Rs 10,000 in any one year will be exempt and if the value of gifts made during any year exceeds this sum, only the excess will be subjected to tax. This basic exemption of Rs 10,000 will be reduced to Rs 5,000 if gifts to any one individual donee during a year exceeds Rs 3,000. In addition to this basic exemption, there are other exemptions, important among which are:

14. The Taxation Enquiry Commission, appointed in April 1953 with John Matthai as Chairman, had submitted its report on 29 September 1954.

- (a) gifts to Central and State Governments, local authorities and charitable institutions;
- (b) gifts to female dependants on the occasion of marriage up to Rs 10,000 in each case;
- (c) gifts to one's wife up to a total limit of Rs 1 lakh;
- (d) gifts to dependants of policies of insurance up to Rs 10,000 for each.

The rates of tax will be the same as for the Estate Duty, the only difference being that the first slab of Rs 50,000 will not be exempted from the tax. The rates of tax range from 4 per cent on the first slab to 40 per cent on gifts over Rs 50 lakhs. The administrative set-up and the procedure for assessment, appeal and collection of tax will be the same as for Income Tax, Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax.

The main object of this tax is to plug a loophole in the other tax statutes. Its importance cannot, therefore, be adequately measured in terms of the amount of revenue it brings in directly. We have no reliable data for making an estimate of the yield, and on a rough guess the yield from the Gift Tax has been placed at Rs 3 crores. A bill for the levy of this tax is being introduced separately.¹⁵

My second proposal is to make certain amendments in the Estate Duty Act. The actual collections of Estate Duty have fallen short of even the modest expectations we had at the time of passing that measure. This is partly due to the practice of making large gifts *inter vivos* which will hereafter be checked by the levy of the Gift Tax. It is also partly due to the numerous concessions provided in the Act itself, and I propose to reduce some of them. The important changes are:

- (a) The exemption limit will be reduced from Rs 1,00,000 to Rs 50,000.
- (b) Only one-half of the probate duty or court fees paid on succession certificates will be allowed as a deduction from Estate Duty instead of the full amount as at present.
- (c) Gifts other than those for charitable purposes made within a period of two years or two years prior to death are now subjected to Estate Duty. It is proposed to increase this period to five years, as recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Commission. Gifts on which Gift Tax has been paid will not be taken into account.
- (d) The value of coparcenary interest in Hindu Undivided Families will be taxed at the rate applicable to the value of the estate of the branch of the family concerned.

The effect of these changes will be to increase the revenue by Rs 50 lakhs which will accrue wholly to the States.

15. The Gift Tax Bill received the President's assent on 15 May 1958.

Honourable Members are aware that the Estate Duty Act has separated from the other fiscal statutes in vesting the appellate power with the Central Board of Revenue. Now that we have gained some experience in the working of this Act, it is proposed to bring the appellate procedure in line with the provisions in the Income Tax, Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax Acts. A bill amending the Estate Duty Act is being introduced separately.¹⁶

So far as Income Tax is concerned, no major change in the rate structure is proposed to be made. For the next financial year the basic rates of tax, together with the special surcharges in operation for the current financial year, will continue. The only change which I propose to make is in regard to the excess dividend super-tax payable by Section 23A companies. At present, the excess dividend tax rates for all companies are 10 per cent, 20 per cent and 30 per cent on the slabs of dividends over 6 per cent, 10 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively, of capital. For the financial year 1958-59, I propose to fix the excess dividend tax rates for Section 23A companies only in two slabs, 10 per cent on the slab of dividends over 6 per cent of capital and 20 per cent on the slab over 10 per cent of capital. This change is desirable as under the Act these companies are required to distribute the whole or a large proportion of their profits to the shareholders. It is not possible to estimate the loss of revenue in this proposal, but it is likely to be very small.

I also propose to make a change in the substantive Income Tax law in regard to "Development Rebate". At present, this rebate is allowed uniformly at 25 per cent of the cost of the new machinery or plant and is available for ships as well. While this rate of 25 per cent is adequate for new plants and machinery in general, I think some further concession is necessary for the shipping industry. I propose, therefore, to increase the rate of development rebate for ships to 40 per cent. Simultaneously, the conditions for the grant of development rebate will be tightened as some instances of abuse of this concession have come to notice.

In addition to these, the Finance Bill contains some amendments relating to Income Tax law, some of which are intended to check evasion while some others are only of a clarificatory nature. To mention the more important of them, the definition of 'technician' is proposed to be made stricter to ensure that the exemption is not secured to a person who is not legitimately entitled to it. It is also proposed to confer on the Central Board of Revenue the power to make rules laying down the basis for valuing perquisites in kind, like rent-free

16. The Estate Duty (Amendment) Bill received the President's assent on 19 September 1958.

quarters, free use of conveyances, etc., so that some uniformity is secured in the basis of assessment.

Before leaving the subject of Income Tax, I should like to mention a change in regard to the exemption from tax of payments made to employees for leave passages. Such exemption is now granted only if the payments are made under certain rules framed by Government. This leads to a large volume of administrative work not commensurate with the results and these rules are proposed to be withdrawn. In regard to the Wealth Tax, the only change proposed is to exempt a foreign citizen from payment of the tax on his foreign wealth, even though he may be resident or ordinarily resident in India. This was the intention of the Select Committee when the provisions of the Bill were discussed by them but the intention has not been secured by the language of the provision as it now stands.

I now turn to the field of indirect taxation. In regard to Union Excise Duties the only major change I propose is the increase in the rate of duty on cement from Rs 20 per ton to Rs 24 per ton. This increase will not, however, raise the issue price of cement as it is proposed simultaneously to withdraw the surcharge at present levied by the State Trading Corporation. The additional revenue of Rs 2.24 crores from this will be utilized for road development.

Certain minor amendments, mainly of a clarificatory nature, are also being made and I need not dilate on them here. I should, however, refer to two changes which are being made immediately by notification. Firstly, for power looms producing cotton textiles it is proposed that the concession of paying duty at compounded rates should no longer be available to establishments having more than 100 looms. Simultaneously, the compounded rates applicable to units having 25 to 100 power looms are being suitably enhanced in two stages. This would bring in an additional revenue of Rs 83 lakhs. Secondly, the rate of duty on vegetable products is being lowered for the first 3,000 tons cleared by each factory. This would give substantial relief to the smaller producers and will cost the Exchequer Rs 24 lakhs per annum.

Coming to Customs Duties, only a few minor adjustments and verbal changes are being made in the tariff schedule to remove some anomalies or doubts. The only change of any significance is the introduction of the alternative *ad valorem* rate of duty in respect of expensive varieties of artificial silk yarn, like nylon, perlon, etc.; as far as the other yarns, such as viscose, are concerned, the rate of duty is being left unchanged. The financial effect of these changes will be negligible.

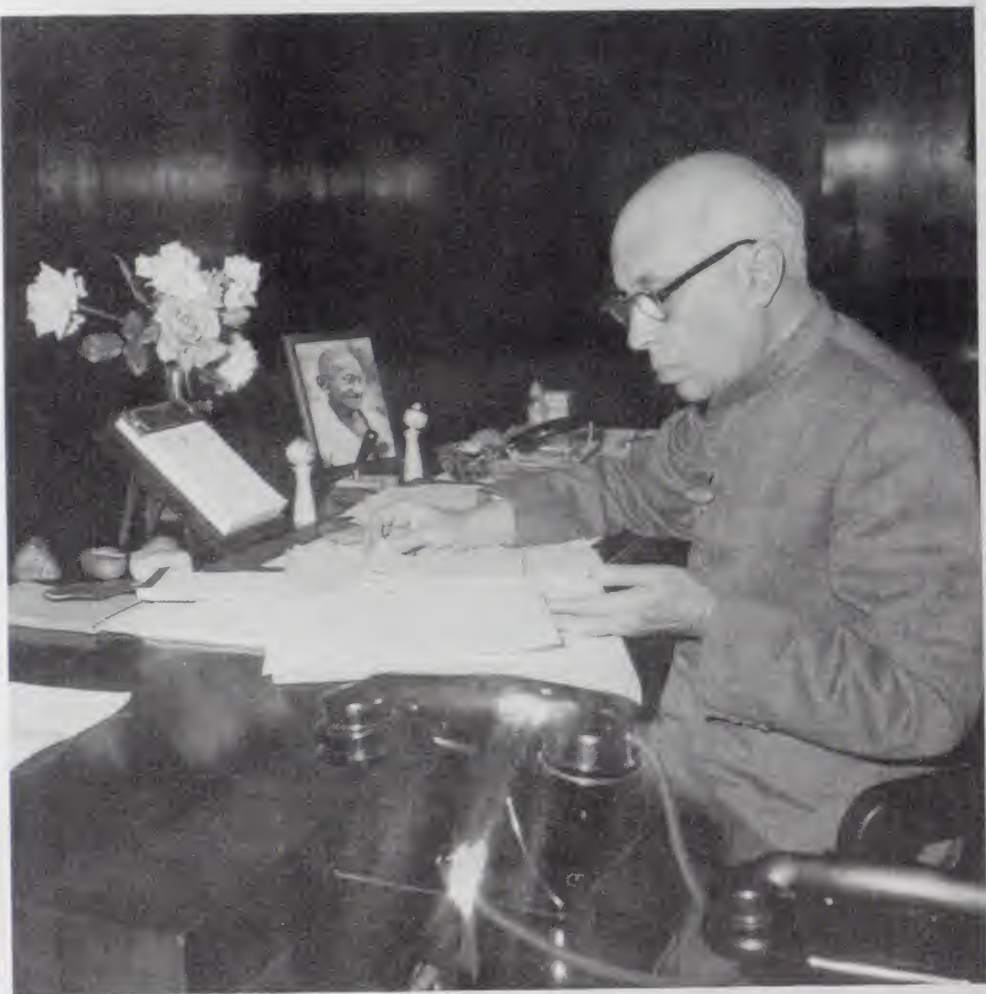
The net effect of the taxation proposals may now be summarized. The tax on gifts will bring in Rs 3 crores, the changes in the Estate Duty Rs 50 lakhs, the increased duty on cement Rs 2.24 crores and the adjustments in the Excise

Duty on cloth Rs 83 lakhs, a total sum of Rs 6.57 crores, of which Rs 50 lakhs will accrue to the State. The reduction in the Excise Duty on vegetable products will involve a loss of Rs 24 lakhs leaving the net additional revenue at Rs 5.83 crores. This will leave a final deficit of Rs 27.02 crores which I propose to leave uncovered.

The coming year, which will be the third year of the Plan, is bound to be one of difficulty calling a considerable measure of sacrifice on the part of everyone. It is unnecessary to reiterate that the plan of development the country has set before itself has to be implemented whatever the sacrifice that may be called for because without economic development we cannot bring relief and prosperity to the millions of our countrymen who have suffered for so long from the curse of poverty. The crisis through which we are passing is a crisis of development, a crisis of resources. We must try to produce more, export more and save more to find the resources for implementing the Plan. In the Budget for the coming year we have set ourselves high targets for both taxation and borrowing. I have no doubt in my mind that these targets are not beyond our capacity provided there is a sense of discipline and a sense of urgency in the country. I am sure the efforts to realize the resources planned for the coming year will be forthcoming.

We live in an age of revolutionary changes when the development of science and technology has opened out vast avenues of human progress. We also live at a time when a great part of the resources of the world is being directed to preparations for war and the production of terrible weapons of mass destruction. While space travel beckons to us and the vast expanses of the universe almost appear to be in our reach, the horizon of our minds is limited by fear and the shadow of terrible disaster hangs over us. How can we and others raise ourselves above fear and hatred and the petty conflicts that are so out of place in the new world that is taking shape? How can we in India function with courage and stout hearts at this juncture? It has been given to us of this generation to face mighty problems and to achieve great results. We can only serve our people or the world if we hold to our ideals and live up to them.

This Budget statement is a minor event in our march forward. We have to look at it in the perspective of what we have to do and what we have to achieve. Above all, we have to realize that our success depends on ourselves and not on others, on our own strength and wisdom, on our unity and cooperation and on the spirit of our people whom we are privileged to serve.



GOING THROUGH THE BUDGET PAPERS, NEW DELHI, 28 FEBRUARY 1958



ON HIS WAY TO PRESENT THE BUDGET, NEW DELHI, 28 FEBRUARY 1958

2. Debate on Budget Proposals in the Rajya Sabha¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Chairman², Sir, it is a little difficult to follow a poet³ and what I have to say, I fear, is very prosaic. When I introduced this Budget in the other House I called it a pedestrian Budget and I said that in the circumstances I felt rather unfit for this task. I do not suffer from any overmuch modesty, nor do I normally try to underestimate my own capacities. But I said it, looking at this mighty task of India, not merely this Budget, though it is a matter of accounting and income and expenditure, does contain the dry bones of that drama, shall I say, the drama of India, the drama which has been so full of many things, of high optimism, of setbacks, of brave endeavour, some triumphs, many obstacles and at the same time of a grim determination to go along whether we have to cross deserts or wildernesses so that we can ultimately go with all our people to the promised land.

So listening to this debate, and may I say, Sir, with apologies that I was not present here most of the time but I have taken the trouble to read the speeches of honourable Members, or, at any rate, the full notes about them by my colleagues and I find many points have been raised and many criticisms offered. Undoubtedly, anything that is said here is deserving of study and consideration even though one may ultimately not agree with it. Something has been said about those points and suggestions by my colleagues. I do not wish to repeat that or to enter into so many relatively minor aspects of this problem, though I would give this House this assurance that whatever has been said will be carefully considered. I would rather refer to a few matters which have been referred to here and also try to put before this House this larger theme of our planning or of our budgeting or of our taxation. After all, there is some connection between all these, they are not isolated happenings. Some people may criticize this tax, some that, or something else and their criticism may or may not be justified but the point is, are they looking at this picture in perspective, the whole of the picture or just some tiny part of it? If they only look at a small part of it and forget the rest, then their criticism is not of great value. I should like to say

1. Speech in the Rajya Sabha, 11 March 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XX, cols. 2674-2693.
2. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao was Congress Member from Mysore State and Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, 1952-62.
3. Maithilisharan Gupta, renowned Hindi poet, and nominated Member of Rajya Sabha, recited a Hindi poem describing the prevailing economic and political conditions of India.

something about that but before I say that I might deal with some of the points raised by honourable Members.

I think it was Dr Kunzru⁴ who referred to the looseness of the budgeting, deficit financing and some other like matters. Now, so far as looseness of the budgeting is concerned, I think the criticism is to some extent justified, but I would plead with this House and with Dr Kunzru that one must consider this Budget as not a Budget of a static country during a static period. Here is a developing economy, producing changes, bringing about unexpected results. Here are taxes, a new tax we have put of which we have no experience.⁵ We can only guess how much we will get ultimately out of that tax, what difficulties we may have to face. It is a mere guess we have put down; after a few years we may be more accurate. Take these imports. It is exceedingly difficult to say more or less precisely what the income from imports might be because there are so many other factors which affect them. Anyhow, I am merely pointing out some difficulties in regard to judging the income of the country because of these changing factors. Then take the expenditure. That again is affected very much by this developing economy. It is also affected by the fact that many things that we want to get from abroad—and we make provision for them—we are unable to get. They cannot come within that period. Many things included in the Defence Budget have not been available to us during that period and so fairly large sums have been unspent and so in other matters too. I entirely agree with Dr Kunzru that every attempt should be made for as careful budgeting as possible but there are so many indeterminate and uncertain factors that it is difficult to be very accurate and if so, one tends to err on the conservative side and not on the other.

Then, Dr Kunzru referred, I think, to the foreign exchange situation. Now, I can give some figures about it but in thinking about it this morning, it seemed to me that it would be far more satisfactory for Members of this House if I could soon, fairly soon, place a full paper on the subject instead of just a few figures which I might give now. Some four or five months ago when the impact of this situation hit us rather forcibly in the face, I asked the Planning Commission to enquire into it thoroughly why we were caught somewhat unawares or to the extent we were caught unawares. The Planning Commission then did prepare a note, a careful note, about it, which they sent us and which was helpful, which gave us some picture of what had happened or where we had erred, what we had not taken into our consideration, how there had been

4. H.N. Kunzru, Independent Member of Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh, 1952-62.

5. The reference is to the Gift Tax.

sometimes lack of coordination between some Ministries ordering things and another Ministry or the Planning Commission not knowing it, and what were the main reasons, at any rate. Well, I would have put that paper. Then, I thought that paper is out of date. It was prepared five months ago. So, I have asked today the Planning Commission to be good enough to revise that paper and make it up to date, so that I might be able to place it on the Table of the House and I hope that I shall be able to do so in about a week's time, sometime next week. But I might mention here that this great drain on the foreign exchange resources was primarily to be attributed to the attempt to carry out the Second Five Year Plan. Then, other things came in. First of all, the import of more foodgrains, much more than we had anticipated. This was a heavy load. Then, there were demands on Defence, which to that extent had not been provided for. Then, there were the increased requirements of raw materials, components, spares, replacements, etc., for matching the higher levels of industrial production reached in 1955-56 for which some allowance was made in the Plan estimates. But this had proved wholly inadequate. The House will observe how one gets entangled in one's own rapid progress. Because industrial production went up, and we wanted it to go up, immediately we require more raw materials for it, more spares, more replacements and so more things to be brought in from abroad. Then, item four is rather higher imports of consumer goods in the years 1955-56 and 1956-57 compared with earlier years. And lastly, increases in prices and in freight rates. Now, it has been thought that a great deal of this foreign exchange difficulty was due to a tremendous spurt in import of consumer goods. That is not so. That is, to that extent, it is so. Partly it is one of the causes. But the real and the principal causes have been those that I have mentioned. I shall not go further into this, as I propose, as I have said, to place a detailed paper on the Table of the House, probably next week.

Honourable Members know that there has been a considerable improvement in the foreign exchange situation and indeed not only has the weekly drain gradually been reduced and almost brought to zero, but I believe last week there was actually a plus quantity instead of the normal deficit. Now, I do not say that this is something which should make us complacent, but it does indicate that the steps we took during the past year have borne fruit and are bearing fruit. It does indicate that we have to continue those steps and not relax because nothing would be more dangerous than relaxation and complacency at this stage. Now, it does show also certainly that we can reappraise the entire situation in regard to import, etc. Now, in regard to imports another difficulty arises which we have to face today. We want exports, of course. Now, quite a number of our exports depend on some imports, whether it is raw material, whether it is some other component. And so, our Ministry of Commerce and Industry

has been put in great jeopardy and great difficulty of being told, no imports. And then the opposite side of the picture comes to us. Exports dwindle because of imports. So one has to balance all these things and no doubt we shall have—we have normally from time to time—appraisals and reappraisals and we shall have them.

Then, there is the third important question raised by some honourable Members about these various loans that we are taking. What about their repayment? It is a very relevant question. One cannot go on piling up debts which may crush us later on and I can assure the House that this matter has been before us at every stage and we are going to have a fairly difficult time to repay these debts. In effect, the difficulty will be for two or possibly three years. After that it tapers off. For the next few years, three years or so, conditions will not produce any real crisis for us. But after three years or so the time of difficulty arises involving the repayment of some loans and that lasts for two to three years. I will give some figures. The repayment this year, that is, 1958-59, is Rs 23 crores—a little more than Rs 23 crores. The year next it is Rs 35 crores, the year after that Rs 92 crores.

H.N. Kunzru: Is that foreign loans?

JN: I think so. Yes, we have to pay them in foreign currency. Then comes the year 1961-62, that is the peak year and a difficult year. We have to pay Rs 123 crores. After that it begins to come down, Rs 107 crores and then in 1963-64 there is a big drop—Rs 37 crores, Rs 35 crores, Rs 48 crores. It goes down. So, the real difficult years are 1960 to 1963, when we have to pay from Rs 92 crores onwards going up to Rs 123 crores and coming down to Rs 107 crores. Well, obviously paying over a hundred crores is a very large sum and the only slight consolation is that the bad years are only two or two and a half years. But we have to pay for the accommodation that we are getting. These bad years—I might tell the House—are not because of the normal credits and loans that we are taking, but because in those years we have to repay our drawings from the International Monetary Fund and hence this has gone up. Now, that is so and that is a heavy burden that we have to carry. And I might make it clear that these figures, that I have quoted, relate to the loans already taken. I am not including naturally any further ones that we might take which would probably increase. But this should not anyhow increase this sum for those years because those heavy years are related to the International Monetary Fund. If we take other loans and we have to pay ten years later, it is a different matter. It is not a very difficult matter. Now, how are we to repay them? Well, I cannot say immediately how; but a great deal would depend, I think, on the food situation,

on how much foodgrains we import from abroad. A good deal will depend—and that is not an uncertain factor—on the position of iron and steel. How far we are producing it? I read out to the House just now some of the reasons for the foreign exchange position. Iron and steel was one of the principal things which has led to this tremendous foreign exchange gap apart from food. Now it is hoped, and with some assurance, that not only will we not import iron and steel then—and that will be a considerable saving—but that we might actually perhaps in regard to pig iron, etc., be exporting some and getting some foreign exchange from it.

So far as the food situation is concerned, there are so many factors, which cannot be definitely ascertained now, that I would hesitate to prophesy. I can only tell the House what my own reaction is to such reports that I have received. But we know, all of us, that we are still unhappily in the hands of blind gods who send the monsoon or do not send it, and we have to become wiser and more powerful than those blind gods to control the situation. And, speaking not about India but about the world generally, it is exceedingly probable, not immediately but in the course of the foreseeable future, 10 years, 12 years or 15 years at the most, that the weather and the rains might be brought under control to some extent by science. However, I can say nothing about the weather and the climate but I can say this that I believe that our State Governments and our Community Development Blocks and people are today very very conscious of the need to concentrate on greater food production, and there is not only an awareness of it but a widespread feeling of urgency. I have no doubt in my mind that it will produce results. Now, merely saying generally, we produce more, may produce a useful atmosphere but does not do much good. You have to come down to brass tacks, if I may say so, in order to grip the problem. That means that you have to come down to the village and you have to come down to the individual cultivator. Now our attempt is first to concentrate on the community project areas; secondly, to concentrate upon irrigated areas or where there is abundant rain normally—between these two we probably reap a fairly large figure, I think a hundred million acres or something like that—and concentrating, that is to say, on areas where the danger of a drought is less, the danger of climatic changes affecting them is somewhat less, not fully gone of course, and trying to increase the yield per acre. It is a question of better fertilizer, better seeds, better this, better that, cooperative effort and all that, I would not go into that. My point is that every effort is being made and I think that will increase the yield because there can be no doubt that our future financial position, our budgets, or five-year plans, in fact almost everything we hope to achieve depends on additional food production. It is so important, far more important in the final analysis than anything else. If we attach importance to

industrial growth, as we do and as the House does, that industrial growth depends entirely on agricultural growth also. So we come back to that. So I do think that unless again the blind gods misbehave as they have done often in the past, we hope to do better in the coming years. It is going to be hard work and hard struggle, but then we have undertaken a hard and difficult job, and we cannot complain if we have to work hard for it and face some risks.

Now, one or two minor matters. There has been some criticism of the Gift Tax and the Succession Tax, that they are separate taxes and that they should be integrated. Well, they have in fact been integrated to a very large extent. If you look into them, the whole attempt is to integrate them.

J.S. Bisht:⁶ Only the rates have been integrated.

JN: Not at all. Rates, of course, have been integrated except for the fact that there is a slab of Rs 50,000 in one case and not in the other. Otherwise it has been largely integrated. Then, again, there has been some criticism about the exemption limit for Estate Duty being reduced, that is Rs 50,000. Well, if I may confess it, I was exceedingly sorry that it was not Rs 50,000 last year. I was not for it but ultimately for reasons I do not remember, anyhow it went up to Rs 100,000. But the main reason was that it being a new tax we were not quite sure about our apparatus, about our machinery, and we wanted to go slow so that the machinery might be there. Now, as I said, I do not wish to go into a number of details which will no doubt be considered, but I want to take the larger problems of what we are aiming at and of what way we intend travelling.

One of my colleagues—I was not here but I read a report of her speech—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur⁷ complained of all these taxes en bloc, Wealth Tax, Expenditure Tax, Income Tax, and in complaining she said that they retarded the growth of savings and capital formation. Further I believe she said that if the taxation proposals are maintained unchanged, the only result will be to divert money from useful investment to unfruitful hoarding in the form of purchase of silver and gold, which is rather a statement which does not fit in with the previous statement. If people attempted to put money in silver and gold, they require no great sympathy from us, and the heavier the taxation the better, and if necessity comes, we will find ways and means of getting at the silver and gold. But that does not follow at all. I do not think that the situation in India at the present moment is such that it does not offer enough incentive to

6. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh, 1952-62.

7. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Punjab, 1957-64, and Union Health Minister, 1947-57.

people to invest. I recognize that we are heavily taxed. But that type of criticism which I just mentioned, the criticism about savings and capital formation coming from less taxation—and further it was said that a welfare state should not be unduly hard on the private sector and so on—is so utterly different in approach to the whole problem that we have to face, so different from our approach to this problem, so different from the Government's approach or the Congress' approach that it is a little difficult for me to deal with it unless I go into the very ABC of economics. What problem do we have to face? We have to face the problem of an underdeveloped country somehow crossing the barrier into a dynamic economy, self-progressive economy. Now, we see that countries like the United States, like England and like Russia, that is industrialized communities, automatically grow, automatically become richer and richer. Just as they become automatically richer and richer, countries like India, unless something radical is done, grow automatically poorer and poorer. It does not matter how many odd factories you put up here or there. It has nothing to do with production, they automatically grow poorer and poorer. There is the old example, you may quote the Bible for it or something else:

Unto him that hath shall be given more;
 From him that hath not shall be taken away
 What he hath.⁸

But it is a law of economics because a country or a region or a family or an individual who is poor lives in an environment which drags him down. And unless you change the whole environment, he is dragged down and he becomes more and more poor, and because he becomes more and more poor, he becomes less and less fit to work, more and more unfit, more and more foolish, more and more incapable of doing anything useful, and more and more incapable of becoming a useful member of the society. Then you come and say, "Well, this fellow is unfit, what can I do? This country is unfit and incapable of making any progress." Just as subjection to political rule makes the people unfit in many ways, so poverty makes them unfit to become rich and to produce more. The worker in a country like England or elsewhere does much more work than the worker in India. Why? He is better-fed, better-housed, better-helped and better-looked after, and so he can do better work. And I am quite sure that the Indian worker can do better work provided his surroundings are such. And that applies to the whole country. Now I submit that the complex of poverty dragging a poor country down more and more cannot be got over until

8. New Testament, *Matthew*: 25: 29.

you create a complex of circumstances which pull up these people. It is not a question of odd thinking or an odd factory being set up here or there, but the complex of things all round which gradually pull them up. And one has to judge therefore all these events not from even or odd tables or units of production as they are but from the psychological atmosphere that is being produced by many factors—of course, not one but hundreds of factors.

Now this whole approach, which I just read out, of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur shows a total ignorance of all these factors. It is the approach of rather a petty capitalist who owns a factory and who thinks that by having more factories he can cure the poverty of India. It is a wrong idea. You can have hundreds and thousands of factories, and you will not be able to cure it, unless, of course, you proceed in a different way, because the odd thing is that, as I said, you will increase the differences by that. You may produce more in India, but what you produce will not be evenly spread and will not produce that complex which raises a nation.

In the last ten or eleven years, say, since the last Great War, actually the rich countries and the industrialized countries, like England, America, Russia, Germany or France, have gone ahead far more than we have, in spite of all our efforts. The difference between India and any industrially advanced country is greater today than it was ten years ago, in spite of all our efforts, because they being industrialized highly have been able to make much progress and have been able to carry on well. We have to break that barrier. How are we to do it? Not all the efforts of private enterprise in India, if money be showered upon it, can do that rapidly. Maybe, if you like, in 50 or 60 years they may be able to do it, or rather the events may be able to do it. But you have to face other problems also, for example, social problems and democratic problems. Remember that England and countries like that became industrialized at a moment of very restricted democracy in those countries. A great leader—one of the most important leaders of the Labour Party in England—once said that he wondered, if England had been 150 years ago fully democratic, that democracy would have permitted the Industrial Revolution to come in, because the Industrial Revolution coming in meant a terrible burden on the people. And when you have adult suffrage in a democracy, well, they will say, "Why should we have more burdens on ourselves?" They will rather present their demands more and more. Let us not forget that democracy remembers demands and forgets obligations. Anyhow, they got over bravely that difficult period really by having practically no democracy. And we may do it only in theory subject to two matters, firstly, it would take a few generations, and secondly, it would involve, well, upheavals and the Government would disappear because people would not put up with those kind of things. So just merely thinking on those lines that

we can repeat here what happened in England a hundred years ago, or in America a hundred years ago, or elsewhere, is logically not correct. Quite apart, of course, from your emotional approach to the problem and quite apart from how you feel it, it is not equitable and it is not logically so. It cannot be done today. Therefore, another approach has to be made.

Now, there are various approaches that we have seen in recent years. There is the approach in the Soviet Union. That is the only real approach that counts, for which we have got a period of years to judge, and one can certainly say that in terms of fiscal or economic advance in the last forty years, the Soviet Union has advanced remarkably. But one has to remember also the price paid by the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union for that remarkable advance. And even that took 40 years. It did not come about suddenly. Even the path that they followed at the time of the Great War was partly no doubt thought out, but partly due to chance, circumstance and defeat in the War and many other things, and you cannot possibly repeat the history of other countries elsewhere.

So the problem that we have to face is unique and that problem cannot be solved by what are normally called the methods of free enterprise. Would free enterprise go in for three or four huge steel plants and wait for years and years for any profit to come out of them? No. One of the steel plants is a private plant, that of Tatas, a very fine plant, of course. They are doubling their production. How are they doubling it? With the help of big loans from abroad, with the help from our Government and with the help from abroad by way of loans, etc. Very good. And the amount of help that we are constantly giving to private enterprise is surprising. In fact, the private enterprise, some of it at any rate, is carried on very much by public help, and the element of private enterprise becomes less and less when so much public help is coming in. And what is our attitude? Of course, we have been casually saying that we want the public sector, the private sector, as also the mixed economy. We have not casually said that we are aiming at a socialistic pattern of society. Great organizations and Parliament do not casually go into these things—some person may deliver a speech, it is a different matter—but come to this decision after years of thought, and after that for somebody without giving too much thought to all these difficult economic processes, all these difficult scientific and industrial processes and all that, just casually putting all this aside, seems to me rather illogical.

Some honourable Members here, and some Members in the other House, criticized this business of taxation, etc., but they offer no other course. I admit that there is a limit beyond which taxation becomes regressive. You cannot go on taxing; maybe the sources of taxation may dry up. There is a limit and it has

to be carefully thought out, but the fact remains that there is no choice for us but to carry a heavy load of taxation, a heavy load in various ways, and to spread it out as far as one can. Some people criticize this lowering of the exemption limit of Income Tax. I entirely appreciate their feelings, because it falls on the lower middle classes and all that. Yet, that is one of the fundamentally right things that was done last year. You can compare this with other countries and see whether their Income Tax limits are lower than ours, although they are much richer countries and they can afford to have higher limits, but their limits are lower even now, because you have to spread this out. However much you tax the rich—those who can bear the burden should pay—you have to spread it, this burden of taxation, as widely as possible. There is no other escape from it. I would like, therefore, this House to consider this basic character of this problem. Here we are struggling to get out of this morass of poverty. How can we do it? By greater wealth production and, of course, better distribution. Remember always that every year just about five million people are added to our population.....

Several honourable Members: 4.5 millions.

JN: Nearly fifty lakhs more people to feed, to clothe and do everything to. It is an enormous number, so that, whatever you may produce, even to keep to the level we are, without any progress we have to produce enough to feed, clothe and to house these five million more people every year. If you produce less than that, then you go down. This is what we have been doing in the last 100 or 150 years. We talk about the increasing poverty of India. It has been increasing, and the population has been increasing, and our wealth-producing capacity is going down. The result is gradual, slowly-creeping poverty, which came, and it continues. When we took up this matter in hand in the First Five Year Plan, we were cautious and we laid down certain targets. As a matter of fact, we fulfilled those targets, but the fact of the matter was that, having fulfilled the targets of the First Five Year Plan, we did not reach the target of the additional population that had been added during the Plan. In fact, the targets were too low; the progress was too slow, even to cope with this additional population, quite apart from progress. It was, therefore, quite wrong for us to have a Second Five Year Plan more or less like the First. That meant defeat. We had to have a bigger one, there was no help for it; how much bigger is a different matter. The Plan must first of all cover the needs of the additional population that will come, and there must be a plus factor for growth. Otherwise, you remain where you are and go down. If you examine it in this way, you are driven inevitably to the conclusion that there is a certain limit below which you

cannot go which is to be translated into a minimum of investment, because investment is supposed to lead to that production. I am not going into the figures, but suppose the limit of investment is Rs 4000 crores in the First Plan, then to keep where you are, just to keep pace with the growing population, you had to add something to it for progress, and that depends on ourselves, on the people, on how hard we can work and produce results, because production means harder work. That is a simple equation.

Now, another thing that we have seen or we can see is that there is no other way for us to get over this poverty hurdle except through industrialization and other things. There is no other way, that is to say, except through taking advantage of modern techniques, scientific and technological techniques. You may take advantage of that in many ways, in big industries, in small industries, in middle industries, call it what you like. But without taking advantage of modern science, scientific technique, you can never progress. I should like to remind the House that one of the first things that we did some ten or eleven years ago was to realize the importance of science and technology in this context, and we put up some 13 national laboratories and institutes and many smaller ones. We even in the early stages started taking interest in atomic energy and today we are, apart from the first three or four nations, rather advanced in atomic energy, not for war purposes, but because in the modern world we cannot do without it for production and the rest. We showed some foresight in this matter. I am quite certain, if I may say so with all respect, that, if we had left this, let us say, to private enterprise, private enterprise could have purchased machines from America, from Japan, put up factories here and no doubt produced the goods and we would have had statistics of greater production, but they would have come nowhere near the road to a solution of the problem. That is certain. As a matter of fact, if you think in terms of industrialization, you must be advanced in science, you must be advanced in technology, you must be advanced in machine-making, machine-building, but nobody is going to build machines in India except the State. It is too heavy a burden. Now, we are going ahead with these four steel plants and a machine-building, forging foundry and other things. It is only when these things come and they start functioning, your speed would become swifter and swifter. If you rely on steel from abroad, you are helpless as we are today. Even for using that steel there is needed one big step forward. If you rely on machines from abroad, you are helpless again. It is only when you make your machines, you progress. When I say machines, I do not mean petty machines, I mean big machines, like the iron and steel plants. When you make them, then you are well on the road to progress. It is hard work, but then it brings results.

The real difficulty of a democratic society, like ours which is also terribly

poor, in pulling itself out is how to balance these two factors: one, the legitimate and inevitable demand of saving for investment, whether that saving comes from taxation or from other ways of saving, as saving from consumption and so on, and the other, this inevitable demand, also legitimate, of the people wanting higher standards of consumption. They both conflict but one has to balance them as far as one can. Everybody sympathizes, everybody in this House sympathizes with the demand for better living conditions. After all, the whole purpose of our planning is for better living conditions, in a welfare state, a socialist state, whatever it is. Yet, in order to reach there, we have to deny so many things to ourselves and to our people. It is a terribly difficult problem. I can say with complete earnestness that all these things should be done for education in this country, for housing, for health and all that. These are absolutely necessary—higher wages, higher salaries. But with complete earnestness, on the opposite, I can say that nothing should be done so that we may at least get going, so that something could be done tomorrow. So there is this conflict and one has to balance these two, because one has to do something to raise our people. You cannot help it, more especially in a democratic set-up. At the same time you have to save also. Therefore, to some extent, the additional income or wealth that you get has to be divided up in two parts, one part for somewhat higher standards and the other part for investment for future progress.

There are one or two other matters that I want to say. We have received a number of loans and credits from other countries. I need not tell the House that they are, all of them, completely free from any type of conditions. It is left to ourselves how to use them, more or less, and I am very grateful to those countries for this help. Of course, it is for mutual advantage, I have no doubt. Often sometimes we help our friends because they are our friends. Sometimes we help them because we want them to be our friends. That is a different matter. But still we should be grateful and India is grateful for the loans that have come to us at the time of difficulty.

I may just mention here how in all this business the question of population control becomes important. Just as every addition means additional investment, if you could restrict the growth of population, it would be a great relief and that much would go towards the progress of the others, and it is a matter which has become really of crucial importance to our country.

The other day there was a debate in this House and elsewhere over that enquiry report of the Life Insurance committee or commission.⁹

9. The Chagla Commission's report on investments made by the LIC in the companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra was tabled in the Lok Sabha on 13 February 1958. For Nehru's speeches on this report in Parliament, see *post*, pp. 375-413.

An honourable Member: The LIC report.

JN: Yes, the LIC report. Now, that report dealt with particular incidents and came to some conclusions. But I find that those sets of incidents are now used often enough to run down public enterprises and to praise private enterprises. Now, I am not running down private enterprise because private enterprise is an essential part of our structure today, and it would be completely wrong for us to have it as part of our structure and not help it. It is an absurd situation. If you do not want it, let us put an end to it. But if we have it, we should encourage it to play its role in the domain allotted to it. But this business of running down because of some mistakes or errors or whatever it was, made in the Insurance Corporation or elsewhere, running down all public corporations and public sector, does seem to me rather odd.

As a matter of fact, take the Life Insurance Corporation itself. It has done better in the last year than ever since life insurance came into India. It is making rapid progress. It is doing rather well, and I have no doubt that it will do well. We have heard previously of big private insurance companies going to pieces, of all kinds of frauds in them, some cases going on in the courts and people being punished. In fact, one of the reasons for the formation of this Life Insurance Corporation was that several—not all—several insurance companies were in a very very bad way. I do not know, at least I do not remember, there was this organized expression of opinion that private enterprise was bad, at that time, because any insurance company had failed. And now it is suggested by some people, "Oh, because of this we hope you will denationalize life insurance or a part of it." Still I think it would be wrong to leave any doubt about our intentions and I say that we do not propose to do so, now or hereafter. There is no going back, if I may say so. Some honourable Members are constantly saying, "Nationalize everything". Some others object to nationalization and even go to the extent of asking for denationalization. We pursue, as India has often done, a middle path. We believe that, if we believe in a socialist pattern of society, we must inevitably go that way. But our speed will depend on circumstances. However, in pursuing that path in a rather academical way, instead of getting there, you might get somewhere else or get your speed retarded. I believe that any rapid attempt to nationalize everything will be harmful to India, not in theory, but in practice. I want at the present moment the greatest production that we can have. Secondly, I want that the State should control the strategic places to prevent what may be called private individuals having too much monopoly or position at strategic places. But I want to employ their ability, their spirit of enterprise and I want to give them full scope and to help them. And I want to look upon the private sector, private as it is, as a sort of a

great national cause, also as being a national sector. That is so. But at the same time, we proceed inevitably, step by step, towards the goal of socialist pattern of society. Socialism does not come and will not come so long as India is poverty-stricken. A poor country cannot really be socialistic, or, at any rate, I cannot envisage or work for a socialism which means just grinding poverty for everybody. There is no meaning to it. We have to lay the foundations of industrial progress in all these and then socialism comes step by step. In fact, the two go in parallel lines.

So, Sir, I have ventured to place before this House some wider considerations which underlie our thinking, which indeed follow from those accepted by Parliament previously. Thank you, Sir.

3. Debate on Budget Proposals in the Lok Sabha¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, we have had a long debate on the Budget that I had the honour to present. In the course of this debate much has been said and a great many subjects have been touched upon—and the honourable Members were of course entitled to do so. But there is a tendency for the wood to be lost sight of perhaps in this way. It is not possible for me to go into every single matter that was referred to, though I can assure the House that we shall endeavour to look into any complaint or any suggestion made.

Before I deal with a number of matters referred to, I should like to say that, I believe, I have profited by the discussion that has taken place here—profited not only by some of the bouquets given, but even more so by the criticism offered. Some speeches were not perhaps quite so inspiring as others. Some actually were on the point of being depressing. But, as a whole, a large number of honourable Members spoke, and I would say, with respect, the matter was dealt with at a fairly high level.

Now, it may perhaps be a fault on my part to try to look at these things in a larger context. I am always a little anxious that I should not lose perspective in looking at any major problem because so many big things are happening in this world today, which inevitably act and react on each other, that I want to see this entire picture. There is the international picture, where the Sputniks, the Explorers and the Vanguarders rush through the sky and I presage a new world to come where science and technology have developed tremendously. It

1. Extracts from the speech in the Lok Sabha, 18 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 5399-5435.

is a fact to be remembered because it may well be that in the course of ten years or fifteen years or thereabout an entirely new and different source of power may be available to mankind and all our calculations in our Second, Third or Fourth FiveYear Plans may be rather out of date unless we keep up to them. All our economic theories in fact may be out of date because economic theories depend on circumstances and facts. They are not something that comes out of the air. Therefore, without going into these matters, I would like just to remind this House of this background of the world today and to look at India in this background.

There is the other thing happening in the world. Here, not far from us a neighbour and a friendly country, Indonesia, is facing a great deal of trouble.² Naturally, our sympathies go out to the people of Indonesia. It is not for us to interfere in their internal affairs and we hope—and indeed are optimistic—that they will settle them. But here is an example of what is happening and what will happen in other countries. It is not right for me to go in for invidious comparisons with other countries, but I think every honourable Member of this House will agree that if any comparisons are made, we have done rather well. Indeed, we have done more than rather well and those who criticize us so often in this House—sometimes justifiably, maybe—should remember this fact, because we function in a set of circumstances in the world. We do not function in mid-air. We function where conditions are limited by various factors.

In the course of the speeches made, there was that of the Leader of the Opposition, Shri S.A. Dange.³ If I may say so with all respect to him, he did less than justice to himself. The American dollar exercises such a powerful fascination on him that he tries to interpret all events in terms of the influence of the American dollar. The American dollar is a very powerful thing in the world today. But, there are things in the world which often happen to be outside the influence of the American dollar still or any money, pound or dollar or rouble, whatever it may be. To interpret anything in that rigid, strained way in which Shri S.A. Dange attempted to do is to give, I think, an entirely false picture of events.

2. A civil war broke out in Indonesia on 15 February 1958 after the expiry of a five-day ultimatum given by rebel military leaders to the Central Government in Djakarta to discontinue "guided democracy" and dissolve the Cabinet. See also *post*, pp. 727-728.
3. CPI Member of Lok Sabha from Bombay Central, 1957-62; General Secretary, AITUC, and Member, Central Executive Committee of the CPI.

Renu Chakravarty:⁴ What is happening in Indonesia—the power of the dollar—does it not perturb us?

JN: I am not discussing Indonesia. I am discussing India. Shri S.A. Dange referred to the growing fascination in India for American dollars. That is why I referred to it. It is true, as everyone knows, that we have received substantial help from the United States and we are grateful for it. But, I think everybody also knows, whether in India or the USA, that we do not barter our soul or our policy for money and that the American Government itself would respect and honour us less if we did so.

Then, there were several speeches by leading Members of the Opposition and many Members sitting on my side of the House which I listened to with interest and sometimes with surprise. The honourable Lady Member⁵ sitting on my side of the House gave us a long list of our failings, of our lack of realism, of our complacency, of the faults in the Budget. Having given this long list, she finally said rather illogically, “I generally support the Budget”. I would not particularly care to have support of this kind. I should like a little more logic, a little more reason, a little more thinking about these matters. It is easy for me, as for every Member of this House, to criticize the Budget and the economic conditions in India.

I ventured in my Budget statement to place what I said was a pedestrian viewpoint, facts prosaically placed. I did not, so far as I can remember, indulge in any heroic attitude. I did not try to exaggerate or underrate. I see no reason why I should underrate. I placed certain facts before the House and indicated the broad policy that we were going to pursue, which was, broadly speaking, a continuation of the policy laid down last year. Fresh proposals made, like the Gift Tax, or the amendments of the Estate Duty Act, were really in continuation of that. I did not wish this House or the country to deal with anything but facts, realistic facts.

It is true that even when looking at facts, much depends on what one's own mood or outlook is. The same fact may produce a sense of optimism or pessimism. It depends on whether you are habitually a pessimist or an optimist, whether you have vitality in you and the desire and the faith to overcome difficulties or the reverse. Anyhow, we must base ourselves on facts. I ventured, therefore, deliberately and with set intention to give a bald and prosaic narrative

4. CPI Member of Lok Sabha from Basirhat, West Bengal, 1952-62.

5. Sucheta Kripalani, Congress Member of Lok Sabha from New Delhi, 1952-62, spoke on the Budget statement on 13 March.

which, unfortunately, was too prosaic for the honourable Lady Member, who did not like it at all.

Then, there was Shri Asoka Mehta⁶ who chided me for being weak-kneed and not strong enough to face the facts of life as they are today. I admit the soft impeachment. I should like him to be strong enough to face them. I am much older than he and naturally I may not keep up the vitality of youth. He is strong and young. I am very glad indeed that he takes up this attitude of strength, of faith in our people, in our Plan, in our destiny. I should tell him and this House presently if it needs telling what my own faith is in regard to these matters. Then, there was the honourable Member, Shri M.R. Masani.⁷ I find some difficulty in dealing with his remarks because his advice to us and to the Government was to sound retreat and walk back. He gave certain figures about our resources. I think these figures were not at all correct. He gave a certain figure, Rs 1,100 crores or thereabout, which he calculated as our resources for five years. As a matter of fact, we have nearly approached that in the first year of our Plan, and we are bound to go beyond that. I do know the exact figures.

The real difficulty that I have to face is that Shri M.R. Masani and others perhaps of his way of thinking approach this problem basically in a different way. If our premises differ, possibly if our objectives differ, then there is bound to be difference all along the line. I fear that both our premises and our objectives differ. What do we aim at in India? I fear Shri M.R. Masani aims at something with which I do not agree. I aim at something entirely different. The honourable Member, Shri M.R. Masani, in the course of one revolving mood, has changed his opinions and shifted his approach to economic and other problems of India. From the stormy waters of socialism, he has found a safe haven in private enterprise.

M.R. Masani: Mixed economy.

JN: It is open to him as it is open to anybody else to do so. But the point is that our approach becomes different obviously and his criticism which may be completely justified if you accept that objective is not justified if you have another objective. So far as I am concerned, I do not pretend to be a great scholar. But, in the course of a large number of years, together with many comrades present here, we have endeavoured to serve India to the best of our

6. Praja Socialist Party (PSP) Member of Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

7. Independent Member of Lok Sabha from Ranchi East, then in Bihar.

ability and to think about the future, not only to be lost in the past. We have always envisaged a future which, broadly speaking, we call a socialistic future, a socialistic pattern of society. We have realized that there are conflicts in the present structure of society, conflicts all over the place. We have also believed in the solution of these conflicts by peaceful methods. That has been the inheritance which we have received in the past generation or two, and we have tried to pursue that I do believe still in socialism by peaceful methods. I believe in democracy.

I cannot speak—of course, it will be wrong—for any single remedy to be applied to all the countries of the world. They are different. Who am I to tell any other country what it should do, and who is anybody else to tell me, anybody else outside India to tell me, what I should do here or we should do here? We accept advice, we do not thrust advice on others. We try to learn from others but we do presume that we should decide for ourselves as to what we should do in our country, decide in this Parliament, our people should decide; and we have come to certain decisions about our objectives, about the pattern of society we are working for, about our plans and all that.

I think they are right decisions, broadly speaking. This does not mean that we will not adjust them to changing circumstances, here and there adapt them, but broadly they are right.

We have come to those decisions knowing fully well that they involve hardships and carry heavy burdens. It is not an easy task to pull a country like India, with its low standards, with its enormous population, with poverty always dragging us down, out of that mire and morass. It does not matter what concept of society or economics you may have, it is not an easy task whichever way you march because the facts of life cannot be changed by calling something socialism or communism or capitalism or Gandhism. All these various methods may be more or less appropriate, that is a different matter.

So, we realized when we drew up the Plan more than anything else that we were going to have a hard time. That time became harder because of circumstances. If you like because of our mistakes, if you like, because we were caught napping in some matters like foreign exchange. I entirely admit that, but the main thing is that our difficulties arose for us because we tried to fulfil that Plan. Anything less than that Plan if we had undertaken, as Shri Masani suggests even now going back upon it, anything less than that Plan—I should like this House to realize this—would not have lessened our difficulties except perhaps in the immediate present. Tomorrow would have been harder, the day after tomorrow would have been worse still. There is no escape from it. We have to take that Plan or something like it and by having a softer time today, you invite disaster tomorrow or the day after.

It may be that in a democratic system like ours, this might involve, as it often does, a defeat in an election here and there, because it makes it easy for an opposition to point out: "See the burdens you carry, more taxation, more this and more that, and this Government is bad", as indeed is pointed out here, because the best Budget of all would be—in every Budget less and less taxes, in every Budget more and more expenditure on good works, everybody is pleased, we march ahead smiling. But, unfortunately, we have to convert this agricultural community in India with hundreds of years of poverty into a highly industrialized, progressive, dynamic society.

How can that be done? How can that be done without bearing this burden and facing it, facing the consequences, and if the people of India get frightened at it, they themselves will learn how to bear the burden, because whatever other failures I may have, I have never experienced a sense of failing in the Indian people. If we have carried on all these long years in India, in the ultimate analysis it is because of the Indian people and it was because of faith in the Indian people and their soundness and their strength and their innate vitality even though they had been suppressed by hundreds of years of poverty and degradation. So, let us realize that there is no escape from it.

Criticism of high taxes, criticism of this and that. What are the alternatives? And especially when we are asked: why don't you spend more on this, and spend more on that, I do not understand where the logic is in this kind of approach. I can understand, of course, that there should be economy, there should not be waste and all that, but there is no progress without heavy burdens being carried. It is no good any honourable Member telling me: "Oh, you must raise the exemption limit of Income Tax". I am not agreeable, not at all agreeable. I think it is right that exemption limit should be low, and if people do not like it, well, I am sorry, but I cannot sell my conscience. When I do believe in a thing, I should put it forward before the House. It is for this House to accept. It is a right thing if the exemption limit is low; in other countries which are much richer than India, the exemption limit is lower.

I know it hits the middle classes, I know it hits. Many of our indirect taxes hit others, and certainly we should try to equalize the burden so far as we can, but there is no getting away from the fact that we have got to be hit and we must be prepared to be hit, just as when fighting for independence, we prepared for many things which could be unpleasant and we faced them.

There is one matter to which Acharya Kripalani⁸ referred. He referred to defence, and he said this Government does not follow Gandhiji. He was

8. J.B. Kripalani; PSP Member of Lok Sabha from Sitamarhi. Bihar.

completely correct, that is to say, we do not deny Gandhiji, we endeavour perhaps sometimes to follow him, but it would be completely right to say that we are not following him. I do not know if any Government can follow Gandhiji in this imperfect world of ours. I do not know if Acharya Kripalani himself can follow Gandhiji in this imperfect world.

J.B. Kripalani: I am afraid I have never used the words "not following Gandhiji". I have never used them in my whole speech. What I meant to say was: we do not follow even our own words which we speak so often.⁹

JN: I am sorry if I quoted him wrongly but this is the remark I saw in the notes of his speech, but it does not matter. The words do not matter.

It is a perfectly clear thing, and it is a matter which troubles me very greatly that we cannot do many things that we have talked about and professed in earlier years, apart from professing it here in this House.

Let me give an example. On the day after Independence, which we had won by peaceful methods, we were suddenly to be dragged into operations in Kashmir. It was a tremendous problem for me, a moral problem, apart from the physical difficulties. I did not know what to do, because the aggression from Pakistan in Kashmir, through Pakistan and by Pakistan, shocked me to the core, and I saw the whole of Kashmir being subjected to rapine and loot and maybe generally going to chaos. On the other hand, was I going to ask the Government of India to take steps which might lead to military operations and war? It was something which revolted me, and in that state of mental difficulty and ferment, I went to Gandhiji because he was still with us then. I poured out my tortured mind to him, and he said: "You have to go to the help of the people of Kashmir, even with an army."

Now I merely mention this not to take refuge in what Gandhiji said, because I do not think it is right for any of us to exploit his name, or take refuge in some phrase of his, because he spoke in a certain context of events. How are we to exploit that today in a different context, or try to make petty politics out of a

9. Speaking on the Budget proposals on 14 March 1958, Kripalani had stated: "When I was in Europe recently and when I talked about Gandhiji and his message of non-violence, I was asked 'what is your country doing? Why are you increasing your armaments?' I had no reply to give. I could have said that this Government does not represent the people who follow Gandhiji, but I did not want to say that. I had no reply to give and we were accused of hypocrisy.... We preach to the world that there should be no nuclear tests, no use of nuclear weapons. But we go on increasing what are called the orthodox weapons."

great man's saying? I entirely agree with Acharya Kripalani that we have no business to do it, and I wish that Gandhiji's name should be exploited by no man, by the Congress Party or any other.

Having said that, I hope that I will be permitted at least to think and dream of Gandhiji and try to gain some inspiration from that thought and vision from time to time.

I was referring to the international situation. The House knows about the talks that are going on about what is called a high-level meeting and so on and so forth. The whole point is that there is ferment, a tremendous ferment in the world, in the minds of men, a ferment which occurs in the days of great transition from one age to another. And there is no doubt that we are going through this tremendous transition which like many other transitions is being brought about by the tremendous advance in technology and science.

The other day, I ventured to read out here to this House a resolution on science passed by Government.¹⁰ There was nothing very novel or new about it, and yet it required saying and emphasizing by Government and by this Parliament. We wanted the country to read it and to think about it, because unless we realize that, unless we understand that, we shall remain in the backwoods; it does not matter how you play about in your budgets, it does not matter what you do about your other things and your speeches and elections. All this is secondary and all this will do no good, if we do not realize these basic changes that are happening in the world. And if I may say so with all humility, one of the big things we have done since Independence in this country is the progress of science and technology in this country, which is a much bigger thing because without that all your Second and Third and Fourth Five Year Plans would never see the light of day, except on paper.

I doubt if many honourable Members who are well-versed in economic theory or in other matters give so much thought to how much science and the changes in technology affect economic theory, how the very concept of socialism is the result of scientific development and technology. So, we have to keep that in mind.

Now, Shri Asoka Mehta pleaded with us, or rather admonished us in many ways, and told us to be strong. I should like to tell him and this House that I have not the least doubt in my mind that success will come to this country in these Plans, in industrialization, in higher standards. I have no doubt that the Second Plan will succeed. I have no doubt that industrialization will come. I

10. The Government of India resolution on scientific policy was read out by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958. See *post*, pp. 321-322.

have no doubt that food production will go up much more than Shri Asoka Mehta has thought. It would go up, and I am prepared to take a bet with him that it would go up more than he has thought.

Asoka Mehta: What is the bet?

JN: I have no doubt about these matters, because I have no doubt in my fundamental faith in the Indian people.

Asoka Mehta: Lack of organization.

JN: The fact that Shri Asoka Mehta tells us not to be weak-kneed shows the doubts that he has in his mind, but I will tell him what I have doubts about and what worries me. It is not the economic position which worries me. India's economy is sound and let everyone know it in India and outside. And if India has taken or borrowed money she will pay it, maybe with an effort, but will pay it. There is no difficulty about all these matters, or perhaps, if I may say so, there are difficulties, but the difficulties will be overcome. So, I am not worried essentially about economic matters, perhaps because I am not an economist like Shri Asoka Mehta, perhaps because I am rather a passing figure as a Finance Minister, but I shall say what I am worried about and what troubles me.... (Interruption)... I have no doubt that India is going to pass this poverty barrier and, in fact, she is passing it and will become an industrialized country with high standards and all that. I have doubts about other matters, as to the manner in which it will do it, and as to the result of it, not in regard to economic matters, but in regard to deeper matters of the spirit and soul and what they will be. I am worried about that much more than about economic matters, because we have set something in motion, forces in motion—not we, I mean, but various things in India have set various forces in motion—which will not stop in spite even of Shri M.R. Masani or anyone else or the Forum of Free Enterprise or whatever it may be.

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JN: . . . There is one thing, however, I should like to say. Acharya Kripalani suggested, as far as I remember, a unilateral action be taken by India in regard to Defence. Now, I cannot tell him how much all my urges will pull me in that direction. And yet, I feel I am unable to take it, so also my Government, and I feel sure that if by any chance I recommended this to this House, this House would not take it.

In fact, on the one hand, we are constantly being told to strengthen our Army, Navy and Air Force in this House when Defence estimates come up or in any other matter. The burden of the song here in this House is, be strong, do not be weak. I confess that I am a little frightened at the emphasis laid by this House on being militarily strong. I do not like that. I understand it; but it frightens me, this mentality, military mentality, which all of us have, including me, when problems face us; because, I do not think that any problem in the world is going to be solved by war or by arms. And yet, why is it that believing or thinking like that, still we keep up an Army and spend more and more money on it? Why is it so?

I am not going into that question now. But I should remind Acharya Kripalani that, it was about four years ago, there was a conference, there was a seminar on—what was it?—Gandhian technique. There was an international seminar on Gandhian technique for the solution of internal and external conflicts.¹¹ Acharya Kripalani and some others took the position there that there should be no armed resistance even to an aggressor. Now, it is a position which can be taken up. I am not denying that. The point is.....

J.B. Kripalani: I do not remember any such resolution, Sir.

Mr Speaker: The honourable Member can refer to it later on.

JN: I am told that in the course of argument, however, the Acharya admitted that on practical grounds this position could not be taken up. I entirely agree with him. But I am merely pointing out the difficulties we have to face. It is a terrific problem. Nothing much has happened in this country.

Few things have really oppressed me so much as the fact that Pakistan which was part of our own country some time ago should harbour so much ill will against us, should all the time speak of us as their enemy, and generally threaten us with holy war. We may be stronger than they, it is a different matter. But, what has hurt me is our incapacity, our inability to win the goodwill of Pakistan. I do not want to win or influence Pakistan by the strength of arms or by any threats. I do not wish to gain anything from Pakistan except their goodwill. But it hurts me that I have failed—our Government has failed, that India has failed—to win the goodwill of Pakistan. Because, that is the only way

11. The international seminar on "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the Solution of Tensions between and within Nations" was held in New Delhi from 5 to 17 January 1953. For Nehru's inaugural speech at the seminar, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 21, pp. 3-11.

that I wish to deal with Pakistan. And, we propose to go on working to that end even though in Pakistan people might talk in a different language about us, calling us their enemies and in a language which is not at all agreeable to us.

May I deal with a number of points that were raised in the course of the debate? So far as foreign exchange situation is concerned, I said something in my Budget speech. The present position is that, actually, in the week ending 14th March, there was an addition instead of a decline; there was actually an addition of Rs 3.68 crores to the sterling balances. Now, lest this might make people imagine that a big turn has taken place, I want to apprise them that the last six months have been good months from the point of view of our exports. I mean the winter months are good and the summer months are bad. Therefore, if we have made so much progress in the last six months, it does not follow that we are going to keep it up during the next six months; and we should be prepared for a withdrawal, though on a smaller scale, of course, in the course of the next six months too and that we shall have to be very careful about this foreign exchange situation and we are not likely to find much foreign exchange for anything new. Fortunately, we have received assistance and this bridges the existing gap and will enable us to carry on with our various projects.

Then, there is the question of deficit financing. Some honourable Members referred to this. We are very fully aware of this and certainly we do not wish to go beyond legitimate risks. The Plan provided for Rs 1,200 crores of deficit financing for the whole five-year period. This was an annual average of Rs 240 crores. On the basis of the estimate for the next year, the total deficit financing in the first three years of the Plan would amount to Rs 760 crores. This figure has been reached, because in the second year, this went up to Rs 380 crores. We want to be very careful. My predecessor in the Finance Ministry told Parliament, I think last year, that we should not go beyond Rs 900 crores. We cannot fix any rigid limit, but we have to be careful about it and keep in view the prevailing economic conditions all the time.

Then there is the question of the piling up of foreign debts. Most of these, the House knows, are for capital needs of development. The position after 1960-61 will be difficult for two or three years. But we shall be helped by the development schemes reducing the future imports in food, steel and oil. Even so we might have to convert short-term payments falling due into long-term arrangements. Such conversions are usual and though the position will be difficult, no alarmist view need be taken.

It has been pointed out that there has been a drop in small savings and we are asked why we have budgeted for a much larger figure. It is true that current year which is now ending has been exceedingly bad in this respect. But I think we have made a turn towards a better response already. In fact, the last

one month or two have been much more encouraging. In February, the collection was Rs seven crores. Some honourable Members suggested that there should be a statutory limit to public borrowing. I do not see the need for this. Parliament has full control over borrowing and payment. To lay down any rigid statutory limit in an expanding economy may well prove to be harmful. We have always to remember that we are in an expanding economy in a dynamic situation and while, of course, Parliament must have full control of the situation, if you lay down exact figures, it will come in the way of that expansion.

Some honourable Members criticized the Finance Commission's recommendations that they are not equitable. As Government, we have to accept them even though we may not have agreed with everything they said. We treat it as an award.

There has been talk about the growth in expenditure. There has been undoubtedly growth in defence expenditure which is considered inescapable from the point of view of national security. There has been growth in civil expenditure. Civil expenditure is chiefly development expenditure. Between 1952-53 and 1958-59, i.e., in six years, the expenditure on development and social services has risen from Rs 6.3 crores to Rs 188 crores. Payments to states have risen from Rs 38 crores to Rs 110 crores. Non-development expenditure has increased only very little. Arrangements are also being made in consultation with the Planning Commission to avoid delays in giving sanctioned amounts to the states and to secure even flow of assistance to the states.

There has been some criticism of public undertakings. I do not presume to say that every public undertaking is being run in the best possible way. But I do say that by and large our public undertakings are doing very well and are run efficiently. Their production is increasing. Of course, as is very well known, Sindri¹² is doing very well. The Hindustan Machine Tools, which for the first two years did not do well, is doing remarkably well. I could say that about many other undertakings also. Even in the defence industry, I believe they are going to increase the production in the ordnance factories very greatly for civil purposes. In fact, the difficulties have risen in the private sector. Their production has gone down. This is chiefly because of shortages of pig iron, steel and non-ferrous metals. Fortunately, most of the industries in the public sector depend chiefly on indigenous raw materials and this is one reason why it is doing well.

I hope, in the course of two or three days, to lay on the Table of the House the Planning Commission's examination of the foreign exchange situation during

12. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory, located in Dhanbad district of Bihar, was the first public sector company in the country.

last year.¹³ It is a fairly detailed examination and I need not say much about it because honourable Members can themselves consider it fully. In the main, the main conclusion that emerges is, it was an attempt to carry out the Plan that caused this adverse turn. In addition, of course, there was the need for more foodgrains, unanticipated and heavier expenditure on defence. Even the imports of the private sector were largely for developmental purposes of the Plan. Then, there were increases in prices and freight rates. It is true that we can be wise after the event and there were lapses in this matter, that is to say, we were not fully seized of what was happening. There was lack of coordination in this matter. Otherwise, we might have taken the steps which we took later earlier and I cannot blame anybody in particular. We have to blame ourselves and certainly I am prepared to take the blame.

We used to have a kind of foreign exchange budget some years ago. It is not quite clear to me how it lapsed. It lapsed about four or five years ago; I forget when, partly I suppose because we were actually gaining in foreign exchange and there was a certain period of boom and a period of optimism—the First Five Year Plan succeeded and there was more production, more agricultural production—and so it lapsed. It was wrong that it lapsed, but there it was. Therefore, different Ministries went on budgeting things and nobody knew the entire picture for some time, neither the Planning Commission nor the Finance Ministry. Since the beginning of 1957, a strict budgeting of foreign exchange is now kept.

There is one matter to which I think some honourable Members referred, the population problem. We are entirely seized of this and I may tell them that during the First Five Year Plan, Rs 65 lakhs were allocated for family planning—not much—and as a matter of fact less than that was spent, only about Rs 15.8 lakhs. In the Second Plan, Rs 497 lakhs have been allocated—Rs 400 lakhs to the Centre and Rs 97 lakhs to the States. During the First Five Year Plan, 147 clinics—21 rural and 126 urban—were there. The target figure for clinics up to March 1958 was 370 clinics. As a matter of fact, sanction has been issued for 488 clinics, and 377 are already functioning.

There is the question of sterilization in hospitals and private nursing homes. This is permitted, provided, of course, it is voluntary and with the consent of both husband and wife. The Governments of Madras and Uttar Pradesh have issued instructions to this effect. Family planning research centres have been

13. A copy of the statement regarding the fall in foreign exchange reserves in 1957, prepared by the Planning Commission, was laid on the Table of the House by Nehru on 20 March 1958. See also *post*, p. 191.

established at regional training centres in different States and research is taking place in Bombay, Calcutta and Lucknow. I am afraid the progress is slow, but anyhow, there is progress and we hope that it will make some effect, though it naturally takes time.

It might interest honourable Members if I give them the figures of estimates of national income which have recently appeared and which will be published no doubt soon. I would give the figures at current prices and at 1948-49 prices. In 1952-53, at current prices, per capita national income was Rs 266.4. At 1948-49 prices, it was Rs 256.6. Perhaps it is a little confusing. I will only read the current prices which can be compared more easily. Or, if you want both I shall read both of them. In 1953-54, at current prices it was Rs 280.7 and at 1948-49 prices it came to Rs 268.7. Similarly, the figures for 1954-55 were Rs 254.2—a big drop—and Rs 271. For 1955-56, they were Rs 260.8 and Rs 273.6 and for 1956-57 the preliminary estimates are Rs 294.3 at current prices and Rs 284.0 at 1948-49 prices.

I should like to inform the House of a decision arrived at by Government in regard to an enquiry in the LIC matter into the conduct of officials. In pursuance of the decision arrived at by Parliament, an enquiry is taking place. This is in accordance with the All India Services (Discipline and Appeal) Rules, 1955 which had been framed under the All India Services Act, 1951. The Lok Sabha decided that proceedings should be initiated on the basis of the findings of the Chagla Commission in respect of the three officers: Shri H.M. Patel,¹⁴ Shri G.R. Kamat¹⁵ and Shri L.S. Vaidyanathan.¹⁶ Under these rules, after the charges have been communicated and the officers have put in their written statements and stated, whether they desire to be heard in person and produce any defence, the enquiry is entrusted to an enquiry officer or a board of enquiry. Now, we are appointing a high-level Board of Enquiry, the chairman being Justice Vivian Bose,¹⁷ a Judge of the Supreme Court, and the two other members being Shri

14. Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, and first Chairman of LIC.

15. (b. 1908); ICS; Financial Adviser, Ministry of External Affairs; Executive Director, IBRD, 1954; Deputy Chairman, LIC, 1956-57; Chairman, LIC, June 1957; Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1964, and Planning Commission, 1966.

16. (b. 1893); taught at Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay; worked for Oriental Life Insurance Company and other insurance companies from 1931 till 1956 when he became Managing Director of Life Insurance Corporation.

17. (1891-1983); barrister at Nagpur; Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Nagpur, 1948-51; Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, 1951-56; after retirement, ad hoc Judge, Supreme Court, September 1958-August 1959; Chairman of the Commission appointed to inquire into the administration of the Dalmia-Jain group of companies and the purchase of shares by LIC, 1958-62.

Sukumar Sen, the Chief Election Commissioner, and Shri W.R.S. Sathianathan,¹⁸ Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. Under the rules, two senior officers have to be appointed, one of whom should belong to the same service as the officer dealt with. Shri Vaidyanathan is not an officer of the Government and, therefore, he does not come under these rules. It is obvious that we could not have separate enquiries. So, we are suggesting to the LIC that that enquiry should also be given to the same Commission. The enquiry against all the three officers is proposed to be held in camera. It is not usual for departmental proceedings under the relevant departmental rules to be held in public. The charges to be served on all the three officers are being framed in the Ministry of Finance in consultation with the Ministries of Home and Law.

In this connection, may I mention a matter? It is not normal—and the House knows it—for officers of the Government to be criticized and attacked in the course of speeches in Parliament because they are not supposed—they cannot obviously—to answer. It is really the Minister who is responsible and it is the Minister who must bear the brunt of any criticism and attack even though his officer has done so. I repeat it now because of this reason. Now that actually an enquiry is being held, it would be even more unbecoming for officers who are in a sense being tried for their conduct to be attacked in Parliament or elsewhere.

In the course of the discussion here on the Chagla Commission report, unfortunately there were quite a number of attacks on these public servants and officers, some of which, I consider, are rather deplorable. In particular, an honourable Member of this House, Shri Patnaik,¹⁹ referred to one such public servant and mentioned a number, a string, of cases in this connection. Now, I pointed out the impropriety of attacking the public servant in this way when he could not deal with that attack either here or elsewhere. So far as the cases mentioned by him are concerned, each one of them had been carefully considered by the Public Accounts Committee and by the Government and after repeated consideration, enquiry, etc., into those cases, it was decided that those matters should be regarded as closed.²⁰

U.C. Patnaik: The Public Accounts Committee had recommended that some of these things be enquired into at a high level.

18. (b. 1900); Additional Secretary, Development Department, Government of Madras, 1947; member, Board of Revenue, Madras, 1948-49; Chief Secretary to Madras Government, 1955-1960.

19. U.C. Patnaik; Independent Member from Ganjam, Orissa, 1952-62.

20. See also *post*, p. 418.

JN: Government did enquire and came to that decision. As a matter of fact, so far as I can remember, even there no charge or no question of personal conduct arose. I regret, therefore, that this very wholesome rule about not criticizing public servants in Parliament but criticizing the Minister responsible certainly was not observed. And it is not because a person can be tried for an offence. At this particular moment, it would not be fair for a background of prejudice to be created about past events when a particular matter is being enquired into.

S.A. Dange: Sir, may I enquire whether during the pendency of the enquiry, these officers will be in the same position and in charge of the same files?

JN: No, Sir. As a matter of fact, one of them, Mr H.M. Patel, has been on leave for some time. I believe Mr Kamat is going on leave or has gone on leave—I am not sure. Anyhow, he may not be functioning during the pendency of the enquiry. That applies, I understand, to Mr Vaidyanathan also.

There are certain matters which I should like to refer to among the various criticisms on taxation, etc. I made it clear to the House that the basic structure of taxation which had been introduced last year was going to continue and I propose no change in it. In fact we have made it a little more integrated by proposing the Gift Tax and certain amendments in the Estate Duty Act. So, that remains. I propose to make no change in the Income Tax or like taxes.

But there are certain changes which I should like to suggest to the House. We realize that the situation in the textile industry is not a good one. Because of this there was a reduction of two annas in excise duty on medium cloth in December 1957. Two annas per square yard was reduced to 1 ½ annas. This reduction had some effect of stimulating clearance on medium cloth. But even now, the overall position cannot still be said to be very satisfactory with accumulated stocks. Therefore, we propose to reduce the rates of duty on cloth textiles as follows:

- (1) The existing duty on coarse dhotis and sarees is being reduced from 3.125 n.p. to 3 n.p. per square yard, and on coarse and other sorts from 9.375 n.p. to 6 n.p. per square yard.
- (2) The medium category is being split up into two categories, namely, (a) dhotis and sarees, and (b) other sorts. In the case of dhotis and sarees the existing duty of 9.375 n.p. is being reduced to 7 n.p. per square yard, and on medium and other sorts from 9.375 n.p. to 9 n.p. per square yard.
- (3) In the case of fine variety, the existing duty of 18.75 n.p. is being reduced to 17 n.p. per square yard.

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(4) In the case of superfine, the existing duty of 25 n.p. is being reduced to 22 n.p. per square yard.

These proposals will cost the Exchequer nearly Rs 15 crores, but Rs 9 crores of this sum has actually been taken into account in the Budget figures that I proposed. The balance is Rs 6 crores. I believe that it will not really be Rs 6 crores because of greater production and after clearance that figure will be reduced. These reduced rates take effect from the 19th March 1958, that is from tomorrow.

Renu Chakravartty: Are there any changes in the power loom excise?

JN: Yes. As per notification issued, the compounded rates of duties in respect of power looms are also being suitably revised in conformity with the reduction in standard rates. The existing rates of additional excise duties are not changed.

T.N. Singh²¹: When duties are changed, usually they take effect immediately....

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JN: Now, Sir, there is another matter. Last year, in December 1956, an amendment was made to the Income Tax Act which required certain deposits to be made by companies with Government of surplus funds. The scheme came into effect from the financial year 1957-58. So far as the accumulated profits and reserves were concerned, no deposits were called for. In regard to current profits, however, a deposit of 50 per cent of the amount of available surplus was required to be made for that year. The object of this scheme was to ensure that the surplus money of corporate enterprise arising mainly from the liberal depreciation allowances and development rebate was utilized for purposes conducive to industrial development of the country consistent with the objective of the Plan and was not frittered away in other cases. The experience of Government in the administration of the scheme during the last one year has been that in actual practice the bulk of the financial resources of the companies are, in fact, being utilized in approved directions. Further, in the Finance Bill of 1958—this year—which is at present before this House, a provision has been introduced for the regulation of development rebate allowance for its being utilized for the legitimate maintenance, development and expansion

21. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Chandauli, Uttar Pradesh.

of the business, and to prevent it from being frittered away. As development rebate constitutes a major component of tax-free allowances granted to industry, this new provision will substantially serve the objective underlying the deposit scheme. The Government have, therefore, decided that for the financial year 1958-59 no deposits may be called for from the companies either in respect of accumulated profits and reserves or the current profits.

May I repeat that these deposits were, of course, not tax; they were an enforced loan on which Government paid an interest of, I think, 3.75 per cent. As a matter of fact, the result of this has been that we realized Rs 3.61 crores—a relatively small sum—and this involved an enormous amount of work—claims for exemption being examined, checked and so on. So, the burden of the Commissioner of Income Tax and the Board of Revenue increased, and the actual amount realized was small. Of course, the amount realized was small because of very liberal exemption. That is true, otherwise it would have been large. But if it had been strictly applied the burden would have been very heavy on industry and, therefore, it was rightly applied in a liberal way. Anyhow, now that the change has been made in this year's Finance Bill, the necessity for this does not arise and, as I have said, no deposits will be called for from the companies this year. I might add, however, that for the present we are not taking any steps to remove this law from the statute book. This is simply because this will require a new amending Bill. When the time comes for us to amend the Income Tax Act we will include this there.

One small matter, which is of interest to me at least and, maybe, to some others here, is that there has been some difficulty in the production of cheap books in India. Cheap books are printed on newsprint and not on normal good paper. All the foreign cheap books that come are printed on newsprint. While books come here duty-free, newsprint has to pay duty, and rightly so. And, there is nothing left in the book trade. So our book trade had to print its so-called cheap books on more expensive paper and it cannot easily compete with foreign cheap books from abroad. The question was that they are getting cheap newsprint. Now, it was suggested that the duty on newsprint should be removed. There is some difficulty about that, but we are examining this matter. We will find some way out of it. If necessary we may get some small special quantity of newsprint and even give some foreign exchange for the purpose, because we do wish to encourage the production of cheap books here.

Sir, I am very grateful to the House for the indulgence. I have spoken for a long time. I wish to repeat, Sir, what I said in the course of my speech that while we are fully conscious of the seriousness of the task, of the difficulties and all that, there is absolutely no sense or no feeling of pessimism or defeatism in my mind. If people call that complacency they are wrong because we are

not complacent, nobody can be complacent who has to face the difficulties and burdens of the day. But it is one thing not to be complacent and yet be full of hope and strength. I have no doubt at all about this soundness of Indian economy, the soundness of the Indian people. These things are more important than any other arguments, and facts and figures we may raise. It is true that we have to function within certain limitations; we cannot escape that; they are inherent. I may quote from Shakespeare, used in a totally different connection: "...that the will is infinite, and the execution confined; that the desire is boundless, and the act a slave to limit".²²

22. Quotation from *Troilus and Cressida* by Shakespeare, Act 3, Scene II.



INAUGURATING THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FARMERS, NEW DELHI, 15 MARCH 1958



SPEAKING AT THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER, BOMBAY, 3 FEBRUARY 1958

(ii) Industry and Labour

1. Role of Industrial Estates¹

Shri Venkataraman,² Shri Governor,³ Chief Minister⁴ and friends,

First of all, I must apologize to you for, well, rushing through this ceremony an hour earlier than it was first intended. I was looking forward to this occasion because, shall I confess, I had not been to any of these numerous industrial estates that have been put up in the various parts of India thus far.⁵ I have read about them and I have passed them by on the roadside but I have never been really inside them. So, on this occasion, I thought I would have an opportunity of gaining some closer acquaintance with this development, which I think is a very good one and full of promise in many ways.

Well, I have come here this morning and visited some parts of this place and got some vague idea of the type of thing that this Industrial Estate is. And, I am glad I did that. I hope it will help me to visualize it better in future. I do not know if I can tell you much about this, for many of you or some of you know much more than I do. But, suppose this institution seeks, shall I say, to bring modern techniques to household stage, or to the small concern, which is at least as important as the big one. If you want to industrialize, you will not industrialize by putting up a number of big plants, though those may be essential, but rather by bringing these modern techniques to a hundred and one, may I say, small occupations, and thus change the very basis of our methods of production and of making things. Probably this type of thing is likely to have a wider repercussion on the general public, that is, in training them in techniques than in the big plants. These will be in more intimate touch with the public. And the kind of assistance that the Government gives is also, as I understand it, very helpful and yet not very burdensome to the Government. Even if the

1. Inaugural speech at the opening of the Industrial Estate at Guindy, Madras, 7 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. R. Venkataraman, Minister of Industries in Madras Government.
3. P.V. Rajamannar, Acting Governor of Madras and Chief Justice, Madras High Court.
4. K. Kamaraj Nadar.
5. On the recommendation of the Small-Scale Industries Board, and with assistance offered by the Central Government, the Madras Government had decided to establish two industrial estates, one at Guindy and the other at Virudhunagar, besides six small ones—at Madura, Tirunelveli, Erode, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore and Marthandam. The Guindy Industrial Estate was meant to provide space for 90 units with necessary amenities and facilities at an estimated cost of Rs 70.17 lakhs.

Government probably makes mistakes, it does not cost much, as it does if it is a major plant. So, all I can say is that I would like to express my pleasure at this fine Industrial Estate that is growing up in Guindy. It is very shiny and bright at the present moment and it has all the looks of prosperity about it. I am quite sure that this will grow.

This, of course, by itself is good. But, what is more important is that it becomes the centre of other things, other growths and of so many types of growth. So, it is a good thing for Madras to have this. I do not know if you are having any other industrial estate in this State. I am told that there are going to be six more in this State, although not quite so big as this; they will be smaller than this. This is the first to start functioning. So, I congratulate you and I wish you success. I am sure you will have it.

Jai Hind!

I forgot to say the vital word—I declare this Industrial Estate open.

2. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

10th January 1958

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter of January 7th about the strike in the Nasik Security Press.² Nath Pai³ came to see me about this yesterday. As a matter of fact, I had sent word to him that I had absolutely no time for an interview. Nevertheless, he came to my office and just caught me for a few minutes.

I told him that this was a matter entirely in the discretion of the Finance Minister and the Labour Minister⁴ and it would not be proper for me to interfere in any way. Apart from this, I felt that the strike was misconceived and much too political. All I could do was to forward his letter, which he had given me, to the Finance Minister, which I am doing now.

There is one aspect, however, which I do not understand. This relates to the hours of work. It is said that normally in Government presses in Bombay State the hours of work are 44. Why then should they be 48 in the

1. JN Collection.

2. The workers of the Government Security Press at Nasik went on a month-long strike in December 1957. The strike ended on 14 January 1958 on the assurance of the Chief Minister of Bombay that the workers' demand of 44 hours of work in a week instead of 48 hours would be looked into.

3. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay State.

4. Gulzarilal Nanda.

Nasik Press? Nath Pai said that this reduction of hours of work must not be allowed to affect the quantity of work turned out. In fact, they would give an assurance or a guarantee that at least the same quantity of work would be turned out even with 44 hours of work per week. But the main point is why should the Government of India Press at Nasik have more hours of work than the Bombay Government presses next door?

As you say in your letter, this strike is very largely political and many of their demands were foolish. We cannot submit to this type of strike. On the other hand, one should not go too far and avoid a deep resentment settling down among the people concerned. While we cannot accept anything which might justify a strike, it might be desirable to take up the attitude that we are prepared to look into this question of hours if the strike is withdrawn, that is, provided this appears justified as on the face of it it does appear to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
January 12, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

Your letter of the 12th January about the price of Telco locomotives.³ It is difficult for me to give you any precise advice in this matter as I am technically or otherwise incompetent to do so. We should obviously prefer getting our locomotives made in India than ordering them from abroad. This is our general principle and to this weight is added by the fact of the scarcity of foreign exchange. Even if the local price was a little higher, we would prefer it according to our broad principles.

1. File No. 17(260)/57-PMS.

2. Union Minister of Railways.

3. Jagjivan Ram wrote that the prices of Telco's YG locomotives, scheduled for purchase between 1 April 1956 and 31 March 1958, ranged from Rs 5,11,562 to Rs 4,44,873 per unit, and that these were based upon the recommendations of the Tariff Commission which were considered by the Cabinet in November 1956. As regards purchases after 31 March 1958, he stated that in a preliminary discussion with the representatives of the Railway Board in the first week of January 1958, the Telco had offered to reduce their quotation from Rs 4.19 lakhs to Rs 3.95 lakhs per unit, and that they might further lower it after a re-examination.

As to fixing the price,⁴ I should have imagined that the cost of production should be a good basis. According to you the German quotations vary between 3.50 and 4.10 lakhs. There does not appear to be a marked difference between these prices and the new price fixed for Telco locomotives. Possibly they might reduce their latest quotation somewhat more. Anyhow, it is for you, together with your advisers, to judge this, keeping in view the fact that much attention has been drawn to our purchase of locomotives from Telco.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Jagjivan Ram reproduced an extract from his letter of 2 September 1957 to Nehru in which he had given figures for the 'landed costs' of metre gauge locomotives quoted by some foreign exporters, the lowest figures being those of the Czechoslovak and Japanese locomotives, which varied between Rs 3 lakhs and Rs 3.66 lakhs. In this letter, Jagjivan Ram had also observed: "A figure between the higher and the lower of the West German quotations—or something just below Rs 4 lakhs —would be a reasonable price, which we can justifiably expect Telco to charge us, inclusive of profit and managing agency commission."

4. Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi's Economic Principles¹

In India, both the cottage industries and the big industries should grow side by side. Khadi and cottage industries are essential and should be there. Similarly, big machines and factories are essential for the progress of the country.

The Chairman² of the exhibition committee just said that the ideal of the social and economic organization placed by the Father of the Nation does not seem to be quite shared by some of the intelligentsia of the country. I am afraid I do not agree with this view. Gandhiji had drawn up certain broad principles. While the principles are there, the policies are subject to change along with the change of society. That is the lesson we learn from history.

We must believe in *Yugadharma* and remember that in this changing world, society is also changing. There is no change only in a dead man. But living human beings have got to change with the changing times. Otherwise, they

1. Speech at the inauguration of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 14 January 1958. From *The Hindu*, 16 January 1958.
2. Omeo Kumar Das.

will not be able to keep pace and will become something stagnant. It is like the growth of a boy: his dress requires to be changed as he grows, otherwise one day the dress will be torn to pieces.

India's technique and economic policies cannot remain static. These must be changed with the changing times and their needs. Society must develop in consonance with the machine age through which the world is currently passing. It is true, I agree that machines may have brought along with them some evil, but it is not the fault of the machines, but of those who control them. The problem is how best to utilize them in the service of mankind and help in the progress of society.

5. Strikes and the War on Poverty¹

India has launched a battle not against any country, but against poverty, and any strike or hartal by workers would hamper the execution of the development plans and affect the battle against poverty. A country can prosper only by increasing its wealth by more and more production in the field as well as in factories. It cannot be done by magic or by any other means. America is a wealthy country but it took the people of America two hundred years to produce their wealth. India cannot wait for such a long time.

Untold power has come into the hands of men in the shape of atomic energy. It might be of immense benefit to the world or might be a means of destruction. But people had to work hard to attain this power. In India, the main problem is poverty. It cannot be removed by passing legislation. It requires hard labour and more production. When production increases, the country becomes prosperous and it means more wealth to the people. India is poor because she does not produce much either from the field or from the factory. We had therefore, to take up the five-year plans immediately after attainment of independence.

In the First Plan, emphasis was put on the production of food by adopting a number of river valley schemes which help irrigation of fields, even if there was no rain, and produce hydroelectric power for factories. In the Second Plan, we are setting up big steel plants so that we can produce steel necessary for the construction work.

1. Speech at a labour rally, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. From *The Hindu*, 18 January 1958.

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The whole object is to produce more from land as well as from factories. Now, if there are hartals or strikes it would retard the country's progress. Similarly, if the kisans observed hartal, there would be no food in the country.

India is passing through a transitory period and other countries have been watching our progress during the past seven or eight years with great interest. Workers should therefore remember that the more we produce the more prosperous we become, and if the country becomes prosperous it means prosperity of the people as a whole.

I hope that the INTUC with which the workers are attached would guide them in the right direction and grow stronger.

6. To Omeo Kumar Das¹

Gauhati

January 20, 1958

My dear Omeo Babu,²

I have your note. I am happy to tell you that I have formed a high opinion of the All-India Khadi & Gramodyog Exhibition which is being held here. It was one of the best exhibitions of the kind that I have seen.³ It was well and artistically arranged and very educative. I am glad to know that very large numbers of people went to see it.

My congratulations to you and all others who organized this exhibition.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. F9/2/58-PMS.
2. Chairman, All India Khadi & Village Industries Exhibition, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati.
3. Nehru, accompanied by V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, and Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, spent two hours at the Exhibition on the morning of 16 January. *The Hindu* reported: "So great was Mr Nehru's interest in the exhibits that his visit began to fall behind schedule and he was requested to speed it up as he had more to see. 'Speed, yes', the Prime Minister said, 'but with direction'."

7. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

New Delhi

25th January 1958

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of January 23. I am a little surprised to learn about the Prime Minister of Romania's visit to India.² We had vaguely heard about it, but so far as I knew, no date had been fixed.

As for the other matters you have mentioned,³ we must proceed methodically and with every normal caution. We have on two, three occasions been rather hit hard by functioning casually. It is true that red-tape is bad but lack of red-tape, that is method, may land us into greater difficulties. Therefore, all the procedures must be gone through in regard to the Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry and the Cabinet and only then should decisions be arrived at. Apart from this, I am not at all sure that it is desirable for you to go to Romania before the visit of the Prime Minister of Romania. However, this can be considered also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (290)/58-69-PMS.
2. Malaviya, Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil, wrote that the Romanian Ambassador, Nicolae Cioroiu, who had seen him on 23 January in connection with India's proposal for a small refinery at Gauhati, had enquired whether he knew of the Romanian Prime Minister Chivu Stoica's programme to visit India on 7 March.
3. The Romanian Ambassador told Malaviya that his Government had accepted, in principle, the supply of refinery equipment and other ancillary facilities for a 0.75 million-ton refinery. He also suggested that Malaviya might visit Romania "to finish the preliminaries [of the deal] there", before the Romanian Prime Minister's visit to India, "because the general question of payment was to be broadly agreed upon before further negotiations." Informing Nehru of this talk, Malaviya wrote to him that he and Swaran Singh, Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, both were agreeable that the proposed negotiations could be on "single party deal basis" as "we are not likely to receive more attractive terms from any capitalist country." Malaviya also sought Nehru's approval for his visit to Romania around 20 February.

8. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
January 27, 1958

My dear Ajit,²

The Chief Minister of Kerala³ has written to me a letter about a *vanaspati* factory in his State. This was put up in 1953 by the then Government of Madras and over eighteen lakhs of rupees were invested in it, but apparently did not work. The Kerala Government now want to start it. In order to be sure of disposing its products, they want some assurance from the Defence Ministry to buy some part of them. The Defence Ministry have replied to them that they buy this by tender and they can apply also in the same way.

I find that K.P. Gopalan,⁴ the Minister for Industries, has written to you on the subject. I do not know if you have replied to this letter yet. What do you propose to reply? We should of course decide this matter on the merits and without any prejudice this way or that. Normally, a government concern might be favoured, but it has to be seen what the economic results would be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (283)/58-59-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.
3. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.
4. Minister of Industries, Government of Kerala.

9. To Subimal Dutt¹

New Delhi
January 27, 1958

My dear Dutt,²

You may have heard of Ella Maillart, the well-known traveller who made a famous journey across Central Asia many years ago with Peter Fleming.³ She is an old friend, whose opinion in some matters I value greatly. For some years she has been engaged in tourism and she sometimes brings a group of people

1. JN Collection.
2. Foreign Secretary.
3. A British journalist and travel writer.

with her and takes them around India. She is a Swiss. She is here now with a crowd of Swiss people, staying at the Ashoka Hotel. She has sent me a letter⁴ today, a copy of which I enclose. Coming from her, I attach importance to her impression of Ashoka and what is happening there. Being a Swiss, the Swiss Managers and others spoke to her as to a compatriot and no doubt a little frankly expressed their views. It is possible that the Swiss views are somewhat one-sided. But there it is and I think we should pay some attention to what they say.⁵ I am not sure that I shall send for Hotz, the Manager, or any other person. Perhaps I might see him later. But I suggest that you might see them, as you are a Director of the Hotel.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In her letter dated 26 January, Ella Maillart wrote, "The situation [in the Ashoka Hotel] is so grave that I must tell you this: within three months of their contracts expiring, they [the Swiss managers working in the Hotel] will leave the 'Ashoka' and no one will be able to stop the ensuing chaos among the 900 servants." Saying that Nehru alone could prevent "that gigantic slip", she requested him to receive Robert Hotz, the manager, and Ulrich Dreier, the man in charge of catering and accounts, for a brief meeting to hear the facts.
5. The same day, Nehru also drew the attention of K.C. Reddy, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, to Ella Maillart's views on the situation in the Ashoka Hotel.

10. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
28th January 1958

My dear Morarji,²

A case has come to my notice which seems to me very odd. This is about Nangal Fertilizers which I understand is a concern under your Ministry. It relates to the supply and erection of electrical equipment for the Nangal Factory.

Apparently two offers were considered, one by the English Electric and the other by an Italian firm, Messrs C.G.E. I need not go into the story as I am enclosing a copy of a note from the Chairman of the Board, B.C. Mukharji,

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry at this time.

which gives all the facts.³ On 12 October 1957, the Board of the Nangal Fertilizer Factory recommended to Government that the contract for supply and supervision of erection of electrical equipment for the factory should be awarded to Messrs C.G.E. of Milan, Italy. The final quotations of the two main contenders for the contract were:

Messrs C.G.E.	—	Rs 197,78,425
Messrs English Electric Company	—	Rs 212,87,841

It seems to me that from every point of view the Italian offer was preferable and more advantageous. The Board of Nangal Fertilizers recommended it strongly. Nevertheless, for some odd reason, Government have overruled the Board and under some authority vested in it decided in favour of the English firm.

I am told that our Technical Advisers are wholly against this decision of Government. The Italian firm is very upset and their Ambassador is raising it. The American consultants of Nangal Fertilizers, who had recommended in favour of the Italian firm are also upset. The Board of Nangal Fertilizers are not only upset but hurt that they should be overruled completely in a matter of this kind. Apparently, the Board was not even informed again about this till a decision was taken. There is another factor. Apparently, for any equipment, machinery or material booked from any part of the United Kingdom, the freight has to be paid in advance in sterling. In regard to the Italian firm, payment can be made at the other end and presumably in rupees. This also is a matter in favour of the Italian firm.

This also raises the question of the authority vesting in a Board. There is no particular point in having a high-powered Board if it is overruled. Responsibility will not rest with it and indeed nobody will be responsible ultimately for the work done there.

I am rather concerned at this story and I should like you immediately to enquire into it. I am told that because of the activities of the Italian Ambassador, this question may be raised in Parliament by question or otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Although the Italian firm offered to accept 20 per cent of the contract price in rupees, the Government issued orders on 14 December 1957 approving the award of the contract to Messrs English Electric Company. The order stipulated that the company should undertake to utilize the 20 per cent rupee payment "towards the rupee expenditure needs of their switch gear factory in Madras."

11. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

Your letter of the 21st February about the future of the Indian Airlines Corporation and civil aviation. I am not adequately acquainted with the position to be able to give a firm opinion. But, broadly speaking, I am not keen on nationalizing all the airlines. Some private lines offer a cushion for an emergency provided, of course, they function. If they cannot function properly, then there is no help for it but to acquire them.

Finally, I suppose we shall have to acquire all of them. But, even in regard to other industrial concerns, I think that we should proceed a little cautiously. Our resources are limited and some competition is good for us. Our civic sense is not very well developed and in Government concerns there is a tendency for slackness and little care for economy because it is Government money that is being spent. For this reason, I think that some private industrial concerns should continue and make us sit up occasionally. Of course, this may or may not apply to airlines, I do not know.

But I think that operations of the private airlines should certainly be brought under the control of the Indian Airlines Corporation.

The cry for nationalization which comes from some Members of Parliament is more based on principle than on a study of the facts of the situation. It is imagined that as soon as we get it nationalized, our income increases. As a matter of fact, the first thing we have to face is the demand for higher salaries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Civil Aviation.

12. To Rameshwar Tantia¹

New Delhi
28th February 1958

Dear Shri Rameshwar Tantia,²

I have your two letters dated February 25th.

I do not see how Congress members can be associated with Stock Exchanges. These are entirely private bodies. As for the future of Stock Exchanges, that is a matter which can certainly be looked into later.

So far as the Life Insurance Corporation is concerned, we shall have to go into this matter in its various aspects fairly thoroughly. The question is a broader one relating to all statutory corporations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Merchant and industrialist; Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Sikar, Rajasthan.

13. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

Director's Bungalow
Jamshedpur
1st March 1958

My dear Sri Babu,²

A number of local Congressmen came to see me here in Jamshedpur. I enclose a list of their names which they gave me.

I know nothing about these people, but I know that Jamshedpur had a lot of trouble in past years both among Congressmen and in labour. Jamshedpur has, of course, an importance which is a very special one and much greater than a normal district or town. It is almost an international centre and people from all over India come to work here. The Iron & Steel Works here are of the highest importance and any possible trouble may have dangerous consequences. Therefore, both the Jamshedpur Congress and the labour union here require special attention.

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

The local Congressmen who came to see me complained more especially of the activities of Chhotelal Vyas who used to be the President of the District Congress Committee and who is, I believe, still perhaps a member of the Bihar Congress Working Committee. You must know a good deal about him. I had some dealings with him about two years or so ago and I came to the conclusion that he was a trouble-maker and a person not to be encouraged in any way. For some odd reason he appears to have the help of influential people in the Bihar Congress. In labour matters he created a great deal of trouble and so also in the Congress. Probably, he profited by the dissensions among the Congress ranks in Bihar. Anyhow, I came to the conclusion then that he was an entirely wrong kind of person. I am sorry to find that he still functions here under the garb of the Congress.

While the Congress here is important, the labour unions are still more so. A strong Congress organization would naturally help labour. A weak one will be harmful. I understand that some local Congress elections are going to take place here and that these have been postponed previously on several occasions. I hope that the elections will be held soon and I do hope that the activities of Chhotelal Vyas will not be encouraged in any way.³

If you think it worthwhile, you can forward this letter to the Bihar Pradesh Congress President.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru also wrote to the Congress President, U.N. Dhebar, on the same day from Jamshedpur regarding these points and expressed the hope "that Congress elections would soon take place under the surveillance of an AICC representative."
4. Nand Kumar Sinha.

14. Steel and Power, Symbols of Economic Development¹

Shri Jehangir Tata,² Governor,³ sisters, brothers and children,

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I have come here today for many reasons. Firstly, of course, because I was invited to do so by J.R.D. Tata, and his being an old friend, it was not possible for me to say no to him. But there is no question of my saying no because I wanted to come. I wanted to come not only because of the importance of this great steel works here and this city of Jamshedpur, but even more so because this place has become symbolic in some ways of the growth of Indian industry, starting, as you have just been told by him, from those days when Jamsetji Tata had the vision of developing industry, and not developing it in a petty way but going down to the rock bottom and realizing that steel was the base for any modern industrialization. The countries that had made progress in the nineteenth century in industrialization had done so on the foundations of coal and steel, coal and iron. Those countries that were fortunate to possess them used them, exploited them, and grew strong and wealthy. India possessed and possesses both coal and iron, plenty of them, and many other things, but they remained unexploited, unused and we did not profit by them. But at a moment when perhaps the spirits of our people were very low, Jamsetji Tata had this vision. We are told by J.R.D. Tata that this was nearly a hundred years ago. You remember that only last year we commemorated the hundredth year of the great rising in north India against British rule which was cruelly suppressed and which again led to this feeling of utter frustration among our people. That was the period when Jamsetji Tata began to think of these big schemes, revolve them in his mind which gradually took shape. So, although there are many reasons which have brought me here, the biggest reason of all is to pay homage to the memory of Jamsetji Tata.

It is very easy for those of us who think in terms of today to belittle what had been done by those who preceded us, not realizing the conditions in which they lived and the then climate of thought. Some of our young people are very brave, because it is easy to be brave when there is no opposition and when

1. Speech at a function to celebrate the golden jubilee of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, Jamshedpur, 1 March 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in Hindi. The Hindi part of the speech being repetitive is not printed here.
2. J.R.D. Tata, Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited.
3. Zakir Husain, Governor of Bihar.

there is an appropriate climate for it. Difficulties come when you are brave by yourself, not in a crowd, when you have to give the lead in action, in ideas—a lead which does not fit in with the climate of opinion. That is true courage, physical or mental or spiritual, call it what you like, and it is this type of courage and vision that Jamsetji Tata showed, and it is right that we should honour his memory and remember him as one of the big founders of modern India. As I have just said in Hindi that we have our Planning Commission today and we have our five-year plans, First and Second, and no doubt Third and Fourth, but Jamsetji Tata formed himself into some kind of a planning commission and began his own five-year, not five-year but a much more bigger plan.

Everybody talks now of industrialization, everyone recognizes that industrialization means many things, but more specially it means steel and power. It is on the basis of steel and power that countries are industrialized and advanced. Indeed, without knowing anything about a country, if you only know how much steel it produces, how much power it produces or possesses, you can very well tell as to what that country is, how far it is advanced. Those two yardsticks of measurement apply anywhere.

I do not mean to say that only steel and power are necessary for a country's growth. There are many other things, perhaps more precious things are the mind and the body and the spirit. But talking in terms of industrialization, steel and power are most important. It may be that in the future, in the not too distant future, new and greater sources of power supply will come to us, we already appear to be on the threshold of that time. It may be that even steel might gradually not take the first place as it has done, but so far as one can see, it will continue to occupy a highly important place in man's life. So, we have to increase our steel production and raise our power output. When you hear about our difficulties in the Second Plan, difficulties of foreign exchange, difficulties of internal resources, and the like, you also hear that, whatever our difficulties might be, we are going ahead with what is sometimes called the hard core of the Plan, the hard core of the Plan being roughly 95 per cent of the Plan, or 90 per cent, whatever it might be, most of the Plan in fact, including its major components, iron and steel, some other things too, coal, transport, power, but in the main, iron and steel. It shows the basic importance that we attach to iron and steel, and even at a very great cost to our people, to all our people and to the country, we have pursued this path and we are determined to go ahead with these great iron and steel plants which are being, as here, doubled, or are being newly constructed.

Now, enough of iron and steel. I come to this park. I have said that iron and steel are likely to play a vital part in human existence for as long a time as one can foresee, probably much longer, but in the ultimate analysis, I imagine

that parks and flowers are more important than iron and steel. Of course, there is no conflict between the two. Flowers and parks and trees supply something which is, I imagine, of more basic importance to human beings and the human spirit than even iron and steel, and, therefore, it was a very happy thought of those who are responsible for it to commemorate this occasion of the jubilee of this great company by providing this beautiful park for all the workers here and all the citizens of Jamshedpur and I congratulate them on this delightful idea.

I should like to congratulate all those who are connected with this great steel works here and express the hope that their work will continue to be—and in fact more than even in the past—a great cooperative endeavour, and that everyone of them, whatever his grade might be, will think of his work as that of a partnership in this great adventure.

Now, presumably, I shall be called upon to unveil the statue. I shall gladly do so.⁴ I am told that some formal words are necessary for me to declare this park open. Well, I hereby declare this park open.

4. Nehru unveiled the statue of Jamsetji Tata.

15. Yugoslav Proposals for Hydro-Electric Works in India¹

The Yugoslav Ambassador² told me this afternoon that some time ago he had spoken to Shri S.K. Patil, our Minister for Irrigation and Power, and told him that Yugoslavia was prepared to undertake the building of hydro-electric works in India, payment for them being deferred. He said that probably people did not realize the advance made in Yugoslavia in such matters. He therefore had suggested that some expert from India might go and see for himself and have talks with the Yugoslav Government.

2. The Ambassador said that they would be prepared to undertake the construction of two hydro-electric works in India; also perhaps a cement factory on credit or deferred payment terms. He hoped that some expert from India would be able to go to Yugoslavia soon and see the position there for himself and discuss matters.

3. I am sending a copy of this note to Minister for Irrigation & Power, the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 3 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. Bogdan Crnobrnja.

16. Objectives of Private and Public Sectors: Address to FICCI¹

Mr President,² members of the Federation,

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I have listened carefully to the President's address³ and read the resolutions which I believe were passed recently or you are considering.⁴ Anyhow, you have supplied them to me here. I have no grievance against any resolutions that you may pass even though some of them may not be entirely to my liking. I recognize your right to think and to advise as you think proper. Indeed, there will be no particular point in offering your advice if it did not represent your considered experience and opinion. Whether I or my Government agree with your advice altogether or not is another matter. You represent a very important section of opinion and it is necessary and desirable for any Government to pay the greatest attention to that important section of opinion, engaged as you are in the trade and commerce of this country.

Our approach, whether it is to your opinion or to other opinions, is not, I hope, a doctrinaire approach, nor is it an approach which considers you as in some way the opposite party. There are differences of opinion and marked differences in India in regard to the road we should travel or even sometimes the objective we should have. But for my part, even though I hold strongly to some sets of opinions, I do not conceive any important section of the Indian community to be in any other boat than our boat. I am convinced that we all have to travel together, sink or swim and reach the offshore. We do not propose to sink. We all have to reach the other side together. And I dislike the approach to our problems which is based on an impression of any inherent or essential conflict. Sometimes there is a difference of opinion on vital matters, nevertheless

1. Speech at the annual conference of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, 10 March 1958. Nehru began his speech in Hindi. The Hindi part of the speech being repetitive is not printed here. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Babubhai Maneklal Chinai, President of FICCI, and Congress Member of Rajya Sabha.
3. Chinai had, in his address, suggested 'de-monopolization' of the LIC and creation of half a dozen corporations, some of which might be privately managed.
4. The resolutions passed at the conference demanded, among other things, withdrawal of the Expenditure Tax, abolition of the Wealth Tax, liberalization of the foreign exchange policy and promotion of export trades.

there is a very large measure of agreement in regard to the ultimate objective or ideal. An attempt to understand each other and iron out the differences for taking the next step is necessary for a variety of reasons.

First, I think it is perhaps more of India's way than that of most other countries—the way of toleration of opinion and finding a common path, though that common path is not always found. It does not very much matter if it is not found but what does matter is the attempt made to find it. That is important, the mental approach towards cooperation, towards finding a common path, even though the differences remain, because it is that mental approach that really governs the atmosphere in a country. I may give you an example on a wider front. Take the international front today; there are very difficult and terrible problems, disarmament is the chief of them, somehow to remove the horror of nuclear and thermonuclear war, somehow to get out of this terrible affair, an apprehension in which the great part of the world lives. These are solid problems which should be faced solidly, and yet I think the most important thing is the temper in which we approach them.

If the mental attitude is full of fear and hatred and violence, then obviously you do not go towards the solution. If, on the other hand, the mental attitude is different, is bent on finding a way out, is not bent on merely finding fault with the adversary and cursing and slanging him and calling him names, then that means a greater approach towards an agreement. That is, the changing of the mental attitude and atmosphere is more helpful than even any kind of a practical approach, because the practical approach will follow from that attitude. And, therefore, the chief virtue, among other virtues, of the attitude that India takes up in international affairs, that is, an attitude of following an independent policy, unaligned to any military bloc, uncommitted to any military policies, and seeking the friendship of all nations, has this great virtue that it helps, at least. We may be right or we may be wrong but we approach problems without passion and hatred and without fear, if I may say so, although we are not a powerful nation either from the point of view of arms or wealth. If you have a war, you are naturally keyed up, worked up to hatred of the enemy, to destruction of the enemy. The apparatus of the nation, physically, mentally, industrially, everything is directed to one object—the defeat of the enemy and possibly his destruction. Not a good thing but that is how war functions.

To a somewhat lesser extent, but still working in the same way, is the cold war which makes peoples' mind function in that atmosphere of defeat or undermining or weakening or destroying the enemy, and hatred and violence. In that atmosphere, it becomes terribly difficult to deal with any problem and to solve it. That is a big example that I have placed before you because it is a thing which we face today, this international situation. While there is no active

war going on, the situation drifts and it is a most dangerous thing to drift with hydrogen bombs to your right, to your left, at the top of you and below you. A slightly false move, a slight accident or incident, a drunken man who may be carrying hydrogen bombs, a man who gets a paralytic stroke and who may have hydrogen bombs in his possession, then anything could happen. Is the world's future to depend on the men carrying hydrogen bombs, anyone of whom might lose his head at any time by flare or misfortune? I am not for the moment even talking about Governments. It is an extraordinary state of affairs that we have arrived at. Governments find it difficult enough to come to terms but handing over the future of humanity to the tender mercies of an odd accident that might happen is an amazing proposition. So we live just hoping to escape accidents, apart from the major accident of even Governments going wrong, or going too far in a direction and not being able to withdraw.

A policy like ours, that is to say, the policy of India in regard to international affairs, at least does not keep us tied up to that state of nervous tension, fear and apprehension. It helps in making a country think calmly and objectively, and surely it is always better to be calm and objective than to be excited and to fear war. It helps in other ways too, and therefore, it is desirable that more and more areas of the earth's surface, if I may use the word, should be areas of peace and detachment from military blocs, whatever their sympathies may be. It is open to have their sympathies but this idea of solving the world's ills through mighty military machines, military blocs is, I venture to say with all respect, an exploded idea. It has made matters worse day after day, year after year. You can compare, have a chart made of the last twelve or thirteen years since the War, and see how the curve of world tension goes up and down.

So, I have drifted in another direction. Coming back to our domestic policy, we have to face the problem of feeding this country, of removing poverty, of raising the standards of our people. We have to face the problem of increasing the wealth of our country and distributing it equitably among our people through normal means. If our production remains exactly what it is and our population continues to grow as it does, obviously we go down and the share of each individual becomes less and less. A few may get more because there is less to divide. Therefore, the least that we can do is to produce more, to invest more so as to cover the increased population even to keep the same standards as we have today. That is inevitable, unless you are successful in stopping the growth of population; the attempt should be made for not stopping it but reducing it. It is an important and vital matter, and when this is referred to, people think it is an amusing matter and laugh. Remember, it is not so. It affects the future of the country. The fact, however, remains that you have to produce more even to keep where you are, apart from making progress. The country has to produce

more. What it has to produce is a matter of calculation. You may calculate and you may say, "Well, this is the expected rise of population, we have to do so much more". Now, if you produce less than that figure, let us say X, then instead of going ahead, you go down slowly. What has been happening in India through all these years after Independence and previous to that is that India is going down the hill all the time for the last 100 years or so because the little progress that was achieved did not keep pace with the growth of population. I know, no attempt was made, of course, in that direction; progress was thought of in some Independent terms—a factory is put up, something else is done. Maybe, it was good but no attempt was made to think on the lines that even to keep still where you are, you have to produce enough to keep the new additional population going.

And so you see this process of a hundred, two hundred years or so, is gradually going backwards and the poverty of India taking deep roots. Therefore, we find it difficult to pull it out of these roots. We have pulled it a great deal but unless you keep pace with the population growth by producing a certain quantum, or whatever it may be, you will go downhill. If you want to progress, you must have something 'X' plus 'Y'. 'Y' is the progress apart from 'X' which is to keep where you are. In a country like India, a huge country, these figures 'X' and 'Y' become big. How are you, therefore, to find 'X' or even more so 'Y'? Normally, every country in the West or East has received aid, assistance, investment from other countries and made good. There is no harm in receiving it. We welcome it. We have indeed received it and I should like to express my deep gratitude to the various countries who have helped us, especially this year, in the past too, especially in recent months when our difficulties especially in regard to foreign exchange were considerable. But it is a little absurd to imagine that through foreign aid a country jumps up and up. Foreign aid is a catalyst, foreign aid is helpful, foreign aid sometimes is the most important thing but the burden of progress must be borne by the people. Whether it is from the economic point of view and even more so from the psychological point of view, it is important that people should realize that they have to carry this burden and do their utmost, because in the ultimate analysis it is not money that counts but men and women. In the ultimate analysis, what counts is the stature of men and women in the country, the temper, the capacity for hard work, the ability, the psychology behind them, all that counts; and the moment it weakens, that country is lost, do what you will. The moment a country thinks in terms of somebody else, always helping it through difficulties and avoiding the dangers, that country has already lost the psychological basis for freedom. Even in the military sense, a country which relies on other countries for protection has undermined its real strength for freedom. You will see, if

you read history, that great countries and great empires became weak because they relied on others to protect them, to support them. That applies in the military sense, in the economic sense and in every sense, because ultimately it is the human being that counts—even military capacity. And when I say military capacity what I really mean is the capacity to fight and not to submit, whatever happens, arms or no arms. No country, I say, can ever be conquered by hydrogen bombs or any bombs if it refuses absolutely to be conquered and prefers to die. You must have the capacity to die if necessity arises. After all, whether you can be killed by a normal gun or a hydrogen bomb, the most that can be done is to be killed, you cannot be killed twice over. And that quality of not bowing to others' domination of your country or what you may consider evil, that is the real strength of the country. It is to some extent that quality which gave us independence under the teachings of Gandhiji and to some extent that quality has to be imparted in our other dealings, economic or other.

Now, therefore, the question is that there are certain facts in our economic situation, in our planning for growth, which cannot be bypassed. They are not facts which are very pleasant to face, unpleasant facts. There is a limit beyond which we dare not go down in regard to our investment approach. In your address, Sir, I think you said something about the figures of investment which the Second Five Year Plan contains, that they are by no means overambitious. You may look at them in another way. The First Five Year Plan was our first effort at planning, which, by and large, succeeded insofar as the targets were concerned but the targets were really so low that they did not catch up to that advancing tide of population in India. And so it became essential for us to catch up with that population growth and to go beyond it. So it became essential also to have higher objectives, to have a greater figure of investment. There is no escape from it.

People talk about this thing being overambitious. They ignore the nature of the problem. You may as well say that it is ambitious for the Indian people who presume to think that they never have been prosperous. Is that an ambition we should give up? We can be a prosperous state and a wealthy state and a strong state. Is that being ambitious? Was it being overambitious when we said we would be free and independent? Some people in our own country talked: "Who are these people, these Indian people, disunited, fighting each other on false grounds, on religious grounds, on language grounds and all that, poverty-stricken people, backward people, superstitious people, who go and bathe in millions in the Ganges or the Yamuna or some river if there is an eclipse, trying to remove Rahu and Ketu from their misdeeds? Are these people worthy of freedom? Are these people ever going to get freedom?" Many people said so and that argument might well have been justified logically on paper, but we did dare, the people of

India dared and the ordinary peasant, poverty-stricken peasant of India dared to do that and he succeeded in doing so. Therefore, let us not be told that we are overambitious here and there. We are overambitious and the moment we cease to be ambitious, we go down the hill. But we have to temper our effort and then naturally we take caution realizing the nature of the problem. We cannot go about as in the age of chivalrous days brandishing the sword. That is ridiculous. But you must have essential faith and belief in you in that as to where we are going and that we will go there, come what may. We may slacken here and there. So from this point of view, we have to find the resources.

You have also said about the taxation proposals of a year ago. Naturally, the burden of that taxation fell heavily on many of you in the country. I think, personally, that that broad approach was inevitable and continues to be inevitable. Maybe, one should examine it always carefully if it can be improved, if it can be tempered here and there, but the broad approach is inevitable, the broad approach being greater resources to be obtained from those who can afford more than others. Here is a broad attempt. I am prepared to discuss with you these matters on the basis of that broad approach because I cannot give it up. Giving it up means giving up the very ground, the very background of my thought. I am not going to give up the fight for India's economic independence and growth just as I was not prepared to give up that fight for India's political freedom and independence. It is no function for me to be the Prime Minister of India. I have had it for ten years or more and if that is the only thing, it is about time I retired and did something else worthwhile. But it is a function for me, so long as I have the strength, to fight for India's economic progress and independence and the welfare of the Indian people and that is a large task. It is not my function only, it is everybody's function in India and, therefore, I seek your cooperation and everybody's cooperation whether we differ in this matter or that matter or not.

Now, let us look at the picture. We have been through difficult times this past year. To some extent, those difficulties are less now. You are aware of what I said presenting my Budget statement the other day in Parliament.⁵ I did not stress or use fulsome language about the progress we are making. It is no good using strong words. I tried to be cautious in my statements there. I gave the facts to you to judge and very moderately I pointed out, as some of the facts indicate, the helpful features. They are facts, but that does not mean that we can slacken or be complacent. Difficulties surround us and will continue to

5. See *ante*, pp. 75-92.

surround us for a number of years. We may improve the situation. Indeed I think we will and we are doing it and the efforts we made last year have borne fruit so far as the foreign exchange situation is concerned. It is obvious for anyone to see that the tremendous drain on that has stopped. For the first time, there was even a slight reversal of the process. But that does not mean that we can relax on that front, I am prepared to accept that. The President said that we should have not only now but all the time a correct appraisal of the foreign exchange situation and relax wherever relaxation is going to help, in our production, etc. I am prepared to look into this matter carefully, keeping always in view that the situation is kept in hand completely and not allowed to drift. We have had bad experiences in the past two years. Whose fault it was I do not know, my fault, everybody's fault, but we have had a bad enough experience in allowing matters in regard to foreign exchange to drift. We do not propose to do that at any time in the future.

The foreign exchange situation is, by and large, much better than it has been. The price level, as you have pointed out, Sir, is in a somewhat downward trend. All these are favourable signs, not something for us to shout about, but even realistically we are entitled to see good signs as well as bad. I think we can. The efforts we made last year have borne good fruit but we have to be very careful. We have received a good deal of help from abroad and we may receive more in the future. This has certainly eased our situation very much. In the foreign exchange situation we are not likely to face any severe crisis for the next year or so. We hope that later also the situation will be better. Nevertheless, whatever help we may get, the fact remains that we shall continue to pass through difficult times till we have more production.

Now, we had a fairly detailed analysis made of this foreign exchange situation. The Planning Commission made it and they presented a report. I am not going into that now but I would point out two or three major items. Food was a major item and that caught us rather unawares; defence partly was, though it was better. Another major item was steel imports which we require now. I shall deal with food presently. But take steel, we will have to import steel for a few years more after which we shall be producing it ourselves, in fact exporting it. Compare this with last year. I do hope that even in regard to defence we shall be able to curb our expenditure to some extent, not much. I hope that in regard to food, we will do better because food, as you have pointed out, is the basis and foundation of everything that we do.

All our industrial growth, in the final analysis, depends on the success of our agricultural projects. If we fail there, industry will also gradually fail. Therefore, in the final analysis, the dominating figure in India, who will decide the future of India, is not you and me but the peasant of India, what he does and

what he produces. Look at him! He has suffered for ages past and it is not surprising that he should be a little disparaged, a little unwilling to change his ways, unwilling to adopt new practices, and yet the future of India depends on this peasant and how he changes, and he will only change if he is helped to change, helped to change almost from the personal level and made to realize that the change is for his good. I hope and I believe this will happen with our community development schemes now getting in touch not only with the village but with the man in the village, each individual. This will lead to an entirely new atmosphere in the village and agriculture. I believe that our agricultural growth will go up more than people think, more than even the target provided. I have faith in the Indian peasant. And if we can do that and if we can go ahead with the food front in this way, then, whether it is foreign exchange or internal resources, some of our major difficulties will be very much under control. I realize, of course, that so much depends on the weather, the climate or the monsoon, as the president has said, and unfortunately we do not quite control this—the weather and climate. A time may come when we can do that. The scientist today thinks that in ten years he may be in a position to do that. Whether in ten or eleven years, I do not know, but a time is sure to come. Anyhow, apart from the vagaries of the weather, I think that we shall obtain more promising results from our agriculture in the next few years.

A reference was made by the president about the monolithic structure of the Life Insurance Corporation. It is difficult for me to say anything on that subject except that I do not rule out consideration of any problem. I do not therefore rule out the possibility of considering what your president said in his address if it is considered desirable after full inquiry. We are not rigidly committed to continuing the monolithic structure. We can devise some other structure but I do not think there is likely to be any going back on the fact of nationalized life insurance.

You know that, while taxation undoubtedly has been heavy, Government has provided, in a variety of ways, help to industry and will continue to provide that. Indeed, to some extent, private industry, new private industry, has started almost entirely with government funds, which is odd. Where do private enterprises come in if Government provides the money? Therefore, the very basis of private enterprise, the very justification for private enterprise, goes if private enterprise is constantly asking for help and getting help from Government. I do not say that help should not be given but it is the quantum of help and then again the habit of thinking in terms of Government helping. I belong to the Government. I do not like the Indian people developing the habit of looking to Government for everything although it is Government's duty to help.

I saw somewhere a remark I made in the course of the debate in Parliament about the investment of the funds of the Life Insurance Corporation and this was said to be a backstairs method of nationalizing private industries. I do not quite understand this question, and it shows a certain difference of approach. We have a public sector and a private sector. Broadly speaking, we have defined their domain, and there is a common domain too. But looking at it again, even more broadly, both sectors have to serve the public purpose. If they do not serve the public purpose, then they have no justification. That must be acknowledged. The two have to cooperate. I think and I believe that the private sector is of great importance and fulfils an important purpose in the development of the country. I propose and I hope that it should be encouraged in every way but only in terms of the larger public purpose which is defined by our Plan.

I look upon both, in a sense, as public sectors, although the private sector may be privately owned. Now, take the Life Insurance Corporation's funds; they have to be invested. When the Corporation came into existence, stress was laid in Parliament by some representatives of the private sector that its funds or part of them should be invested in private bodies. We accepted that as a right thing. A certain percentage was laid down, I believe. In fact, that percentage has been exceeded somewhat. If the Life Insurance Corporation invests large funds it has at its disposal, they make a considerable difference. It might make a considerable difference to the market or to industrial undertakings in which it invests its money. Is the Life Insurance Corporation to do that blindly, regardless of the consequences of these large investments? Is the Government to look upon these investments by the LIC blindly, although it knows that they have a powerful effect on various undertakings and on the share market and everything? Surely, that cannot be done. Nobody can advance such an argument; it is one thing to say, Government is not interested in nationalizing a concern this way. That is a different matter. We do not proceed to nationalize it or use this method to nationalize it. If we want to nationalize anything, well, we say so and we do it but this is not the method for nationalization, but certainly inevitable forces work. First of all, the Government is interested in something not happening which is injurious to the public economy, in the stock market or elsewhere, broadly speaking. Secondly, the Government is interested in important undertakings and not in speculators and others. Government is not afraid of nationalization if it wants to. If there is some danger sometimes in the stock market or if any vital undertakings have their future jeopardized—a future in which the Government is concerned in many ways because they are doing very important work, five-year plan work and all that—then it is every intention of the Government to see that those undertakings do not fall into some kind of a whirlpool of speculation and suffer thereby.

18. Labour Conditions in South Bihar¹

Shri S.A. Dange,² MP, came to see me today. He was accompanied by Smt Renu Chakravartty, MP, Shri Kedar Das,³ MLA of Bihar, and Shri Ali Amjad.⁴ They came to see me about labour conditions in Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Kulti.

2. They gave me a memorandum which I enclose.⁵

3. I told them that I was not personally acquainted in any detail with conditions in these areas. My general impression was that labour in Jamshedpur especially was better paid and had more amenities than industrial labour elsewhere in India. Further, that there was unfortunately much hooliganism in these areas.

4. They said that conditions in Burnpur and Kulti were particularly bad. There was no kind of order there. Tatas were a little better.

5. In some of the big departments, there was still contract labour which was against Government's policy.

6. There had been no rise in wages in Tatas for ten years. In Jamshedpur, the dearness allowance for an unmarried man was Rs 32.50 n.p. and for married couples Rs 37.00. It was not quite clear how Rs 4.50 n.p. would cover the burden of an additional person.

7. The question of dearness allowance was very pressing, there had been no revision for seven years. Production bonus was no substitute for dearness allowance.

1. Note to Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister of Labour, 24 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. General Secretary, AITUC, and CPI Member of Lok Sabha from Central-South Bombay.
3. (b. 1913); member, All India Congress Committee; went to jail during Salt Satyagraha, 1931; President, All India Trade Union Congress, 1958; led the strike of Tisco workers in 1958; convicted in Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case, 1959; member, Working Committee of Communist Party of Bihar; elected to Bihar Legislative Assembly in 1957, 1969 and 1972.
4. (1903-1987); student leader, journalist and lawyer from Assam; advocate, Supreme Court; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62; member of editorial boards of *Englishman* and *Aligarh Daily Mail*.
5. The memorandum attributed the general unrest among the workers of iron and steel industries to low wages, meagre dearness allowance and rising prices, which resulted in departmental strikes in Jamshedpur and Burnpur. The memorandum requested the appointment of a tribunal to adjudge the demands submitted by the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and the United Iron and Steel Workers Union at Burnpur and Kulti. As an interim relief, it also asked for an immediate upward revision of the dearness allowance.

8. As for amenities, Jamshedpur was an attractive town, but actually housing had been provided by Tatas for only 7,000 out of 29,000 workers engaged by them.

9. In Kulti, living conditions were terrible.

10. Even the coal workers were getting higher emoluments than the Tata workers since the last award.

11. While there were wage boards for textile and other industries, there were no wage boards in iron and steel. Even if such wage boards were established, it was doubtful whether they would be of much benefit after the recent Supreme Court decision in regard to the Journalists' Wage Board.⁶

12. The townships in these areas were owned privately by private companies, and there were a great many restrictions on normal civic freedoms.

13. In the whole of Jamshedpur, there were no free primary schools as in other parts of India. There was only a provision that workers earning less than two rupees or less a day would have free primary education for their children.

14. When there was a demand for a tribunal, this was not agreed to. Direct negotiations were also ruled out on the plea that the unions were not recognized. There were no wage boards either. What remedy did the workers have then except to strike?

15. Recently, a code was agreed to at the instance of the Labour Ministry. This was a code for negotiations, conciliation and voluntary arbitration. But, if there was no recognition of unions and no negotiations, then how could they function?

16. There was a law in Bihar about trade unions. If there were two, both had to be dealt with, but this law was not observed.

17. Shri V.V. Giri⁷ had once suggested that these questions should be decided by ballot and, if necessary, composite committees of the unions can be formed for negotiations, etc. But they were not allowed to have a ballot. They were prepared to accept the verdict of a ballot. Evidently, the companies concerned were afraid of a ballot.

18. They referred to a welders' strike in Tatas. As this was interfering with the work, the welders being key men, the American engineers of the

6. The Supreme Court had, in its judgement of 19 March 1958, declared that the decisions of the Wage Board given in May 1957 regarding the pay scales of working journalists and payment of gratuity on voluntary resignation were void as the capacity of the employers to bear these expenses had not been taken into consideration. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 333.

7. A prominent labour leader, and Governor of Uttar Pradesh at this time.

That is what I mean. Therefore, the question of investment of LIC funds is a very important one which must take into consideration the broad policies of Government. Funds have to be invested in safe concerns. No risk can be taken. This is an admitted fact, but what I meant to say was this—to say that only the factor of safety has to be taken into consideration is not adequate because, if it was so, why invest in private industry at all? All our life insurance investments can be only in government paper. Then that will not be right and quite rightly you say that. Therefore, these factors have to be taken into consideration because what the Life Insurance Corporation does in regard to its investments is the fact that it has so many consequences.

There is one relatively small matter I should like to refer to. That is, last year I told you that a number of our officers from the army, retired officers and men retired relatively at an early age, in the late thirties, in the middle forties, are completely free for other work. After serving, I do not know 15 years, 20 years in the army, they retire. They are excellent material and I had suggested to you last year that industry might help, for its own sake as well as theirs, by employing them.⁶ They are disciplined people, they have a higher level of training than you will get normally in the market. Many of them are technicians. Even if they are not technicians, they have the sense of discipline, persons who can do a job entrusted to them. In the last year, I find, the public sector employed some 75 of such persons, the private sector has absorbed only 9 of them. It is a poor show. I am bringing this to your notice because I think definitely that they are a very fine material. I am asking for no charity for them but it is good for you if you have some first-class men where perhaps second-class men are doing the job. I hope you will look into this matter.

Well, I have taken a lot of your time, but since you have honoured me by inviting me here I want naturally to share my thoughts with you because I want your cooperation. Thank you.

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, p. 177.

17. To N.G. Goray¹

New Delhi
March 14, 1958

My dear Goray,²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 24th February, with which you sent me a long enclosure. I sent on this letter for further enquiry, and this took time.

The [decision to give] concession to small oil producing units was taken after careful deliberation. We wanted to help these small units and thus to encourage decentralization. It is true that we lose some revenue by this concession, but that is inevitable when we help small units in any industry.

The suggestion that we should impose a compounded levy, that is, a levy not based on actual production but on the capacity of the mills, has been considered for some time. There is a difficulty, however. The same mill crushes different kinds of seeds which have different yields in terms of oil. It is, therefore, not easy to average the productive capacity in terms of actual oil produced. From the administrative point of view, we would welcome a compounded levy. We are, therefore, further considering this matter and, if we find it at all possible, we shall introduce it.

So far as tax evasion is considered, we should certainly tighten our control over the marginal units, and are trying to take steps to this end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona.

Kaiser Company settled it, and work started immediately.⁸ The company did not object to Kaiser engineers settling it.

19. They said that the Tatas were good at their publicity work, though actually conditions were not so good.

20. They referred to the recent production in coal having jumped up after the increase in wages. This shows how production could increase greatly if the workers were treated properly and their legitimate demands met.

21. They referred also to the conditions of workers in the manganese mines. The Adivasi women, who worked there, had to carry not only their loads, but their babies also at the same time. There was supposed to be a crèche, but this was very far away and it was absurd to expect women to leave their babies miles away.

22. Having listened to them, I repeated what I had said at the beginning, that I could not discuss these matters with them as I was not fully aware of the conditions there. My general impression was that in Tatas' concerns, workers were paid well and had considerable amenities. I regretted greatly that there was this hooliganism in these iron fields. They said that this hooliganism was an old tradition in those areas, and the companies also engaged goondas. Even a popular man like Professor Bari⁹ had been killed some years ago.¹⁰

23. I told them finally that I would refer this matter to the Labour Minister.

8. In 1951, the TISCO had, with the help of the Kaiser Engineering Company of America, adopted the modernization and expansion programme, as a result of which it was able to achieve the target of producing two million tons of crude steel in 1958.

9. Abdul Bari (d. 1947); labour leader of South Bihar and Orissa and popular in coal, iron and mica belts; Professor at Bihar Vidyapith, 1921; Secretary, Bihar unit of Swarajya Party; elected to Bihar Legislative Council in 1927, but resigned in 1930 at the call of Congress; founded Tata Workers Union in 1936; Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly, and its Deputy Speaker, 1937-39; President, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, 1946.

10. On 28 March 1947, while travelling from Dhanbad to Patna, Abdul Bari's car was stopped at Khusrupur by the anti-smuggling squad. Due to some misunderstanding there was a scuffle and a sentry shot him dead.

19. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1958

My dear S.K.,²

Lal Bahadur³ was anxious to purchase ships and I believe we have bought some ships recently from Japan. It has come to my notice that for various reasons, which I do not know, the price of second-hand ships is very low at present, almost the lowest in recent times. Probably, it will rise after six months or a year. Therefore, it is worthwhile getting ships at this low price. I know that this involves foreign exchange. At the same time we pay prodigious amount on freight. I remember being quite shocked when I saw figures some years ago of the amount on freight we had paid for the import of foodgrains alone from abroad.

I am writing to you merely to draw your attention to this matter so that you might look into it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.
3. Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

(iii) Food and Agriculture

1. Develop Balanced Food Habits¹

The people of India should adjust their food habits in a way which would help to reduce the country's present dependence on large imports of foodgrain as well as to better their own health. The idea of importing large quantities of foodgrain from abroad is not good. A day will soon come when we have to stand on our own legs and stop food imports. We have, therefore, to produce more rice and more wheat. But what is more important is that we should change our food habits and take a balanced diet instead of consuming too much of rice only. In Assam rice is preferred to fruits also.

A leading doctor in Calcutta states that if people in India eat after giving some thought to the value of what constitutes a balanced diet, the health of the nation will be much better than what it is. The doctors would then be required to confine their attention and services towards ensuring preventive treatment and measures. Ninety per cent of the diseases prevalent in this country stem from stomach disorders and the greater the care that people bestow on their dietetic habits, the better would be the health of the country as a whole.

A committee of health experts, appointed by the Central Government in 1946, had suggested that 14.5 oz of cereals, besides pulses and some subsidiary foods, should constitute a nutritious diet. Now it was found that on an average everyone consumed 17.5 oz of cereals alone, about 3.5 oz more than what was considered proper by nutrition experts.

The demand for cereals is growing more and more, notwithstanding the increases in production. The people, without using any of the subsidiary foods, look to the State Governments for more cereals and the latter in turn send frantic appeals to the Central Government. The Centre for its part arranges more and more imports. After all how long could such things continue? The country cannot hope to make progress at this rate. The days of *mai-baap, sarkar* cannot continue. No government, big or small, can tackle all the problems of rebuilding a country. Our progress must depend on the amount of self-confidence and self-reliance that the people possess.

Goswami Ganesh Dutt has undertaken a lot of trouble in spotlighting the country's achievements during the last ten years. But people should restrain themselves from developing a 'personality cult'. The most dangerous of attacks

1. Speech at the foundation stone-laying ceremony of the Delhi Maternity Hospital at Pusa Road, New Delhi, to be built by the Lahore Hospital Society, 2 January 1958. From *National Herald*, *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 3 January 1958.

that one can be subjected to is the attack of love. It is a dangerous thing. It is harmful both for the people who are given to it as well as the individual concerned. There is no effective reply and the person concerned is left powerless. I do not know whether I deserve the tributes paid to me but I would attribute all my strength and verve to work for the country to the love that people have for me. However, we should not allow the development of a personality cult in this country.²

Efforts of the Lahore Hospital Society for building a hundred and fourteen-bed maternity hospital in Delhi is commendable. Welfare of children who are the wealth of the nation, should receive greater attention in all medical centres and hospitals in the country. The Union Health Ministry will make a grant of Rs 1 lakh to the Delhi Maternity Hospital.

The building of hospitals and provision of public health facilities is a field of work which deserves every encouragement, because the whole basis of that work is love for humanity. On the other hand, one sees the creation of mighty forces of destruction and the world is on the edge of a precipice. How long can mutual dread keep the peace of the world? Peaceful discussion of problems is the only way to make the world safe from another catastrophe.

2. Nehru made this remark following the tributes paid to him by the Punjab Sanatanist leader, Goswami Ganesh Dutt, during the foundation stone-laying ceremony of the Delhi Maternity Hospital.

2. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
January 3, 1958

My dear Ajit,²

I am sending you a letter from the President about conditions in Orissa.³ I should like you to read it, and then pass it on to T.T. Krishnamachari.⁴ I agree with the President that we should do everything in our power to help Orissa as well as Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.
3. Rajendra Prasad apprised Nehru of the drought conditions in Orissa where damage to the crops was severe and efforts were being made to raise the second paddy crop wherever possible. He also mentioned about the scarcity of drinking water, particularly in the coastal districts.
4. Union Minister for Finance.

3. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
4th January 1958

My dear Mahtab,²

The President sent me a note after his return from Orissa about conditions there. I have sent this note on to the Food Minister and the Finance Minister will also see it. I am anxious to help you in your present difficulties.

Meanwhile, I am sending you a cheque for Rs 50,000 from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. I wish I could send you more, but this Fund is getting exhausted. This money can be spent at your discretion. But I should like to give some preference to children in giving relief.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Orissa.

4. Cereal Ration in Jails¹

Will you please address the various State Governments and ask them what kind of cereal ration they give to their prisoners in jails? I learnt with surprise that the rice ration is as much as 20 or 21 oz per day. This seems to me preposterous.

2. I do not suppose that cutting down the cereal ration in jails would make much difference, although it would make a little difference. But the main point is that this is unhealthy and is an unbalanced diet. Why could they not reduce the cereal ration and add some other subsidiary foods, chiefly vegetables?

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, 4 January 1958. JN Collection.

5. Ways to Increase Food Production¹

In his opening remarks, the Chairman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, referred to the items on the agenda, namely, Food Production and Preliminary Survey of Important Recommendations of the Study Team for Community Development and National Extension Service.² He said that it was not proposed to enter into a detailed discussion of the recommendations of the Team and that only broad reactions of the State Governments to some of the principal proposals contained in the report of the Team might be given.

2. The Chairman observed that the potential for increasing food production was enormously greater than 25 per cent. There was limitless scope for stepping up food production in the country. In this connection he referred to the opinion expressed by Dr C.E. Kellogg,³ head of the Soil Survey Division in the USA, that if proper soil conservation practices were applied to land in India, production could be increased three to four times. A similar opinion was expressed in a recent survey issued by the World Bank. The Chairman said that organized effort was required and the best approach to the problem was through the

1. Extracts from the summary record of the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 12 January 1958. File No. PC/CDN/29/18/57. 1957, Coordination Section, Planning Commission.

Nehru addressed the meeting as the Chairman of the Council.

2. For the recommendations of this team headed by Balvantray Mehta, see *post*, p. 213.
3. (1902-1980); soil scientist; joined the Soil Survey Division of the US, 1934; represented America at several international agricultural conferences; President, Soil Scientist Society of America, 1941; Vice-President, International Society of Soil Science, 1956-60; Guest Scientist, Government of India, 1958; author of *The Soils That Support Us*.

community development projects provided that agency was properly utilized.

3. There was a pronounced tendency to officialize village panchayats and cooperatives which were essentially people's institutions and were supposed to be self-reliant. It was justified on the ground that people in villages quarrelled amongst themselves and there were feuds and therefore an official agency was needed to control them. The Chairman was opposed to this view and thought that the whole conception of officialization and control of people's institutions was fundamentally wrong and mischievous. It had been the bane and curse in the past years for the people to think in terms of abject dependence on Government and the local officials. There was a dangerous tendency to increase the number of petty village functionaries, including the panchayat secretary, secretary of the village cooperative society and others. The value of expert technical assistance can be appreciated but there was no justification for the swarm of non-experts or petty functionaries increasing day by day. It was a terrible thing to carry and spread officialdom into the villages because even the smallest functionary in a village was a big boss. If this tendency was not checked, all development work would suffer and a wrong impression will be created in the villager's mind, with the petty functionaries hovering all round, telling people what they should do and what they should not do. If a village functionary favoured one party, the other party turned against him. The common people should be given an opportunity to shoulder their burdens themselves and develop a spirit of self-reliance. They may quarrel and make mistakes but ultimately they will learn by that process.

4. The Chairman said that he was distressed at thousands of small cooperatives being wound up and big multipurpose cooperatives taking their place. This policy was being encouraged by the Central Government with funds and other assistance. He did not approve of this policy which undermined the character of the people. He was not against state assistance to cooperatives and favoured high-grade technical assistance being given where necessary. Too much dependence on village functionaries was however not conducive to developing a spirit of self-reliance. What was really required was active, vigorous work by the people themselves and not by village functionaries.

5. Referring to food production, the Chairman said that he did not agree with the approach to the food problem by the Asoka Mehta Committee.⁴ It was

4. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Asoka Mehta, submitted its report to Parliament on 19 November 1957. The report emphasized the need to increase production of foodgrain, price stabilization, population control, etc. The Committee also suggested that to maintain a comfortable buffer stock, the need for imports would still remain. Therefore, it was necessary to ensure adequate supplies from the major exporting countries on a long-term basis.

defeatism to think of importing food year after after. A more dynamic approach was necessary. The approach should be to the individual and targets should be fixed for each family who should be reached by the National Extension Service. In the present context the application of intensive methods as in Japan should receive first attention in contrast to the extensive methods. These methods should be applied in areas where conditions were favourable, for example, where rainfall was plentiful or irrigation facilities were available. The objective should be to increase food production by 50 to 60 per cent. In spite of the numerous criticisms levelled, the Chairman thought that the community development programme in India was wonderful and remarkable for its achievements. Nevertheless, its coverage and success itself had landed the programme into certain basic difficulties. The emphasis should be on creating self-reliance and urge for self-help, otherwise the basic value of the programme will suffer. The officers and workers connected with the community development programmes should as far as possible discard the use of buildings and sit in the huts or under trees. The construction of new buildings in the community project areas should be ruled out and the money thus saved should be spent on employing better teachers and buying more equipment.

6. The Chairman referred to brick kilns around Delhi which were responsible for creating chasms in the earth and thus spoiling the countryside. By digging earth not deep enough, land which could otherwise be used for agricultural purposes was wasted. Generally speaking, in India they had no conception of saving space. He had noticed that in China and Japan not even a square foot of land was wasted.

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13. The Chairman observed that it was bad planning if a significant part of the irrigation facilities made available were not used at all or were underutilized. The engineers in charge of various projects should look into this problem. It was astounding that when the country was short of food, 4 million acres of land situated within the commanded areas were not utilized for food production.⁵ If the situation could be remedied, the country would have an exportable surplus

5. V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, had stated that in March 1956 more than 3 million acres of irrigated land had remained uncultivated. In March 1957 this figure had increased to 4 million acres, the main reason being that distributaries and field channels had not been provided.

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of food and that would make all the difference to the foreign exchange position which was none too happy.

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16. The Chairman observed that it was surprising that 1.5 million acres of cultivable land in UP were not producing anything because of lack of distributaries and channels.⁶ Large expenditure had been incurred on the irrigation projects. The cost of constructing channels was very small; basically it was a question of organization. The Community Project could help by persuading the people to do it. In case the Government built the distributaries and channels, the cost could be recovered from the cultivators over a period. In any case the income from water rates in the very first year should cover the cost of constructing the water channels. It appeared that some of the tanks and channels built by the ex-zamindars in Basti and Gorakhpur areas were silted and had dried up or fallen in disrepair.

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30. The Chairman observed that there was no use of taking up new irrigation projects if the cultivators could not take full advantage of them. The agricultural yields in Bihar were very low. There was a passion for schemes but there was a dearth of results.⁷

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32. The Chairman observed that attention should be focused on deriving the maximum advantage from the existing resources. It was a very sound proposition. He failed to understand why 4 million acres should not benefit from irrigation works which had been completed at a great cost, when all that

6. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, had stated that the existing irrigation facilities in the State were not being properly utilized mainly because of lack of proper distribution system.

7. Bir Chand Patel, the Minister of Agriculture of Bihar, had stated that tube wells were not utilized fully and that unless some major irrigation schemes based on the Gandak and Sone rivers were taken up, the chronic food problem of the State could not be solved.

was required was a little effort and some expenditure from within the present resources.

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46. The Chairman remarked that in the Second Plan emphasis was laid on organizing multipurpose cooperative societies performing various functions, including better farming, marketing, etc. Besides the numerous circulars on the subject issued by the Planning Commission, the Chairman had commended this scheme in the letters addressed to the State Chief Ministers.⁸ Thousands of such multipurpose cooperative societies were functioning all over India.

47. The Chairman observed that discussions in the morning and afternoon had brought out many points. The prime need was to make the best use of existing resources. They were anxious to undertake new schemes without profiting from the schemes that had already been completed. It was a wrong and wasteful approach. Money had been spent on the construction of canals, tube wells, tanks and other works which were not being properly maintained or fully utilized. Irrigation potential to the extent of 4 million acres was not being availed of. If the existing irrigation facilities were fully used and proper arrangements made for maintenance, a good part of the difficulties, including foreign exchange difficulty, could be overcome. Shri Takhtmal Jain had mentioned additional lands being brought under cultivation in Madhya Pradesh at a cost of Rs 48 crores.⁹ The Chairman thought that millions of acres could be brought under the plough without spending large sums. Their minds were dominated by big schemes costing hundreds of crores of rupees which would take many years to complete. The whole outlook was wrong and should be changed. First of all, the existing resources should be properly utilized. This should yield large results without much expenditure and additional effort. This aspect of development deserved a fuller consideration by the State Governments and Union Ministries.

Referring to the remarks of the Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, about cooperatives,¹⁰ the Chairman observed that, broadly speaking, the existing laws

8. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 587-589, and Vol. 37, pp. 794-795 and 809-810.
9. Takhtmal Jain, the Minister of Agriculture of Madhya Pradesh, had said that food production in Madhya Pradesh could be substantially increased if 25 lakh acres of uncultivated land in the State were brought under cultivation by mechanized methods.
10. Kailas Nath Katju, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, had remarked that progress could be made in the rural areas by organizing 'cooperative farming-cum-marketing societies'.

relating to cooperation in different States were defective and dilatory in their working. He was informed that a committee was recently appointed by the Government of India to review the existing cooperative legislation and to make recommendations for a simple legislative measure to facilitate coordinated progress of the movement. The cooperative movement was not intended for pecuniary benefit; it was primarily aimed at building human beings. The Chairman suggested that that aspect was more vital than production. Better human beings could achieve everything but that could be possible only if responsibility was cast on them. They might quarrel or even fail but in the process they will learn by making mistakes. There was corruption but its extent was exaggerated. Corruption existed partly due to the fact that the number of petty functionaries had multiplied without adequate control and supervision. The increase in the number of petty officials, the small bureaucrats, particularly in the villages, should be discouraged.

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49. The Finance Minister, Madras (C. Subramaniam), drew attention to the great disparities in yields of principal crops in different parts of the country and suggested that the whole question deserved to be thoroughly studied.

50. The Chairman agreed that the causes underlying the large differences in yields should be examined. There should be some precise explanation for the large disparities. He thought that the figures of average yields were not very reliable.

51. Professor P.C. Mahalanobis¹¹ said that the question was discussed at the meeting of the National Development Council held in June 1957.¹² The figures of average yields quoted were not always comparable and were based on data which was not collected on uniform lines.

52. The Chairman suggested that a technical study group may be set up in the Planning Commission to examine the causes of great disparities in the average yields per acre of main crops in different States. The Planning Commission should also arrange for a review of data regarding agricultural production.

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11. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, and Member, Planning Commission.

12. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 50-51.

Item II— Preliminary Survey of Important Recommendations of the Study Team of Community Projects and National Extension Service.

55. Shri S.K. Dey (Union Minister for Community Development) observed that... the recommendations regarding democratic decentralization were the most important in the Report of the Team since they aimed at creating a spirit of self-reliance among the people on a durable basis besides ensuring coordination in the activities of various development departments. The Ministry of Community Development concurred with the view expressed by the Balvantray Team that there should be a three-tier set-up of local government in the rural areas: village panchayat at the bottom, above it the block *samiti* which will be organically linked with the village panchayats and a *zila parishad* at the district level. The need for democratic decentralization was generally recognized but there was some controversy as to whether the statutory body which was to be made responsible for all development work should be at the block level or at the district level. As at present the development activities were centred round the village but most of the decisions were taken at the block level. He was of the opinion that if the statutory body was at the district level, it will be, in the case of many districts, remote from the field of action....

56. The Chairman observed that, at the meeting of the Central Committee for Community Projects and the Committee on Plan Projects, the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Bombay had expressed themselves in favour of retaining the local authority at the district level. This was a matter to be decided by each State to suit its own conditions and the pattern need not be uniform in all the States. The general principle of giving more powers and responsibility to the local people was accepted, subject to possible veto by the State Government in cases of emergency. The Chairman then invited the representatives of State Governments to give their views on the subject.

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70. The Chairman summing up the discussion on item-II on the Agenda observed that it was for each State to decide what steps it should take on the recommendations made by the study team regarding democratic decentralization. The conditions in the States varied and, therefore, different approaches to the question might be necessary. Nevertheless, the States could profit by each other's example. The Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, had commended the idea of Gram Sabhas, consisting of one representative from each family. This might be feasible for small villages and would not hold good for big villages. The broad objective of transferring more power and responsibility to the people

in rural areas recommended by the Balvantray Team was accepted and each State should consider how best to give effect to it. The State Governments should let the Planning Commission know the conclusions reached by them and should keep the Planning Commission posted with developments so that it could inform everybody concerned.

6. To U.C.S. Bhatt¹

New Delhi

January 25, 1958

Dear Shri Bhatt,²

I have received your letter of the 23rd January. You call it as an open letter and presumably you have had it published. From this it would appear that you did not so much want to bring the matter to my notice or expect a reply from me, but were more anxious to give publicity to your views. You are of course entitled to do that.

I do not think you are right or justified in saying that landholders are being expropriated of land in India without compensation. It is true that the land system in India was completely out of date and required a great change. It may even be said that it required revolutionary changes. But surely it is quite wrong to say that these changes have been brought about or will be brought about violently or in order to create class war. Class conflict is there. Our method of approach has been not on the lines of adding to the class conflict, but to remove it. If you will study what has happened in the rest of the world in regard to agrarian situation, you will find that in many countries the changes have been much more far-reaching.

I am not referring to the Communist countries but to others. When you say that large classes of society have suffered greatly, this is partly true because any change removes certain vested interests who have to suffer to some extent. But two facts have to be remembered: that in the previous system only a small class benefited and vast numbers of human beings suffered. Secondly, that if these changes are not brought about peacefully, then they occur violently, causing much more suffering to all. We have tried to consider this matter in a way so as to bring about these changes peacefully and with as little harm to any group as possible. You refer to the people. I agree. But who are the people? Surely you would not exclude ninety per cent of the people.

1. JN Collection.

2. A resident of Mangalore.

You refer to Peter the Great building St. Petersburg. What happened then, I do not know. But Czar Peter³ did not bring about any land reform. As an autocrat, he did things regardless of the mass of the people.

In a democracy it is inevitable that the great majority of the people should express themselves, make demands for their betterment and, in the final analysis, get changes made according to their liking. A government has to help them and cannot function contrary to their wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Peter the Great (1672-1725); Czar of Russia, 1682-1725; opened Russia to the West; gained access to the Baltic Sea and Baltic trade after the 21-year war with Sweden; moved capital to St. Petersburg in 1712 which he had founded in 1703.

7. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear T.T.,

You will remember that some months ago I wrote to you about an electronic computer, called the Univac.² This was apparently available in the United States and the American Ambassador³ told us that, in all probability, if a request for it was made, we could get it free. Thereupon the request was made by Mahalanobis, supported by us. But nothing came of it at that time. I understand that Hollister,⁴ who was in the State Department then, stymied it. Some further efforts are being made, but I do not know if this will bear fruit.

I do not of course understand these machines, but I am told that this Univac is of very great help in making statistical calculations on a big scale. In dealing with our crop surveys or other matters, it will be particularly useful. A group of noted American statisticians wrote, I think, to the Ford Foundation

1. File No. 17(286)/58-59-PMS.
2. Univac (Universal Automatic Calculator) I, produced in 1951, was one of the earliest computers designed primarily for commercial use.
3. Ellsworth Bunker.
4. John Baker Hollister (1890-1960); served as Captain in the US army, 1917-1919; member, US Congress, 1931-36; Executive Director, Hoover Commission, 1953; Consultant to US Secretary of State, 1954-55; Director, International Cooperation Administration, US Government, 1955-57.

recommending strongly that this electronic computer, Univac, should be given to India, pointing out the various ways in which it can be used, which can be very helpful to India at present.

Meanwhile, Mahalanobis approached the Ford Foundation if they could help. They said that they would try, but they could not be sure. One thing, they said, they could certainly do and that is, buy it themselves and make it available to us if we could pay the cost in rupees spread out over a number of years, say three or four or even more. I gathered that the cost would be between 40 and 45 lakhs, including some additional equipment, spares, etc.

If, as is said, this computer is of great importance for our work, should we try to get it on the basis suggested by the Ford Foundation, that is, presuming that we cannot get it free? I am inclined to think that this will be worthwhile.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Krishnamachari replied on 3 February 1958 that the remittances of the Ford Foundation grants were taken into account in calculating India's foreign exchange earnings, which meant spending India's foreign exchange to acquire the computer.

8. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear Ajit,

It is, as you know, of great importance that we should have accurate crop surveys. Some of the recent reports which the Planning Commission sent us, show that the estimates we have are very inaccurate. It has been several times suggested that the National Sample Survey should take this matter up. This business of crop surveying can now be done, I am told, with fair accuracy up to two or three per cent.

We are trying to get one of the latest types of electronic computers, the Univac. This saves a great deal of time and ensures accuracy.

But, quite apart from this, we must go ahead with these fairly accurate crop surveys and this can only be done through the National Sample Survey. Your Ministry should formally ask the National Sample Survey people and

1. File No. 17(286)/58-59-PMS.

Mahalanobis to undertake this work. I had, in fact, asked Mahalanobis a long time ago to do this. When I enquired from him again, he told me that he had not received intimation from the Food & Agriculture Ministry and without that it is not possible to go ahead. I do not know what this delay is due to, possibly to professional jealousy. But we cannot permit this kind of thing to come in the way of important work that has to be done. Mahalanobis is the Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet and the Government and has a magnificent organization at his disposal at the Statistical Institute in Calcutta.

Will you please look into this matter and take urgent steps?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,²

It appears that your Minister for Agriculture, Thimma Reddy,³ has been carrying on a raging propaganda against the policy of the Central Government in regard to zonal controls.⁴ Surely this is not a right thing to do. I have seen some extracts of speeches and I was surprised to read them. No member of the Opposition could have spoken more aggressively against our Government.

I have received your letter of the 2nd February, which I have forwarded to our Minister for Food and Agriculture. I may say, however, that some of the resolutions that you have passed are not very helpful and go against the broad policy which has been adopted after full consideration. It seems to me that you have viewed this problem from a very limited point of view and rather in the interests of the richer peasants.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
3. (b. 1914); President, Rayalaseema Students Federation; Vice-President, Andhra PCC, 1946; elected to Madras Legislative Assembly in 1952 and to Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1955 and re-elected in 1964; Minister for Food and Agriculture in Andhra Pradesh.
4. Thimma Reddy was opposed to zonal controls, and was also critical of the procurement prices.

10. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi

February 25, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of February 24th about the decline in the prices of food articles.² If these prices go down, surely it will be desirable for you to buy and build up reserves.

I see that there is increasing difficulty about getting rice from Burma, both in regard to quantity and price. I wish we could do without it or without part of it, and carry on more with other food articles.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

2. Jain wrote that the prices of food articles in the week ending 8 February 1958 were about 4% lower than in the corresponding period in the previous year and were nominally lower than in the prices in the base year 1952-53. The prices of cereals were also about 4% lower than in the previous year and 5% lower than in the base year. Rice was the only cereal whose price was 5% higher than in the previous year and was at the same level as in the base year. Jain observed that the general level of the prices of food articles and other consumer goods appeared to be declining, and that the downward trend was likely to continue.

11. To P.J. Thomas¹

New Delhi

28th February 1958

Dear Dr Thomas,²

Thank you for your letter of the 27th February. I entirely agree with you that we have not to slacken our efforts in regard to the food situation. I have been laying great stress on this.

As for our changing our food habits and introducing a better diet pattern. I also agree with you. But this is not an easy matter because people everywhere, and more especially in our country, are averse to changing their old-established habits. However, we must try. We have, indeed, suggested various menus of this diversified pattern.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Parekunnel Joseph Thomas (1895-1965); educationist and Professor of Economics, Ceylon University College, Colombo, 1924-27 and Madras University, 1927-42; Member, Indian Economic Association, and its President, 1937-38; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1937-42; Chairman, Handloom and Mill Committee, Government of India, 1942; Economic Adviser, Department (later Ministry) of Finance, Government of India, 1943-49; Secretary, Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, 1947-48; Member, PCC, Travancore-Cochin, 1951-54; Member of Rajya Sabha, 1957-62; author of several books in English, Malayalam and Tamil, including *Mercantilism and East India Trade*, and *Rural Indebtedness*.

12. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
February 28, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Have you circulated and publicized any menus or diet schemes? We have often talked about doing propaganda of this kind so that a balanced diet could be had, and, more particularly, that the element of rice in it could be reduced.

In a pamphlet, which the Bengal Government gave me in December, some tables are given about a balanced diet. I have also seen other tables elsewhere.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31 (66)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Jain replied on 3 March 1958 that B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, was revising the menu for a balanced diet to give it a popular appeal. Jain added that he would then get it printed in large numbers in an attractive form.

13. Importance of Cattle and Poultry¹

I am glad to know of the All India Cattle & Poultry Show, which is going to be held soon in Delhi.² To an agricultural country, cattle and poultry are of great importance, but to India specially this is so and, because of this high importance, our people have attached great value to cattle and more especially the cow. Unfortunately, this powerful sentiment has led them not to look after the cow properly, but just to revere her. The result has been that our cattle population is in a bad way and compares very unfavourably in quality with the countries of the West.

It is most important for us to look after our cattle properly and to improve them. I am glad that our Cattle Show is attracting people from Europe. We can learn a great deal from them.

My good wishes for this Cattle & Poultry Show. I hope that many of our peasants will visit it and learn from it.

1. Message to the All India Cattle and Poultry Show, New Delhi, 6 March 1958. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The All India Cattle and Poultry Show was inaugurated by the Union Home Minister, Govind Ballabh Pant, in New Delhi on 10 March 1958.

14. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Your letter of 3rd March about rice prices.²

This question is, as you know, of vital importance not only to Andhra State, but to the whole of India. We have given it the most earnest consideration and only two days ago, a Committee of the Cabinet considered the matter afresh. We have tried to give due weight to what you and your Government have said because obviously it is important that the Government and people of Andhra should have the feeling that they are getting a fair deal and should cooperate fully in any steps that we might take.

In such a matter one has to take a broad view, thinking of the consequences of every step. Food prices govern the entire economic situation in India and the future of our Five Year Plan. Food prices revolve round rice prices. Thus the price of rice becomes a basic factor in our planning. All our careful planning can go to pieces if the price of rice is too high. The whole future of the Second Five Year Plan depends upon this particular matter more than any other.

We are delicately poised with a great effort, and we have just managed to control the foreign exchange situation, though it is still full of dangers. What we expected from Burma is not likely to be realized and we shall have to make every effort both to find rice in India and to keep the price down to a satisfactory level.

So far as the actual price is concerned, you know that normally the price comes down during this season. Our Planning Commission, after much calculation, strongly recommended the price which is lower than the one that we had actually fixed and they laid stress on the fact that any higher price would endanger the Plan. Further, they said that the price they recommended was a fair price, taking every factor into consideration, including the position in Andhra. Nevertheless, our Food and Agriculture Ministry, in consultation with all of us, decided to fix a somewhat higher price, thinking chiefly of

1. File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sanjiva Reddy regretted that his request for a little higher price for the rice produced in Andhra State, had created some misunderstanding. He felt that the procurement policy of the Food Ministry was neither helpful to the producer nor to the consumer, and wanted the whole question to be examined *de novo*. He also assured that he was least interested in helping the richer peasant and was anxious to send out of the state as much rice as possible to help solve the problem.

Andhra wishes in the matter. I do not think it is possible for us to go beyond this price without grave risks. I do believe also that it is a very fair price that has now been fixed.

In this matter, naturally, there should be the fullest cooperation between the Centre and the States. I am sure that this will be forthcoming. I am passing on your suggestion that Ajit Prasad Jain should visit your State to discuss this matter to him. Perhaps it might be better if you could come here for such discussions with all of us because it is clear to me that we must all pull together.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1958

My dear Ajit,

After all the troubles we have had to face during the last few weeks, I have now to think again about our normal problems. My dealing with the Budget and with other matters connected with planning and our finances has convinced me more than ever of the vital part that our food production is going to play in the future. Indeed, if we cannot control the food situation and stop imports from abroad, there is likely to be no Third Plan.

We have undertaken huge burdens in the shape of loans and credits from abroad. We had to do so in order to face our present difficulties. But these loans and credits are going to mean a foreign debt burden of about rupees one hundred crores per annum—a terrific amount! Even without food imports, this is an amount which will be very difficult to carry. If we have to import food from abroad, then there is no chance of our doing anything else.

Thus, we come back to the tremendous importance of the production of foodgrains, and that is agriculture.

In our constant worry about the supply of food, the procurement of food, the price of food, the fixing of zones, etc., the positive aspect of agricultural improvement seems to become rather secondary. It is true that we think about it and we send letters and circulars to the States, and there are personal visits also. But I wonder if all this is enough. We can afford to take no risks in this matter, as all our future is depending upon it. I want you, therefore, to think

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 31 (30)/56-61-PMS.

how we can push this business forward and keep all the State Governments on their toes.

I speak about production, and that is of importance. But my socialist training or my socialist thinking, rather, convinces me that a real addition to production comes from basic social changes in the population, which give them a feeling of reliance and dynamism. It is for this reason that I have attached great importance to the community development movement and the enthusiasm and dynamism that it is supposed to engender. We have to deal with hundreds of millions of people, and unless these hundreds of millions wake up and become dynamic, progress will have to be terribly slow, and other events will overwhelm us. I believe the community development movement has to some extent changed the nature of our countryside and even of our people; but not enough yet. It is only during the past year that its special attention has been directed to agriculture, and it is true, I think, that both the State Governments and the community development movement are aware of this now and trying to tackle it. Still, progress seems to be slow. There can be no doubt that the potential resources are there, if only we can energize them.

Thinking in terms of basic social changes and a new outlook at the village level, I have always thought of these villages being the foundation of our economic and political structure. We just have to wake up the villager and make him self-reliant. Because of this, I have thought of the village panchayat and the village cooperative. To these two, you might add the village school. If these three function adequately, then the foundation is strong; if not, then the foundation is weak and the superstructure will not go far or be firm. What is being done about it? I find the State Governments not tackling this problem with any insight and dealing with it very superficially. I know very well the quality of our village people and that they make mistakes and quarrel and are sometimes corrupt. The only way to deal with them is to put responsibility upon them, even taking the risk of mistakes.

The panchayats move slowly. As for the cooperatives, I do not quite know what the position is. Are we still pushing along with our big-scale cooperatives which go entirely against the whole conception of the village economic foundation? Do we continue to make them officially run? I am told that in UP thousands of village cooperatives have been liquidated.²

2. Malcolm Darling, the Colombo Plan Consultant to the Planning Commission, in his report, commented that many cooperative societies in Uttar Pradesh had been liquidated because factors like manufacturing, marketing and processing were imposed on a structure without any systematic strengthening of its foundation. He submitted the report after a fourteen-week visit to eight States in India, which was published by the Planning Commission in 1957.

I am very much concerned about all this, and I think we should discuss this matter thoroughly, that is, the whole question of energizing our agriculture from the bottom. I should like to have a talk with you, and then a talk with you and S.K. Dey and perhaps others. Later, we can discuss it in the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Agricultural Production and Industrial Growth¹

Brothers and sisters of Krishak Samaj,

I am here at your invitation. I have come earlier too but I feel that it is not proper for me to say much about agriculture, etc. I can say a few words which I will. But it should be remembered that I have never done farming in my life and so I cannot speak from personal experience. I have read a little and observed things and understood enough to know that agriculture is at the root of all our national tasks and if there is any slackness in this field, our industries and everything else will suffer. This is the first thing.

Secondly, as Dr Deshmukh² mentioned just now, production from land in India is far below the average in other countries. Why is it so? There is no dearth of manpower or land or goods in the country. Thirdly, you must be aware that wherever an effort has been made, production has increased enormously. In some places it has been doubled or even trebled. That shows that if we go about it in the right way, we can make progress.

Given all these circumstances, it naturally follows that we must adopt the path that yields better results. Now all these things that I have mentioned are quite clear. There is not much room for argument. This is something that will benefit everyone, the farmers and the nation. So, it is not a question of making some great sacrifice but merely of serving the nation in which you too stand to gain. Of course, it is certainly necessary to work intelligently and with proper understanding. What does that mean? I do not have your experience of working on land. But the fact that we produce less from one acre of land than in other countries shows that there is some shortcoming somewhere in our method of

1. Inaugural speech at the Fourth National Convention of Farmers, New Delhi, 15 March 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

The convention was organized by the Bharat Krishak Samaj.

2. Panjabrao S. Deshmukh, the Union Minister of State for Cooperation, was the President of the Bharat Krishak Samaj.

working. We have to look for it and try to remove it. How do the United States and England and China and the Soviet Union produce more than we do? We must try to find out where we go wrong and try to remedy it.

You are already aware of all these things. I am not saying anything new. I am trying to put them to you in a simple language because the most pressing problem before us not only in Delhi but in the States too is to increase production. As I told you, all other things depend upon that. You know that floods and droughts have affected food production tremendously in the last two to three years in certain parts of India. Though food production on the whole has increased throughout the country, in spite of floods and droughts, the population is also growing at the same time. There are more mouths to feed. So, it is not enough to increase production a little. We have to produce enough not only to feed the growing population but also to have some leftover. Everyone in the country must have enough to eat which is not happening today. It is only by producing surplus foodgrains for export that we can import other necessary things, like machines, etc. This is how the balance can be maintained in the process of industrialization. Agriculture and industrialization are interlinked. So, whichever way you look at it, the conclusion is that we must make strides in agricultural production and very quickly at that.

Look at the situation today. In the last two to three years we had to import a great deal of foodgrain from other countries for which we had to pay precious foreign exchange. Instead of increasing production in the country and using the surplus to import goods from abroad, we are spending enormous sums to import food. This is wrong economics; importing food from abroad and we have to tighten our belts to pay for it. So where is the money for economic progress of the country? That is the dilemma before us. The long debates and arguments that go on about economic theories and the five-year plans, etc., are all very well. This leaves no room for progress in the country. It does not balance in the least. How can we set up industries when we are spending enormous sums on importing foodgrain? This is the dilemma before us. But the broad fact is that these things can work only when we increase production from land. We cannot depend on help from other countries, though we will take gratefully whatever is given. But it cannot be very much. The real burden has to be borne by the people. Two years of the Second Plan have gone by and another three remain. We have been facing great difficulties due to various reasons, chiefly because we had to import foodgrains. The countries which sent us foodgrains have helped us a great deal, otherwise we would have been in greater difficulties.

In three years, the Third Five Year Plan will begin. If we do not take full control of the situation by then in the matter of food production, the Third Plan

will be lifeless because, after all, these are not things which can be done merely on paper. Ultimately, it depends on the strength of the nation, the production in the country, the number of trained people and the ability of the people to work hard, etc. Two or three things are very essential and the most important thing is that we should not have to import foodgrains because it is a great drain on our precious foreign exchange. So, it means that we must increase production in the country. We must produce enough to be able to tide over natural disasters like floods and droughts. We must always have enough in reserve. Once we are fully reassured on that front and the farmers become better off, then we can stand more firmly and spread ourselves out in other fields and industrialize the country. No country in the world today can progress without industrialization. We are moving in that direction and have already put up a number of industries.

What do we need for industrialization? First of all, we need machines. We need tractors and other machines. You can see a number of tractors on display in the exhibitions which have been imported from other countries like the Soviet Union and the United States, etc. Whenever we need such machines, we have to import them. But we cannot go on like that. We must produce whatever we need in the country itself. Then we need steel in order to produce machines. It is obvious that steel is essential for every kind of machine. We produce about 13 to 14 lakh tons of steel in a year but that is not enough. The country needs double or treble that amount of steel. We have had to import steel which has cast a great burden upon us. Therefore, we decided to put up three new steel plants to increase production. We are trying to double the production in the already existing plant. It was an act of great daring to put up such huge plants all at once. At the same time it has imposed a tremendous burden on the people. If the money is spent within the country, it is distributed among the people. So, it does not matter very much. But when we import goods and machines, it is a drain on our resources.

So, we are putting up steel plants and there is no doubt about it that once they are completed, one great difficulty would have been removed. We will not have to import steel, which will reduce the burden on the nation. Perhaps we may even be able to export steel and earn foreign exchange. So, we decided in spite of tremendous odds to set up these steel plants even though it would mean further tightening of our belt. If they are not completed, we will face tremendous difficulties. So, we are going ahead with them and borrowing money to complete them.

After steel the most important thing is machine-making industry so that we do not have to import machines. We must become self-reliant in this field so that we can set up heavy industries without importing machines from outside. We are moving in that direction but there is one great difficulty in this. We have

to spend enormous sums on these projects for years before they start yielding results. The expenditure has to be incurred till the plants are set up. It takes nearly four to five years before they start producing steel or machines. So, we are at a moment in time when the expenditure is enormous and the burden on the people is very great, with no visible returns for years. This has to be borne in spite of the hardships that it imposes. It is no doubt true that once the industries go into production, the returns will be tremendous and they will continue to pour in year after year. So, it balances things a little. All our big projects, like the steel plants, the big river valley schemes from which canals will be built and electricity will be produced, cost a great deal of money and it will be years before there are results. Take the Bhakra, for instance. It is being built for the last seven to eight years and a great deal of money has been spent on it already. But once it starts working, it will yield enormous dividends and will continue to do so for years to come. The Bhakra will benefit the people for generations.

Whenever a country tries to progress rapidly a tremendous burden is cast upon the people and there are no immediate results. We have to bear hardships today so that we may live in comfort in the future. If the people shy away from hardships and responsibilities, there can be no progress. This is the dilemma before India and other countries trying to progress. We have no time to lose and therefore progress has to be quick. The population continues to rise and if production does not keep pace with it, there will be nothing left for development. In this connection, I would like to tell you that population control has become a vital issue. People tend to laugh it off but it is becoming a question of survival for India and other countries. If we continue to grow at the rate of 50 lakhs per year, it will mean many more people to feed, clothe, provide them housing, education, health care facilities, which is a tremendous problem. Other countries are also facing this problem.

As you know, China is a communist country. China is facing an even more acute population problem. Our population is 37 or 38 crores today and increasing at the rate of 50 lakhs per year, whereas China has a population of 65 crores. It is almost double our population and is increasing very fast. From this you can calculate that if the population of China continues to increase at this rate, it will double itself within the next 25 to 30 years. If the population in Asia continues to increase at this rate, there can be no progress for Asian countries. They will always remain on the threshold of poverty, no matter how hard the people work. Therefore, this matter is being considered seriously. As you know, clinics are being opened to advise the people. This is a matter which concerns the Health Ministry but the Food Ministry should also take this into account because if this trend continues, there will not be enough food for everyone. Anyhow,

this is not the occasion for me to say much about it but I want to draw your attention to the fact that it has become extremely important to plan your families. It will ensure that children are well looked after and everyone benefits in the long run.

Well, anyhow, we come round once again to the fact that the five-year plans cannot work if we continue to import food. We may have to import food for the next year or two. But I do not wish to give you more time, and there is no reason for it if all the farmers of India determine firmly to increase the food production. My promises will not take us anywhere. It is you who have to have a firm determination and realize that you are acting in the best interest of yourselves and the nation. A big obstacle will then be removed from our path. Now, how is this to be done? You can pass resolutions as we do in government and that may give some direction. But resolutions are not enough. What is required is hard work.

You are aware of the broad necessities in order to increase production. Irrigation, fertilizers, good seeds—all these things are important, as you already know. I do not have to tell you that. We are trying to build canals and provide additional facilities for irrigation. But I would like to draw your attention especially to the areas where water is available in plenty for irrigation, if we wish to obtain quick results. The areas where there are canals or where there is sufficient rainfall every year in India add up to about 10 crore acres. I do not mean that efforts should not be made in other areas. But particular attention should be paid to these areas. We cannot wait for 10 or 20 years to get better results. We have to get results in the next year or two. Therefore, we must pay special attention to areas where there are good facilities for irrigation in order to increase production of food per acre. If the production is 10 *maunds* per acre at the moment, we must increase it to 14 or 15 *maunds* per acre. It can and has been done. We must lay more emphasis on this. We may take up ambitious schemes to convert forests into arable land and what not. That is all right. But it will take years. Therefore, I am more interested in improving the methods of production in areas already under cultivation. Well, I cannot say much about irrigation except that there are various methods, like bunding and what not, of conserving water for irrigation.

All of you know the value of fertilizers and consequently the demand for fertilizers has gone up which we are not able to fulfil. The factory at Sindri is producing a great deal and we are putting up other plants which will take time. Wherever there is a question of setting up factories, it takes time. We are importing as much fertilizers as we can, though it is a drain on our foreign exchange. But, as you know, there are a number of fertilizers which you can produce yourselves and attention must be paid to them. I would like to tell you

that the great advance in food production in India and China has been entirely due to the indigenous fertilizers, like compost and what not. In India sufficient attention has not been paid to this yet. These things are up to you. But then what is the strength of an individual farmer? What knowledge does he have? It is very little. Therefore, it is important that people should work together in cooperatives and village panchayats, etc. If you need fertilizers, you should try to get them through cooperatives. The same goes for seeds, or arrangements for sale—in short, the fifty-odd different needs of the farmers should be covered through the cooperatives which will protect their rights and the work will also improve. It is a broad fact and there is no doubt about it that the great progress that has been made in farming in Europe is due to the cooperatives.

You must first understand the meaning of cooperatives. Cooperatives are not there merely for giving credit and arranging loans, etc., though that is also important. But cooperatives cover many other fields. There is some difference of opinion about the size of cooperatives but it is my firm belief that cooperatives should not be very big in size. They should consist of one or at the most two nearby villages because cooperatives must inculcate the habit of self-reliance and cooperation among farmers. Once these are firmly in place, many of the improved techniques and facilities of modern science like small machines, a good plough, etc., which an individual farmer cannot afford, can be provided by cooperatives. This is how the farmers in Europe and the United States have progressed. They have excellent tools and machines. I am not referring to tractors which are huge but to small machines which can be, and are being, produced in the country. The cooperatives can bring these things within the reach of the small farmers.

Therefore, in my opinion, cooperatives are absolutely essential in every village. Three things are very essential in every village for our progress: first, a panchayat; second, a cooperative society; and third, a school. If these three function effectively in every village, the foundations of the nation will be very strong. Panchayats are the basis of our society and the biggest panchayat is the Lok Sabha. But its roots lie below. The second pillar, the economic pillar, is the cooperative society. Then, it is obvious, come the schools, which are extremely important to educate and prepare our children for future responsibilities. These three basic things should be available in every village. We cannot do all this immediately because we are short of money.

What can I say about schools? Our entire method of expenditure in this matter has been absolutely wrong, in my opinion, and all of us are to blame. We have been investing our savings in school—constructing buildings of bricks and mortar—and very little is left for real teaching facilities, which is not right. I have no objection to school buildings, but if we want education to spread,

especially in villages—I am not talking of cities—we must forget about buildings. What we need is good teachers, for they are the ones who make the schools, not buildings. The teachers must have proper teaching facilities and materials like books, maps, etc. These things are vital and classes can be held even under trees. If we follow this line of thinking and the money that is now being spent on buildings is diverted to them, the education will spread rapidly and the status of teachers will be enhanced. The condition of our teachers is not very good. Please remember that the teacher must be accorded great respect and paid well. If he is frustrated, how can he teach well? Therefore, we should spend our money on teachers and teaching material and not bother too much about buildings. There are bound to be difficulties during the monsoons but they will be gradually resolved. School holidays can coincide with the monsoons or some other temporary arrangements can be made. Our old teaching institutions like the *gurukuls* were run on the principle of teaching under trees and did not require much money. Even now if you go to Santiniketan, the school and college founded by Rabindranath Tagore, you will find that the teaching is generally done under trees, not to save money, but because it is considered a good thing.

There is a demand for schools everywhere and rightly so because until every child in India gets proper education, the country cannot progress. But the demand cannot be fulfilled unless we shift our attention from buildings and emphasize various aspects of teaching. There should be school buildings and villagers could make one house available for the purpose. But I will still say that classes should be held outdoors. A small room may be provided to store the teaching material which will not cost much.

In short, panchayats, cooperatives and schools are the political and economic foundations of our system. Schools are the medium through which human beings are moulded. All these three things are essential for the progress of our nation.

Let me draw your attention to another thing which troubles us a great deal. We are taking up big projects and building canals and digging tube wells and what not. But smaller canals, which would carry the water for irrigation to small farms, are not being dug. Here we are investing crores of rupees on these projects and the people are not taking advantage of it. Thousands of tube wells have been dug all over Punjab and not even one-third of the water is being utilized by the farmers. Why? Some complain that it is too expensive or too much electricity is consumed, and what not. But what can be more absurd than this, that we should spend enormous sums of money and years pass with no benefit to anyone. I do not remember exactly, but I have seen the statistics that if all the water which is now being wasted in canals and tube wells is

properly utilized, 20 to 25 lakh acres—no, Ajit Prasadji³ tells me that 40 lakh acres—can be irrigated immediately. Leave aside the arrangements that will be made hereafter. Due to mismanagement or governmental inefficiency, or whatever it is, the water is not being utilized. If forty lakh acres could get water for irrigation, production would immediately go up and the problem of food will be solved. We will not have to import anything. I accept that all of us are at fault and we are trying to find out why this is happening. But the situation has not been brought fully under control.

I would like to mention about tanks also. Especially in South India, in Hyderabad, Madras, Andhra, Mysore, etc., there are innumerable tanks, which have existed from the olden days. It is obvious that if they are not maintained properly, they are ruined as it has been happening in thousands of cases. Repairs have not been undertaken in most places. If they had been kept under good repair, it has been estimated that 25 to 30 lakh acres more would be irrigated. You can see how the entire arrangement is available. You do not have to import anything or waste precious foreign exchange. But it is difficult to repair all at once the thousands of tanks which have been allowed to fall into disuse for years. I am trying to show you how these things are already in existence and can easily be brought into use to produce quick results. We must pay attention to these things. The problem is that in thinking of larger issues, very often the small details escape notice. It is quite clear that if the water that is at our disposal just now is fully utilized, we can bring millions of acres of land under cultivation.

Mention has been made of community blocks. As you know, they are meant especially for the development of rural areas. They lay special emphasis on increasing food production because it has become a vital issue. As I told you, I do not wish that the cooperatives should become a governmental effort. The government officials can advise. But the control of these institutions should be in the hands of the people and I am even prepared to accept their mistakes because that is the only way to learn. I want that the role of government must become less and less and the people should run the cooperatives themselves. I do not say that the government should dissociate itself, for that will create complications. But the people must regard the cooperatives as their own and learn to shoulder the responsibility themselves. Whatever the community blocks have done or not done so far, they have certainly become an instrument of change in the villages all over India. A large country has its own advantages but the size is sometimes a handicap too. For instance, a large fat man often finds it difficult to walk about. He has to become more active and smart. Similarly,

3. Ajit Prasad Jain, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

big countries often suffer from the disadvantages of their size. If you want something to be done quickly, there are often problems of reaching the people quickly. We may sit in our offices and decide that a certain task has to be done in five lakh villages of India. But the difficulty arises in explaining it to those five lakh villages. The matter should be explained to the community bloc who in turn will explain to the people. So, all this cannot be done sitting in offices. In fact, government work is done by making announcements and statements and there is often a large gap between that and implementation. Official announcements are often worded in such difficult language that nobody can understand them. How can people in the villages read English?

So, as I said, these community blocks have become a medium, an instrument, through which development programmes can be implemented in villages. The decisions taken in Delhi or elsewhere can immediately reach every village in India or at least wherever there are community blocks. But this can be done only when they are not merely official bodies but have the cooperation of the people. Take the matter of food production, for instance. It is not enough to make a general pronouncement that there should be an increase in production. We have to decide how much each village will undertake to help in the process. Or, you can go a step further and determine how much more each farmer will produce from his land. It is obvious that nobody can make any promises. But at least people can have a firm determination to increase the production by a certain amount every year. All this has to be done by making proper calculations. Every farmer must draw up a plan of action and we have asked the community blocks to proceed on these lines. Each village and panchayat and cooperative must set a target for itself and allocate responsibility to each farmer. This will act as an incentive to reach the targets. If an atmosphere of this kind is created, you will see how quickly we will progress and increase production.

Dr Deshmukh mentioned a very important thing about the prices of foodgrain.⁴ As you know, this always works two ways. The farmer or the producer wants the best possible prices and the consumer in cities protests if the prices go up. Both are justified. What is to be done? It is obvious that a middle path has to be found. On the one hand, if the prices of foodgrains go up, it affects the life of the whole nation. In rich countries, the amount spent on food is not as much as in the poor countries. Most of the income of people in poor countries goes on food and any increase in food prices means starvation or, at least, undernourishment. The result is that immediately the people look

4. P.S. Deshmukh had said that while higher prices of foodgrains caused hardships to the common man, lower prices caused misery to farmers and affected their capacity to produce more.

for an increase in wages. There is a demand for dearness allowance and higher wages and if the Government were to increase the salaries even by five rupees a month, it adds up to crores of rupees. Sardar Swaran Singh⁵ says a five-rupee increase means an additional expenditure of 10 crores of rupees. We can gladly increase salaries. But where are ten crores to come from? There is no treasury from which we can keep taking out the money. It will ultimately have to come out of your own pockets in the form of taxes and so the burden once again falls on the common man. Therefore, a rise in prices has far-reaching effects, millions of people are affected and the expenses of the Government soar. So, the Government is forced to impose new taxes. Whether we build houses or dig canals, we have to spend more and when this is spread out all over India, the expenditure amounts to millions of rupees.

The Second Plan is before you and the Third will be taken up soon. If the prices of foodstuff and other essential consumer goods go up, the expenditure on the Plan also goes up automatically. Either we will be forced to curtail the Plan or will have to impose new taxes. The whole thing becomes a vicious circle because more taxes mean raising of salaries and wages and ultimately the burden on the common man increases and nobody benefits. Therefore, it is quite essential that we should control the prices of foodgrains, because once they start rising, it is difficult to bring them down. The farmer also does not benefit because the value of the rupee falls. This is the dilemma but I agree entirely that the prices paid to the farmers must be reasonable, keeping in mind the fact that our entire planning depends on the prices of foodgrains. Once the situation is under control, the production of food increases and the process of industrialization gains momentum, then the farmer will undoubtedly progress in every way. But as you can imagine, all these things take time, for it cannot be done by magic.

Moreover, however much we may try, there is one thing which is still not under our control and that is rainfall and drought. It is true that wherever canals have been dug, the situation is slightly better and gradually, as the facilities for irrigation increase, the matter will come under our control. In fact, I feel that in the next 5 to 10 years we may even be able to control rains to some extent. At least if the rain clouds gather, we may be able to see to it that they rain instead of dispersing. Science is making such rapid strides that this may be possible within the next 10 to 15 years.

You may have heard that man is now trying to reach the moon and the stars. This is the world that we are living in today. We can no longer continue to exist in a vacuum of prejudices and outdated ways. We need a new way of

5. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

thinking to understand this new world of ours. Otherwise, we will become backward while the other countries go ahead. We have no intention of becoming backward. We have the firm determination to go ahead, make this country prosper and progress. Ultimately, the nation means the people who live in the rural areas, and not the people in the cities alone. So, there is a great responsibility on all of you and the Indian farmer. It is a great burden and at the same time a tremendous opportunity for you to progress. I hope this farmers' forum will play a significant role in this task. *Jai Hind!*

17. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
22nd March, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of March 21st about Santokh Singh.² I think that before the formal approach was made to the UPSC in this matter, an informal talk should have taken place. We have done this in other cases with success because one cannot explain everything in a formal letter and we get tied up with rules and regulations. If, however, informally this is explained, it is easier for the UPSC to agree. Hejmadi,³ the Chairman, is quite reasonable, if properly approached.

I suggest therefore that before a second request is made, some such talk might take place. Perhaps, the Cabinet Secretary⁴ could do it or the Secretary General.⁵ You yourself could have a talk with Hejmadi, if you like.

The point is that, first of all, the question of agricultural production is of the highest importance. Secondly, we feel that the normal expert officer type is already with us and he does good work. We now want a non-official of both practical and theoretical experience and keenness. It is not easy to get such a man and we feel that Santokh Singh might be very helpful. He has a degree in agriculture from Cambridge and has himself been a practical farmer in the old Punjab. He has many ideas and he could discuss them informally with the

1. JN Collection.

2. An agriculturist and consultant to the Planning Commission in 1956.

3. V.S. Hejmadi (b.1900); joined ICS, 1923; served in various capacities in Madras State till 1953; Adviser, Programme Administration, Planning Commission, 1953-55; Chairman, Union Public Service Commission, 1955-61.

4. M.K. Vellodi.

5. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA.

States concerned and encourage them to experiment with these ideas.⁶ The appointment might well be for only a year to begin with to be extended later, if thought fit.

If you want me to ask the Secretary General or the Cabinet Secretary to take up this matter informally, I shall do so. For the present, therefore, a second formal reference need not be made. I shall await your reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In this regard, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 33, pp. 112-114, Vol. 39, p. 162 and Vol. 40, p. 308.

18. Appointment of Santokh Singh, an Agricultural Expert¹

I want your advice in regard to a proposed appointment.

As you know, I have been much worried about food production and I am prepared to take any step which might increase it. I feel that we have got into a rut of thinking and action and I want fresh ideas. We have good men in the Food & Agriculture Ministry, but, by and large, they are not farmers. They are administrators. Most of the work, of course, is done by the States. There too it is administrators who are in charge. No doubt they have some technical assistance but even these people have seldom any farming experience, and all of them tend to become stale by repeating the same performance.

I have been suggesting to the Food & Agriculture Minister to get some new blood, not in any regular post, but something in addition. I suggested to him one name. This was of Sardar Santokh Singh. Santokh Singh is a graduate in Agriculture of Cambridge and had a large farm in the Punjab which he managed efficiently. After partition, he had to give it up. I have seen him off and on during the past few years. I think Rajkumari Amrit Kaur² first sent him to me. He was attached to the Planning Commission for some time. But, oddly enough, he was not asked to deal with Agriculture there, but with animal husbandry or some such thing, which of course he knows also. He left the Planning Commission.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, 24 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Amrit Kaur was the Member of Rajya Sabha and a former Health Minister.

I suggested to the Food Minister that it might be worthwhile trying him for some time. I could not of course guarantee the results, but in view of our urgent need of new ideas and practical experience in regard to food production, I definitely thought it worthwhile seeing what he could do. The Food Minister had some difficulty with Finance (Shri T.T. Krishnamachari). This was resolved. When all these preliminary hurdles had been crossed, the matter was referred to the UPSC. A few days ago, the UPSC informed the Ministry of Food & Agriculture that they were not prepared to accept their proposal and that the normal procedure should be followed in any such appointment. I am attaching the UPSC's letter.

So, after many months of effort, we were stymied by the UPSC. I do not blame the UPSC because the matter was not put to them clearly. This was not the normal type of appointment and obviously little good would come from advertising for it and waiting for months.

The Food and Agriculture Minister thereupon thought of referring it back to them and, if necessary, even putting it up before the Cabinet. I wrote to him³ that a much better way of dealing with this would be for someone like you or the Cabinet Secretary to discuss it with the Chairman of the UPSC and explain the situation to him and thus endeavour to get the consent of the UPSC. He has agreed to this procedure and, therefore, I am sending you this note together with copies of some letters.

Can you have a talk with Hejmadi on this subject? If you like, you can discuss this with me.

3. See the preceding item.

19. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Please refer to your letter of February 10.² I gave that letter to Professor Mahalanobis.³ He has now sent me a reply to it. With that reply is a long note on the statistics on the production of foodgrains in India. This note deals with this subject in its various aspects and points out the advantages of using sample surveys for the purpose. Indeed it shows that there is no other feasible or effective enough method. These sample surveys are being used increasingly all over the world in recent years and the United Nations has set up a sub-commission on statistical sampling.⁴

Finally, he suggests that the National Sample Survey should be used for the crop surveys. They have already carried out some experimental crop surveys and thus collected useful basic information. Thus they are in a position to undertake crop surveys on a countrywide basis, if so directed by Government. Such a survey, according to Professor Mahalanobis, can supply, with speed and economy, periodic crop statistics of sufficient accuracy. This was pointed out by the NSS Review Committee last year.

Then the urgency of taking this step is pointed out in view of the food situation. Some concrete proposals are made and estimated costs given. The suggested expenditure for the centrally organized sample survey by the NSS is Rs forty-four lakhs in the first year, inclusive of both field and statistical expenditure. If these surveys are a little more widespread or more comprehensive, the cost may go up, or the States may take some part of it and bear the cost of that.

It is suggested that the best plan would be to begin work with 2 ½ per cent sample of about 12,500 villages and the survey work may be started from June 1958, the cost for the remaining nine months being Rs 33 lakhs, inclusive of both field and statistical works. The crop season begins in July. Therefore, it is

1. File No. 31 (72)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In his letter, Jain had dealt with Mahalanobis's proposals about carrying out crop surveys.
3. P.C. Mahalanobis was the founder and Director of the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta and Member of the Planning Commission.
4. The sub-commission was set up by the UN Economic and Social Council for carrying out population census and agricultural sample surveys. Mahalanobis was its Chairman from 1947 to 1951.

necessary to start the preparatory work in June. The question therefore arises of administrative and financial sanction which, it is stated, should come by the end of April. In case of delay, a whole year might be lost.

Professor Mahalanobis points out that the NSS has no initiative in this matter and that some Ministry must take the initiative. That Ministry would necessarily be the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. This is a very brief summary of the note. You will of course read the full note.

I feel convinced that it is necessary and important for us to have these surveys. We cannot base national policies without adequate knowledge of the position. Further, the survey has to be sample survey, though the samples must be sufficient in number. I think, it is very much worthwhile for us to undertake this even at the cost mentioned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) General

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
January 13, 1958

My dear Deshmukh,²

I received your letter³ of the 4th/5th January on the 9th evening. The points you have raised are important, and I should have liked to write to you rather fully. But I have been very hard-pressed for time, because of the visit of the UK Prime

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. C.D. Deshmukh was Chairman of the University Grants Commission at this time. He was the Union Finance Minister from 1950 and resigned in July 1956 over the issue of separating Bombay city from Maharashtra as originally proposed in the States Reorganization Bill, 1956.
3. Deshmukh wrote that he was being criticized for the shrinking of the sterling balances due to the "excessive liberalization of import licences" permitted during his tenure as Finance Minister. He explained that he had no knowledge about the intention of the then Commerce and Industry Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, to liberalize the policy "to the extent he did in December 1955 and in June 1956", and that B.K. Nehru, the then Joint Secretary in the Finance Ministry, was responsible for not informing him "adequately and in writing" about it.

Minister⁴ and the meeting of the National Development Council. I am going away early tomorrow morning to Gauhati. I feel I should write to you before I go, even though my letter has to be somewhat hurried.

I have myself some knowledge of some of the matters referred to in your letter. I have, however, consulted T.T. Krishnamachari⁵ and also B.K. Nehru.⁶ I might mention that, in September last, I asked the Planning Commission to investigate fully the reasons for the situation that had arisen in regard to foreign exchange. They went into this matter very fully and presented to me a comprehensive note. The note is a long one but, briefly, their conclusions were: (1) that the rise in imports and consequent drain on foreign exchange resources is chiefly attributable to the attempt to carry out the Second Five Year Plan; (2) the heavy additional demands of Defence; (3) the need to import far more foodgrains than was originally anticipated, because of the damage caused by floods and drought; (4) the increased requirements of raw materials, components, spares, replacements, etc., for matching the higher levels of industrial production reached in 1955-56, for which the allowance made in the Plan estimates had proved to be inadequate; (5) increase in prices and in freight rates; and (6) rather higher imports of consumer goods in the years 1955-56 and 1956-57, compared with earlier years. In my directive to the Planning Commission, I had requested them to investigate this question fully and objectively, so that we might learn from the past in order not to err in the future. I was not particularly interested in finding fault with anyone, but, rather, to know the reasons with a view to avoiding a recurrence. Subsequent to the Planning Commission's report to me on this subject, the additional facts that became available to us, confirmed their conclusions.

The main reason, according to them, was the Second Five Year Plan itself, and our attempt to carry it out under circumstances which became progressively more unfavourable because of the heavy demands of Defence and the large quantity of additional foodgrains which had to be imported. There were other causes like the Suez crisis which sent up prices and raised freights. Some liberalization in import policy made in 1955 or 1956 had a relatively minor effect on this situation.

There was, as you know, a large foreign exchange gap in the Plan, and not

4. For British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's visit, see *post*, pp. 677-690.
5. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister at this time, wrote to Nehru on 11 January denying the charges levelled against him by Deshmukh. He claimed that some liberalization of import licences had been done during the first half of 1955 with full concurrence of Deshmukh.
6. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, at this time.

much thought appears to have been given at the time as to how to raise the necessary finance and to frame policies so that this gap might be bridged. It appears that the organization of the Ministry of Finance at the time in regard to the control of foreign expenditure was not adequate. The system of foreign exchange budgeting, which had existed previously, had also not been followed. There was, in fact, some lack of coordination between the various Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission. As a result, the Planning Commission itself issued no directions to reduce licensing in 1955 and 1956 in order to conserve resources for financing the Plan. The Ministry of Finance did apparently issue some warnings from time to time. Finally, in August 1956, the matter was specially brought to my notice by the Finance Ministry in a comprehensive note by B.K. Nehru. Immediately, remedial action was taken. Powers of Financial Advisers to sanction foreign exchange were drastically curtailed in August, and, next month, they were completely withdrawn. A Coordination Committee, presided over by the Principal Finance Secretary, was set up in September 1956. The system of foreign exchange budgeting was also revived a little later.

You may remember that in a statement made by you in the Lok Sabha on the 11th September 1954, you spoke in favour of relaxing restrictions on our imports. This statement was made during the discussion on the Indian Tariff (Second Amendment) Bill.⁷

It seems to me clear that the responsibility for all that has happened during those years has to be shared by all of us who are responsible for the Plan. While it is true that imports might have been restricted at an earlier stage, this, in fact, did not make any very great difference. Even in regard to the imports, the responsibility has to be shared.⁸

You refer to the fact that you were not the Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.⁹ I do not understand how this makes any particular

7. The Indian Tariff (Second Amendment) Bill sought to raise import duties on several articles.
8. In his letter, Deshmukh had written that the import licensing policies were decided by Krishnamachari "personally" and that "the officials and their advice...were curtly brushed aside by him."
9. Deshmukh wrote that up to 1952, C. Rajagopalachari was the Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and he its Vice-Chairman. After the 1952 elections, and the reconstitution of the Cabinet, Nehru became the Chairman of all Cabinet Committees and Deshmukh "ceased even to be Vice-Chairman" of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. According to him, "slackness crept into the working of the committee, particularly on account of the late Shri R.A. Kidwai's trying to rush decisions at short notice, often without the necessary consultation with the Finance Ministry....".

difference. The responsibility of the Finance Minister continued to be exactly the same, whether he was the Chairman of this Committee or a member of it.

You refer to what B.K. Nehru said to you at Santa Cruz airport and had his answer to the effect that he had reported to you more than once.¹⁰ You say that you do not remember any occasion when he spoke to you on this subject previously and that there was no written report drawing your particular attention to the licensing. You blame B.K. Nehru for not keeping you informed in writing about the situation.

I am rather surprised to read this accusation of B.K. Nehru. It is not customary for civil servants to be attacked in political debate, as they are themselves not permitted to participate in public controversies. I might add, however, that when I enquired from B.K. Nehru, his recollection of the facts was different from yours. According to him, he had brought this matter to your notice on several occasions, though he had not put up a written report. The main criticism had been about the Plan itself, and he could hardly write written reports about the Plan. In any event, the responsibility surely is always that of the Minister, and not of his Secretary.

You resigned in July 1956. After your resignation, for some time, I functioned as Finance Minister. Within a fortnight of your resignation, B.K. Nehru came to me and told me that he was alarmed at the rate at which we had been drawing our foreign exchange reserves. From his talk, I gathered that he had drawn attention to this fact previously, presumably to you.

On the 22nd August, that is just about a month after your resignation, he sent me a fairly comprehensive note on this subject. It was as a result of this note that various steps were immediately taken. From this, it will appear that B.K. Nehru was not only conscious of this developing foreign exchange crisis for some time past, but had spoken about it already previously. The crisis became evident after the 1st April 1956. Even before this, he had been troubled about it. In his note of the 22nd August 1956, he had said as follows:

I do not wish to sound alarmist and to recommend in a panic action which might be harmful to the economic development of the country. The fact, nevertheless, remains that we are now facing a foreign exchange crisis which, unless met by resolute and immediate action (which will, of course, be painful), will lead to default in our international payments.

10. Deshmukh wrote: "When asked by me at the Santa Cruz airport why he had not reported the extensive liberalization of licensing that took place in December 1955 and June 1956, Shri B.K. Nehru said: 'Don't you remember, Sir, that I verabally reported to you more than once?'"

I am referring this matter to show how conscious and troubled he had been about the foreign exchange situation, and how he had tried to draw attention to this. He had also pointed out in his note that the additional expenditure on Defence as well as the additional cost of steel plants had made a considerable difference and had been sanctioned without the knowledge of External Finance Division.

It seems to me that B.K. Nehru discharged his responsibility fully and consciously, and deserves credit for the fine work he has done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
January 24, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

You will remember the report that the Planning Commission prepared, at my request, in regard to the foreign exchange crisis that had arisen. This report was a helpful one. One of the points that emerged from this report was the lack of coordination in many of our activities, the Planning Commission not knowing some decisions taken by Ministries of Government, and possibly some Ministries, notably the Ministry of Economic Affairs, not being in close touch with the Planning Commission.

The enquiry that is going on about the Life Insurance affair in Bombay has again brought out the fact that some matters were dealt with at one level or another without proper coordination.

All this has led me to think that we should have the fullest cooperation and coordination in our work. I am all against red-tape and yet sometimes a measure of red-tape is necessary, that is, a methodical approach. We err in two ways: on the one hand, there is so much red-tape that everything is delayed; on the other hand, sometimes decisions or steps are taken rather casually without the fullest consideration. We should avoid both.

I suggest that in future every matter concerning our internal resources or external finance should be fully considered by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Economic Affairs which is responsible for this. In the past,

1. File No. 17(206)/56-66-PMS.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

perhaps this has sometimes not been done, as the Finance Minister himself represented his Ministry in the Planning Commission. Anjaria³ also is adviser in the Economic Affairs as well as Adviser to the Planning Commission. In a sense, this is good, but this may result in the process of full consultation being sometimes blurred.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. J.J. Anjaria, Chief, Economic Division, Planning Commission, 1950-61, and Chief Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance, 1956-61.

3. Constraints on Economic Progress: Address to the Indian Merchants' Chamber¹

Mr Naval Tata,² members of the Chamber, friends,
I am indeed happy to be here today to associate myself with this celebration of the jubilee of this Chamber.

During the past 30 years or nearly 40 years, I have watched from a distance some of the activities of this Chamber. I confess that what I watched then was more the political aspect of those activities than the economic. But gradually, some of the economic aspects also came up before us in the days of our struggle for freedom. But for the moment, I shall only refer to what Mr Tata has mentioned in his remarks, that is, the help and cooperation that was received at various times from this Chamber during our freedom struggle. That stands quite apart; whether we agreed or not in regard to economic matters, it is a different matter.

But in those days before Independence, the primary object before every citizen of India was the attainment of independence. And, while we realized

1. Speech on the occasion of the golden jubilee celebration of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, 3 February 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Naval Hormusji Tata (1904-1989); adopted son of Ratan Tata (the second son of Jamsetji Tata); appointed Director, Tata Sons, 1941, Chairman of Tata Electric Company (now Tata Power), 1961, and Deputy Chairman, Tata Sons, 1962; President, Indian Hockey Federation, 1946-61; President, National Institute of Labour Management (now National Institute of Personnel Management), 1951-80; member, Governing Body of International Labour Organization, 1951-89; associated with Tata's philanthropic organizations; Chairman, Indian Cancer Society, 1951-89.

that political independence was only a part of the journey we had embarked upon, it was an essential part and a prerequisite for something else. Therefore, it had to be given first place in every man's thinking in India. I am glad that, at that stage, this Chamber realized that fact and threw in its weight, insofar as such a Chamber could do it, on the side of the freedom struggle. And I should like on this occasion to refer to that and to acknowledge our appreciation of it.

Now, in the course of Mr Tata's address, towards the end of it he said something rather hesitatingly, that criticism might sometimes be misunderstood by those in authority, and he pleaded for more association. Well, I can assure him that no amount of criticism is or should be resented or objected to. And I invite you, as I invite every section of our people, to offer constructive criticism of our activities, plans, etc.

I said constructive criticism. Not that I rule out even criticism which is not constructive; but that does not help, it only irritates all parties concerned. You are free to offer constructive or destructive criticism. But the point is this, it is not a question of not having criticism, but it is patent that the approach to any kind of plan or any kind of movement depends, to a great deal, on the objectives and certain premises. If those objectives or those premises differ, then naturally the differences show at every subsequent stage of the consideration of that problem. We, not only as a democratic society, but even otherwise, have chosen a path which requires and demands the fullest consideration of every aspect of the problem, which proceeds not by dogma or pre-determined decision about any matter, but by, if I may use the word, trial and error. That is, we decide on a certain line. Part of that may be considered completely firm, because it is intimately connected with our objectives. Part of it depends on so many other circumstances that it has to be looked at, considered, reconsidered, if necessary, revised.

Therefore, I want you to be quite clear that it is completely not only open to you but desirable for you to offer such constructive criticism. You say that sometimes it is misunderstood. Maybe. But, may I also suggest to you not to misunderstand the reply to that constructive criticism that you are offering because, often enough, it is likely to be a very vigorous reply.

Now, may I branch off for an instant and say something which is totally irrelevant. And that is this, irrelevant in the sense of this particular occasion. But it is very relevant insofar as it refers to Bombay, this great city. It surprises and amazes me that a great city like Bombay, which has so much to add to its distinction, both in its life and its general beauty, etc., should be one of the very few cities in the world, I should say great cities, which has neither a good hall nor a good park. It is astonishing. It shows—I say so with all respect—certain lack of civic consciousness because these are the essential amenities of every

city, big or small parks. In fact, nowadays, the idea is that the city starts with a park, the city comes afterwards. And, here is this great city without a park. You have got Chowpatty and you have got some open spaces here and there. Of course, they all are very welcome. But that has nothing to do with a park. I believe you have got a park some 10 to 20 or 30 miles away, but that hardly serves the purposes of this city. I do not know how you are going to make a park now, where is the room for it? That is for you to consider. But it really is a very important consideration for any person connected with a city to realize that a city without a park is a city without something absolutely essential to its life, being and growth, more especially for the younger people, the children and others.

And a city without a proper hall is also very odd. Nowadays, when almost every activity involves meetings and discussions, you want halls for the purpose. Of course, so far as political activities are concerned, and more specially Congress activities, many years ago, they became so big that no hall could contain them. So, we moved to the open spaces, but still that is no way to replace a hall.

Thirdly, of course, and that is nothing new that I am saying, and that is slums. Well, I merely repeat that word here to remind you of it, because it is a constant slur on every city which has it. And I know something is being done, I know that the people realize this problem. I will only say this in this connection that, whether it is slums or anything else, we have arrived at a stage when spasmodic work does not do much good, and it sometime comes in the way of organized effort later. The whole problem should be approached from the point of view of not only present-day demands and difficulties, but perspectives of the future. What do you want Bombay to be 25 years later? Having more or less made up your mind about that and having a master plan of Bombay a quarter of a century later, work up to it; not an odd job here and an odd job there. Then it will be an organized approach to the problem. That is how great cities now are functioning anywhere in the world. We are also making an effort in Delhi to make a master plan of Delhi 25 or 40 or 50 years later, and then trying to work up to that end. Now, the irrelevant part is more or less over.

Now, I am not a preacher preaching from a pulpit. Nevertheless, I should like to take a text for my address, a biblical text, so well known and, of course, you all know it. In order to be right, not to make any mistake about any word, I have got it written here:

For unto everyone that hath, shall be
Given and he shall have abundance;

But from him that hath not, shall be taken
Away even that which he hath.³

Now, I am not quoting this from the point of view of individuals or anything, but rather to draw your attention to certain basic trends in societies as they exist today.

Let us take them internationally. You might say that there are some nations in the world, which are very prosperous, which have solved the problems of production and generally the problems of the welfare state. Now, among these nations, there are some nations like the United States of America, Canada, some nations of Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand and some in Asia—I am not for the moment referring to the Soviet Union, but it comes under that category, not perhaps to the same extent but in that category. And to some extent Japan might also be included, though not quite at the same level. Of course, you cannot draw hard and fast lines. Some nations are on the borderline. Then there are a number of countries, which may be called the middle countries, and a vast number of countries which are now termed underdeveloped countries, where standards are terribly low. Now, if you look even at the past 10 or 12 years since the War, when there has been a new consciousness about approaching these problems of underdeveloped countries, helping them, encouraging them, nevertheless you will find that, in fact, the gap between the developed country and the underdeveloped country has become bigger and bigger. Those that have had, more has been given to them. And those who did not have, have fallen back or even if they have increased very slightly, the gap is bigger, that is, the developed country has developed the capacity for greater growth, greater progress, while the undeveloped, underdeveloped country struggles hard and makes little, makes good in a little way but nevertheless, the pace is small—that is internationally, I am speaking.

Now, look at it nationally, you will find the same thing regionally. Look at a country regionally. The more developed region in a country tends to grow faster. The less developed does not grow at all or grows at a snail's pace and even that with a great deal of state effort. Of course, many factors come in, certain economic factors, of course, certain social factors, social customs and all that.

Now, look at it this way. The person who is poor because he is poor, or the country that is poor because it is poor, cannot work as hard, cannot work as efficiently and is frequently ill; therefore, the capacity to work becomes less and less. Instead of making progress, poverty itself pulls him back or pulls that

3. New Testament; *Matthew*: 25:29.

country back. If the person or the country is well, its capacity for work increases—good health, good education, good surroundings—it produces more and more. So that we get this curious situation that, so far as normal forces at work, economic or other, are concerned, they tend constantly to widen the gap between the well-to-do and those that are not well-to-do. Of course, the State comes into the picture sometimes, and more and more in the modern age. But, so far as normal economic forces are concerned, they widen the gap all the time. The so-called blind forces of the market are always widening the gap, whether it is internationally or nationally or regionally. This fact has to be remembered because it deeply concerns us who are struggling to get out of that morass of poverty, and to reach the stage of take-off into sustained growth, that is, cross that barrier, which is a very solid barrier, and reach the stage where growth becomes relatively spontaneous in a country. The poor country, underdeveloped country, is on this side of the barrier. It is constantly struggling for bare existence, far from making any progress. We are taking the country as a whole, not individual groups here and there. Now, that applies to regions, countries, internationally, whichever. That is to say, there are certain cumulative processes at work which tend to encourage this growth further and further in a developed state and, in an underdeveloped state, there are certain cumulative forces which pull it back all the time. The poor become poorer and poorer—that is, again to repeat the phrase used, poverty becomes its own cause, it repeats itself. Underdevelopment repeats itself.

Now, as you know, the development of the modern nations of the western world took place chiefly in the 19th century, part of the 18th too, but really in the 19th in the main, and, of course, in the 20th. It took place at a time when democracy, as we know it today, did not exist. People talked about democracy but it did not exist, and the parliaments and the assemblies were narrowly representative of the people of certain groups at the top. Why I refer to it is this that the fact that pressures from the people below did not come to the level then. They were the top class which controlled the so-called parliament of the day and democracy of the day. Accumulations were made in those days by the early capitalists at a very great cost of the common people who worked. The changeover in England to industry meant a terrible cost to the people of England of that generation. True, at that cost, accumulations were made, savings were made, fresh investments took place, fresh growth took place. But it was a very heavy cost, and if any of you have not read the account of that, a book which perhaps rather frightens you, is worth reading, that is, Marx's *Das Kapital*, where he describes conditions in Britain, how accumulations were made for the growth of industry. Of course, other factors came in too. Colonial exploitation came in the 19th century and all that helped.

Now, we live today in an age when democracy of the full-blooded kind functions, not only in the western countries but in many eastern countries. When people are politically conscious and make demands and are not willing to bear the cost, the common mass of humanity are not going to bear the cost, of progress at the cost of their own starvation. They just won't. You cannot physically repeat the process which England or the countries of the West went through at the beginning of the 19th century, it simply cannot be done. That is one aspect of the problem. In fact, as a very eminent observer said that, if democracy as England has today had existed in England at the beginning of the 19th century, well, the growth of British industry, etc., would not have taken place or would have taken place at a very slow pace. Now, you cannot go back and repeat processes that happened then. We have to deal with things as they are today.

In India, certainly, we have full-blooded democracy, we have all the unhappy brood of poverty, and it is frightfully difficult for anyone to say that you must add to the burden of that vast mass of humanity in India in order to get savings, in order to progress, which might have been done in a state where democracy did not function in the same way. That is one obvious difficulty—that is, political growth, political consciousness, political revolution without economic growth and revolution taking place, preceding it, which happened in Europe and elsewhere. So, we come back to this basic problem of cumulative forces dragging down an underdeveloped country, and the same cumulative forces encouraging the developed country to become bigger and richer and more prosperous. How are we to get over it? How are we to reduce that? Of course, that process acts in a state also. You will ask me—well, why is it that, let us say, in England—the difference, the gap, between the rich and the poor is much less. Well, it is a long question. But, basically, you will see that it becomes less constantly by state intervention. If you leave it to the blind forces of the market, it does not grow less; it becomes bigger and bigger and bigger. Two things come in the way in England—I am using England as an example, but it applies to other countries too: state intervention and greater political democracy, which comes in the way of the blind forces of the market, which prevents them from functioning. If it did not come in the way, then the gap would become bigger between the rich and the poor. But, political democracy comes in the way and on certain things being done and thereby really interferes with the normal functioning under the present system.

I say this because odd people sometimes argue oddly about so-called governmental interference and the role of private enterprise. Private enterprise is a good thing, to promote initiative is a good thing, but private enterprise, as it was known in the 19th century, is as dead as the dodo or ought to be. Let us

be clear about it, it has no place anywhere in the world, even in the highest developed capitalist state like the United States of America. It is utterly different—the capitalism of the United States today is completely different from what it was a generation ago. It changes, although it keeps apparently the same structures. But the United States became so rich and prosperous that it can even carry on with old forms without much difficulty. But, in other countries, which are underdeveloped, you cannot keep the old form functioning in the same way, because that comes completely in the way of growth, as it would in any other country too. I want you to understand this, if I may use the word, the philosophy underlying this. It is absurd for some people in their enthusiasm to go about cursing capitalists and capitalism and the like. It has no meaning to me. Capitalists—some of them are very good, some of them are very bad, many are in the middle. So also, it applies to any class: there are good and bad and middle people. It is not an individual question, a question of individual merit or demerit, but the type of approach and the type of system that fits in with the spirit of the age, or if I may use a better word in our own language, the *yugadharma*, because *yugadharma* changes from age to age, and whether you read it in the *Gita* or anywhere else, it is not the same in every age, the *dharma* of that *yuga*. We have to face this particular problem of breaking through those tendencies which make a poor country poorer, and all the wealth the city of Bombay or the city of Calcutta may show is not an index of India's wealth or poverty. That index is after all of the poor peasant in the village and his standard of living or the per capita income and so on and so forth. That is the real standard.

My first point is, if left to normal forces under the capitalist system, there is no doubt at all that the poor will get poorer and a handful of the rich richer. It is true that then the state will intervene even then, and from the riches of the rich it will provide amenities for the poor—education, health and such like things, housing, as has been done in other countries. That is true. But the process and that interference of the state will, no doubt, soften the condition or the difficulties of the poor. That is true. But it does not touch the basic difficulty of the system which encourages the gap to become bigger and bigger.

Now, I am not putting forward to you any positive constructive proposal that this and that should be done. It is too complicated a thing. From time to time, as we go ahead, we may change our approach. That is a different matter. But the basic point is—you may call it a negative point, but it is a very positive point—that the old approach of the free market, of the blind forces of the market operating, of private enterprise having free play, as it is said, they may accumulate capital so that they may invest and all that, all that has very little relevance today.

I said a little while ago that I do believe in incentives because human beings require incentives. But it is one thing to provide incentives and it is quite another thing to let yourself be forced, compelled by the action of these blind economic forces, which are supposed to be the forces of the market. If one accepts this proposition, then the next step has to be constructive. That is exactly the object of planning: to generate those new forces, to get out of this type of economic working which increases the gap. We cannot control the international sphere, but it is an international problem, and it is a severe international problem, that some countries should be very rich and growing richer and richer and others should be very poor and, if not growing poorer, not making much progress. That is an international problem. It really is a problem which, looked at from the point of any equity, is bad. But leave that out. Looked at from the point of view of practical conveniences, of the consequences, of the conflicts and all these things that upset the peace of the world, it is a bad thing for these differences to exist, and people realize it. The great countries, the richer countries realize it. They help and they try to help. The United States has given very generous help to many countries—tremendous help. Other countries have helped too. But the point is that while all that help is good, it does not help to change the trend of forces at work, which are in the contrary direction. And if there are big gaps between the rich countries and the poor, they lead to political upsets, they lead to conflicts, they may lead to war, all these things. Therefore, it is to the strict advantage in the narrowest opportunist sense of the rich countries to see to it that this cycle of poverty ceases to exist in the underdeveloped countries. So much for the international point of view.

Let us come to the national. And mind you, if I may add something to the international, that old idea that an underdeveloped country developing its industries will injure the developed country or its industry, is completely out of date today. Everyone realizes that a developed country offers greater chances, greater markets, to other countries than an undeveloped country.

Now, coming to the national domain, we have regions, developed regions, undeveloped regions, and again the same tendency for the developed regions to develop more and more and for the underdeveloped not having the strength to go ahead at all. The state comes into the picture somewhat, not enough I think, to help the undeveloped region. But what is the help? It is really very little. Obviously, there are some things which one cannot provide for, which depend—I am talking about regions—on some facilities. Let us say, we want a steel plant. It can only be put up in a place where there is iron ore or coal or both. You cannot put it up anywhere you like just to develop that end. You are bound down by certain factors like this, you can only have electric power where you can get it easily, hydro-electric works, you can have a thermal power station

and what not. You may, a few years later, be in a better position to supply power, when you have atomic energy to play about with. That is a different matter. But still the fact is that in a big country like India, the difference between the relatively developed parts and the relatively underdeveloped parts is very great, and it should be the function of the state to try to lessen that difference very deliberately. Of course, we try to do so, though I am not myself sure that we have tried hard enough to do so and I will tell you the difficulty because, in trying very hard to do so, we have to relax on some other front. We may even have to relax on the front of production, which we do not want to do, and these difficulties come up. But the objective must be to reduce the gap between the developed and the undeveloped areas.

Now, there are other factors in India, social customs which keep down classes, which have through ages past kept down classes. Let us take the depressed classes, the Harijans and others, whom society kept down socially, economically and otherwise, and again made them lead such lives that they lived in conditions of far greater poverty and squalor than others. Even if they earned a little more, they lived in conditions of squalor. They became ill and that cycle of poverty and of a low scale of social existence was confirmed all the time by social customs. Caste itself in its broad sense perpetuated these economic differences, apart from other evil things that it did. Then there are so many things. Our laws in regard to women and the rest prevented that social growth. Fortunately, we have changed many of them. But it shows how, if a state or society leaves things to itself, then the backward areas remain backward, become more backward; if the backward individual goes to the wall, then the backward nation will also go to the wall and so on.

Therefore, the state intervenes, and in its intervention it tries its best. It is not merely planning, it is not merely putting up a steel plant here or a factory there. Planning is essentially a process whereby you stop those cumulative forces at work which make the poor poorer, and start a new series of cumulative forces which make them get over that difficulty. Both the forces that are at work in big societies cannot be repeated here, that is, the cumulative forces which make the rich richer. You can start them in the same way because you are not rich, but you have to get over that barrier of poverty. In a country like Russia this has been done, but at terrific cost in human suffering, but it was done. They realized that and got over that. The achievements are tremendous even as the cost of suffering has been tremendous—both. Now the problem that we have to face is how to do it, how to cross that barrier of poverty without paying that terrible cost and without infringing individual freedom. That is our problem. It is no good any person coming and telling me that individual freedom is sacred, let us therefore be poor. Nobody is going to accept

that answer. I do think individual freedom is sacred, but not at the cost of poverty and misery. And it is a different problem. But difficult as it is, it is a problem which can and will be solved. I have no doubt about it that it is being solved.

I put these various facts to you so that you may look at these things in perspective. You are able men with many kinds of abilities for success in business, maybe for making lots of money. I do not possess that ability nor frankly am I frightfully interested in that ability. It does not excite me at all. But because you concentrate and know a great deal of the work you are doing, your views are of importance in regard to that particular segment of national life. But that segment cannot throw much light by itself on numerous other segments. You and all of us have, therefore, to come out of our occupational grooves, of our grooves of thought, and look at the broader picture and then see how that fits in with our thinking or varies our thinking or varies the broader picture whichever it may be.

So, India at the present moment is obviously an undeveloped country, considering its vast potential. At the same time, it is probably more developed than most of the undeveloped countries, and what is much more important, it is in a state in which its economy is becoming dynamic, which is much more important. There is a certain dynamism in our people today in our economy. We may be hit hard here and there, we may be knocked down and we get up again. But the basic factor is that our economy is gaining an element of dynamism, which is the prelude to that next stage of self-growth. When a country becomes strong enough to grow, more or less, you cannot imagine things, it grows. Of course, they are helped by Government, they are helped by other forces, but they do become self-reliant. Therefore, any country which constantly thinks of being helped by other countries develops a frame of mind which is not good for it. Help from other countries is very useful, is very helpful, and it is nothing unusual. All the great countries of the world have been helped. The United States of America for a hundred years was the place for investment of British capital, of German capital, or other capital. I do not know of other countries. There is no harm, there is nothing disparaging about that business. And we are very grateful, if I may say so, for the help we have received or we are going to receive from the United States in our present difficulty of foreign exchange, etc. We received some help from Germany too in regard to credit. We have received help from the Soviet Union. We all are very grateful for this.

But the point I wish to say is this. If we develop the mentality of relying on outside help, it is a very dangerous and weakening mentality. And it saps that very dynamic process—the basic thing that we have to develop in this country—that I believe is developing in this country. So we have to remember that whatever help we may get from outside, it is only a very very small part of what we have

to do. And, in the final analysis, really it is not a question of money—money in the modern world representing resources is important, of course, and it would be absurd just to ignore that aspect. Nevertheless, it is not that much important that people make out. Human beings are and will always remain more important than money. It is the human being that produces the money, produces the thinking, the technology, the science and everything, that money exploits afterwards. Money, after all, is what it is, it is goods and resources, which human beings make. These very simple aspects are lost sight of by people going to that horrid place called the stock exchange and other places. I said horrid. I am not for the moment referring to their work, but to the exceedingly objectionable noises that come out of it. So, one is apt to think that somehow this is all a business of manoeuvring with a little money here, a little money there, and get-rich-quick methods, and all is well. Well, that does not happen, when you consider broadly; an individual getting rich at the cost of many others by playing about with money, that has nothing to do with national economy or anything. And the basic thing is not money, but, as you know, production, goods which are produced, which are represented by money.

We come to production and, of course, production of what? If we are aiming at a great deal of production, we have again to plan and not produce any odd thing that may find a market. That is the individual approach. Is there a market for this? Well, if we produce it, we will get money. It is a legitimate way of looking individually. But it is not a planned way. Obviously, our resources are limited. If they are limited, then unless they are applied to the right things—if they are applied to the secondary articles—then the primary things will suffer. Therefore, planning says, apply them to the primary articles. And when those needs are satisfied then we can go to the secondary articles.

Then again, talking about primary articles, when we think of production in the modern age, we must think of machines. Obviously, if you want to industrialize this country, we have to produce the machines that will industrialize this country. We cannot industrialize it by getting machinery from Japan or the United States or Germany. We have to produce machines and not only small machines, but big machines, the steel plants and the rest. Well, we want power for that. We want iron and steel for that, basic things. Two most basic things in the world today are power and iron and steel for anything. Unless a country has them it just cannot go ahead far. In fact, without knowing anything about a country, you can say with some confidence where that country is if you know what its steel production is, what its power consumption or supply is. So, we are concentrating at a great cost on iron and steel, three major plants and a fourth one being doubled, really four major plants.

An eminent German engineer was telling me at Rourkela that he did not know of any country which had the courage to start four plants like this

simultaneously. Well, we have done that. And people say that "Oh, you have been overambitious in regard to your Second Five-Year Plan". Well, obviously, we cannot plan in the air, we have to keep our feet down on the ground. We cannot get away from reality. But reality itself is a very variable factor, especially when you deal with hundreds of millions of people. It is not the reality of a small group or of stone and iron and steel, but of human beings, what they can do. And everything depends, therefore, on their vitality, energy, capacity and the amount of enthusiasm they can put into it. Of course, you know that we had to face great difficulties, in the course of the last few years, more specially in regard to food situation. Three years in succession we had a very bad harvest, floods, droughts and all that. It upset our calculations and compelled us to spend large sums of money on importing foodgrains. For a variety of reasons, we had to spend money, much more money than we intended, on defence. Then prices go up everywhere, the Suez Canal trouble comes, and all these things. Well, naturally, we have to adapt ourselves to changing conditions. But I might tell you that I do not think, even so, that we are overambitious. I will add that we propose to be overambitious every time. It is that mentality that we wish to produce in this country, not the mentality of caution, not the mentality of going or creeping along slowly, because the stakes are too high. If you look at this full picture, whether the international stakes or the national stakes, they are much too high. We dare not go slow because we may fail completely if we go slow. So, it is in this context that I should like you to consider these problems.

The Budget that came last year brought a number of new taxes, brought a new approach. I am not going to discuss those taxes but I do want to tell you that that new approach to these problems was a breath of fresh air which I appreciated completely. It is not possible to carry on in the old way, in the old grooves, in regard to taxation or other matters. If we are to face the challenge that is before us and the difficulties that we have to face, we have to realize that. Maybe a slight additional burden has fallen on you or me or somebody else. Well, what about it? What do you wish to be done? You want that those whose backs are already bent with the burdens they carry—you want them to be taxed more and more and you less and less on the plea that you want additional capital to accumulate, to invest. Do you think in adult democracy like India, this going down with the masses of the Indian people is justified? It cannot be done. Therefore, the trend of the last Budget was, I think, completely right, and I should like here and now to express my high appreciation in that respect to our Finance Minister⁴ for the action he took last year in his Budget.

Now, just finally, I should like to remind you of a fact which you are no doubt aware. Well, that is the emergence of outer space into human affairs, these

4. T.T. Krishnamachari.

so-called space satellites, the Sputniks, or, what is the other thing, Explorer. This may not affect you or me or the problems we are concerned with in the immediate present or the near future but the fact is that this is something of tremendous importance in human affairs, that is, human beings, somebody from the earth shooting out into outer space. And, I have no doubt that from this will follow many other things in the course of a generation, maybe two generations, I cannot say, which will make a vital difference to human life. But I do not know. Of course, the immediate thing that we are concerned with is, I am not referring so much to Sputniks and the Explorers, but to the hydrogen bomb and the threat it offers to the world, because it is a terrible threat. The way things are functioning today is something that is appalling. How this thing can happen. This is not the place for me to discuss this. But I do wish you to realize that unless the world pulls itself together in regard to this matter of the hydrogen bomb or disarmament, the world will surely go down to utter destruction. And to say that we cannot allow this matter to drift, there is no such thing as remaining where you are. You go down or you go up. But I was referring to rather the Sputniks and the Explorers and the space travel coming in, and atomic energy, this tremendous force coming in. It is going to change the fashion of our lives in the course of the generation that is young today—not perhaps in my generation. That itself indicates that we have to keep pace with this, with our thinking, with our social organization. Otherwise, we will be left high and dry behind; something else will happen.

And I fear our thinking on economic problems and other problems is rather out of date. We do not realize, we go by an aeroplane from here to Delhi or somewhere else, and yet our minds have not even come up to the aeroplane age, much less to the Sputnik age. And many of the problems that we discuss and that you discuss, important as they are, are really the problems of yesterday, and new problems are arising today. So, I should like to end my talk with you with this thought that we are on the threshold of the atomic age and Sputnik age and we have to keep very wide awake, very much alive, very much on our toes, to keep pace with this, to understand it politically, economically, socially, or in any way.

Thank you.

4. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
February 4, 1958

My dear T.T.,

During my short stay at Jaipur,² I was told that smuggling of gold is taking place in a big way across the Jaisalmer-Pakistan frontier. There have been a number of seizures, but these amount to a very small proportion of what comes over. I was told that there is a good deal of collusion between our officers at the border and the smugglers. I am passing this on to you and I am informing Pantji³ also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru visited Jaipur on 2 February 1958.
3. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

5. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
February 4, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to T.T. Krishnamachari about smuggling in the Jaisalmer border. I wonder if it is possible to send some senior and independent man from here as the local people do not appear to be trustworthy.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

6. Internal Production is the Key to Success¹

I referred just now to the inquiry into the life insurance business which started as a consequence of discussion in the Lok Sabha towards the end of the last session.² That inquiry naturally has interested the country greatly but it is of even greater interest to Parliament and we are all interested in it. I said that it would be right for this matter to be considered fully in Parliament but the time for the discussion will naturally be after we have received the report of the Inquiry Commission. That does not mean any great delay. I cannot say when the report will come, but I imagine it will come in the course of the next week. So it is best to discuss when we have it, the members have it and the public has it; otherwise any discussion would be incomplete and I do not propose, therefore, to deal with this matter here in this meeting or in Parliament till that report has been received. After that, the party, if it so chooses, can meet and discuss the matter and Parliament will certainly meet and discuss the matter.

Then I wanted you to be clear to avoid a certain confusion that has arisen in some people's minds, not in Parliament but outside, as if this inquiry or the subject of the inquiry has anything to do with our basic policies—economic or social. That, of course, is not so. The Commission does not inquire about our policies. It is the Parliament that determines them and the Government that gives effect to the directives of Parliament. So, there is no question of that, certainly not in my mind, and I am more convinced than ever that the basic policies that we have followed are on the right lines and should be continued subject always to such minor adaptations or variations as Parliament may consider necessary from time to time.

Thus, for instance, take our Second Five Year Plan. Under stress of circumstances, because of this foreign exchange difficulty chiefly, we were faced with a hard choice as to how far we could continue with the Second Five Year Plan as a whole. We said, as you know, that we shall continue with the hard core of the Plan anyhow. Well, the hard core of the Plan really means 80 per cent of the Plan, maybe more. So, it was not a small part of it, it was most of the Plan, but that involved a tremendous burden on the country, on the Government. But we decided that the burden has to be borne because the alternative to changing the basic nature of the Plan or affecting even the important hard core of it was very bad for the country, though it might for the moment

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 9 February 1958. Tape No.M-29/c,NMML.Also available in JN Papers, NMML. Nehru first spoke in Hindi. The Hindi speech being repetitive is not printed here.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 321, and also *post*, pp. 343-420.

appear to ease the burden of some people, it would have been very bad in every sense, economically, politically and psychologically. So, we decided to keep to the Plan, except for certain adaptations here and there, keep to the basic structure of the Plan and to shoulder the burden because on that depended our future. If we do not do it today, tomorrow the same problem will be before us, and also the day after. We decided, therefore, to examine this matter fully. The Planning Commission examined the Plan and in consultation with the State Governments their plans were examined and anything that was not part of the basic core was for the moment postponed, wherever possible, and certain other adaptations were made. But we still continued with this basic core which we could not possibly give up, our steel plants and other things.

On the other hand, as you know, we adopted a very stiff import policy to safeguard our foreign exchange and we tried to encourage exports. In both these matters we have met with a measure of success. The import policy has been very stiff. Exports, of course, an export drive does not take place by the pressing of a button, but on the whole it has shown hopeful tendencies.

Thirdly, we tried to get credits abroad and in this matter the Finance Minister specially played a very important, a very helpful and a very praiseworthy part and it is chiefly due to him and to his visits abroad that undoubtedly a certain feeling arose in many of these countries in favour of giving credits and loans to India.³ Although, unfortunately, this was a bad time everywhere because every country, even the big and rich countries, like the USA and England, were experiencing some internal difficulties of their own which rather came in the way of giving big credits.

There is, of course, the most unfortunate fact that more and more money is being spent by every country on armaments, on space satellites, on missiles, rightly or wrongly, and their capacity to lend or give aid becomes less and less, relatively speaking, so the international atmosphere was a very difficult one, more difficult than it has been for many years. Nevertheless, owing to our Finance Minister's efforts, we created a very good and strong impression about our need. And as a result, the USA has informed us of credits and loans for a fairly large sum of money, I forget, 260 million dollars or so. The Soviet Union is helping us with credits, Canada has also helped us considerably and Germany and Japan and in some other ways, the UK. I do not say that all that we wanted—we wanted very very large sums of money on credit—we have got them. But we have got something which helps us greatly in the present and

3. T.T. Krishnamachari visited West Germany, the USA, Canada and the UK from 17 September to 25 October 1957 seeking assistance to meet the foreign exchange needs of India.

will help in the near future.

Now, I had asked the Planning Commission at an early stage to examine fully this question of foreign exchange as to why we were faced with this huge gap rather suddenly as it appeared to the public. The Planning Commission went deeply into this matter and came to the conclusion, first of all, that the original gap in the Plan was big. We had left it there in the hope of covering it somehow. The biggest reasons were—first, the food deficit and the necessity for getting foodstuffs from abroad. Secondly, the considerable additions to the defence Budget and the purchase of arms and aircraft. Thirdly, the prices having gone up, the price of the machinery that we were having for our Five Year Plan having gone up in most countries considerably, our estimates had to be revised. Fourthly, the very success of some parts of the Plan and some parts of the private sector, good as it was insofar as it went, I am not talking about luxury goods but essential goods that had demanded the import of articles to carry on that production and so there it comes. And, fifthly, other imports which perhaps, if we had been strict, might have been stopped. But in the main, the first three factors are the important ones, apart from the gap.

Well, as a result of the policies that we adopted about a year ago in regard to imports, in regard to export drive and all that, we have come to a stage when this progressive drain on foreign exchange has been greatly lessened. It still continues because we have to get things. We cannot stop the important things. But it has been brought to some extent under our control. Secondly, we have made some substantial arrangements for credits and loans abroad. Thirdly, a very satisfactory feature is the tendency for prices to go down slowly. The price index has gone down a little. The price of foodstuffs, foodgrains, has also gone down in the last two or three months and still shows a tendency to go down, not everywhere, but in greater part of the country. All these are satisfactory features, satisfactory tendencies.

In other words, we were faced, partly because of our choice, partly because of circumstances abroad and in the country, by rather a severe financial crisis and we had to take all these various measures to deal with it and today we might say that those measures have met with a fair measure of success. I do not wish to exaggerate but we have some control over this situation and we hope that that control will progressively increase, naturally the chief burden has to be borne by the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and partly by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the credit for the improvement too must therefore go to them. Now, while there is a certain element of hope in the situation, it is quite clear that that hope can only continue if we persist with our efforts. The slightest slackening will mean a reversal of this process. Also, we must remember that all the credits and loans that we are

obtaining have to be paid back, not today, not tomorrow, but two to three years later, five years later, whatever the period may be, so the burden of debt has increased much more than we ever had. As the debt has to be repaid a few years later the debt charges will also increase naturally, which means that we cannot relax at all.

I talked about foreign exchange, but in the final analysis, it is internal resources that count, internal production that counts, that gets translated into foreign exchange, whatever it is. In effect, therefore, it is the growth of internal resources that is of high importance—production in India—and we must concentrate on it. As you know, we have laid the greatest stress on food production and that remains today still the primary factor in India's economy. I believe food production, of course, is primarily the consideration of the State Governments. The Central Government comes into the picture in many ways and naturally plays an important part. But ultimately, it is the States that have to deal with it. I think that all State Governments have become thoroughly aware and are awakened to this fact. I say this because I am not sure that they were quite awake before this crisis because there was too easy a tendency for each State Government, when in difficulties, to ask the Centre to supply more and more rice, wheat or whatever it was; and for the Centre naturally to look abroad and try to buy it or get it on loan, whatever it was. That, of course, was a very vicious circle, a circle, if continued, would have spelt disaster to our country. Now I think people are wide awake and they have to remain wide awake because the whole future of India, not the question of food only, but the whole question of progress, advance planning, depends in the final analysis on the agricultural production of this country at this stage. We cannot build industry except from the profits from agriculture and if agriculture itself is a deficit problem like food, where do we get the surplus to fill that deficit? So, it is of the utmost importance. We have laid great and repeated stress and I think that is realized.

I would not go into that more but one thing I might mention to you, which is of great importance even from the point of view of food, and that is the community development programme, because one of the main purposes of the community development programme is to increase agricultural production. I think the community development people have made this absolutely their first concern, and second being the village industries. Now, a big change is coming over this whole community organization. You might know that it is now extended, I forget the exact figure, to 2,65,000 villages in India, almost exactly half the rural population.

We have come to the conclusion that this whole question of food production has been affected more by lack of proper organization than any other lack.

There are many other lacks, of course. But the situation can be improved with proper organization, of course, meaning the proper supply of seeds, the proper supply of fertilizers, manure, etc., proper marketing and all that which comes under organization.

Further, that unless we reach the farmer at the bottom, it will not produce real effect. Now, you may remember that a committee was appointed by the Planning Commission, the chairman being our colleague Mr Balvantray G. Mehta,⁴ to consider these community development schemes, evaluate them.⁵ They produced a very useful report which I would commend to your notice.⁶ Among other things, they suggested certain changes, organizational changes, not only in the community blocks, but even in regard to the normal administrative structure down there. That is the whole idea that the community block should be more integrated to the normal structure and more and more of public, not merely cooperative, but public cooperation, association, direction should come into it.

Our two basic organizations, as we conceive, are the village panchayat and the village cooperative—the political base and the economic base. Now, we have suggested, I am not going into details but the block may be made a certain major unit with powers. This general principle has been accepted by all the states, but there is some difference of opinion as to what this big unit should be, the block or what is now the *tehsil* or *taluka*. We have left it to the states because it is no good trying to bring pressure upon the States to do something which they do not like. So, probably some states will adopt the block as the unit, some the *tehsil*, which is a little bigger, and through these experiments on various scales no doubt we shall learn. We can change later on, nothing prevents us from changing. Now, this is a major thing from every point of view, that is, our administrative structure is being adapted to our developmental structure, and vice versa, which is highly important.

4. Worked for Harijan upliftment and women's education; president of All India Panchayat Parishad, 1958-61, and Chief Minister of Gujarat, 1963-65.
5. The team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, constituted in 1956, submitted its report in 1957.
6. The recommendations made by the Balvantray Mehta Committee included democratic decentralization, broader distribution of funds by the Centre, better coordination of work at the Centre, between the Centre and States and in the States, and adequate public participation in development works. The committee also laid emphasis on farming, cooperation, rural industries, health, primary education and such programmes as Sarvodaya, *Saghan Kshetra* (intensive development of cottage and village industries) and *Gramdan*.

Well, having said all this I shall just briefly refer to some international matters, not in the normal way. All kinds of things have happened and the question of disarmament, which is vital in a sense, has got stranded and the door is closed. In another sense probably more people in the world are thinking hard and even talking about this cold war and disarmament than ever before. It has become a much more vital question. People have begun to feel the dangers of it and the urgency of solving it and all that. How that can happen I cannot say. But it is a good thing, if people feel that way. There is more of a public debate on this going on almost all over the world than at any time previously, an earnest debate in which fears are counterbalanced with other things, urges, hopes, and let us hope something will come out of it. There is one other aspect I should like just to mention to you that even in the economic sphere changes are gradually creeping in. In the Soviet Union, there is a tendency to decentralize which is counter to the tendencies that have prevailed there in the past. That is, under stress of circumstances they are doing something which normally they would not have done if they had followed their purely theoretical approach. In the USA, on the other hand, curiously enough, there is a reverse tendency to centralize because they are in a sense decentralized. That is, when these problems are considered in the face of reality, then theoretical applications vary. The USA and the Soviet Union, as you know, it is no good calling them Great Powers, they are Superpowers, superlatively great in power, not only in armed power but in industrial power, too. In effect they have to face the same problems. One may be a communist country, the other a capitalist country. But, in effect, they have to face just as China and India have to face many similar problems. Their systems might be different, but we face the same problems. And when we face them practically, sometimes the solutions are similar and sometimes they are different.

Why I mentioned that to you was this that it is quite possible that these tremendous ideological gaps and ideological rivalries may gradually lessen. I believe they are all lessening under the impact of practical problems. I do not say they become the same. If we make some progress on the plane of disarmament and lessen the fears of the world, immediately the door will be opened for each country to learn something from the other, by greater contacts, and not only will the fear of war gradually fade away but it will be profitable to every country to benefit by the experience and example of the other.

We had, as you may have heard, some distinguished visitors, the latest being President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam. Day after tomorrow, the King of Afghanistan⁷ is coming here for a four-day stay in Delhi and then in other parts of India. Some of the other distinguished visitors may also come later.

7. King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan arrived in New Delhi on 11 February 1958.

And so I repeat my welcome to you for a session of hard work. Only one word—when we have to face these problems, we have to work hard of course, but we have to work in a disciplined way because without that discipline, which the whole idea of the Party means, without that discipline we cannot function adequately or forcefully. It becomes, therefore, more necessary than ever that we should function in that disciplined way. Our discipline does not mean suppression of the individual. That is not the way we work. We have the largest measure of freedom in the Party, but the largest measure of freedom, however large it may be, must be governed by the essential discipline of the Party. Otherwise we are not a party, we are just a collection of individuals who pull in different directions. Now that pulling in different directions may not do much injury sometimes; in other times, where united effort in one direction is necessary, it becomes bad. One difficulty in India, and to some extent even in the Congress, is that we often lack clear thinking as an organization, I mean not as individuals, or we have diverse ways of thinking, diverse pulls, and one does not quite know if somebody asks what the Congress stands for. You can, of course, produce resolutions. But in action sometimes something quite the reverse of the resolution is done or said. Everybody comes under the umbrella of the Congress so far as passing a resolution is concerned but in action many people go in different directions regardless of Congress principles or resolutions or the policies that we adopt. That is a very weakening feature, especially at moments of crisis and at moments of going ahead. Therefore, we have to function in a more disciplined way.

Thank you.

7. To Dowager Maharani Chimnabai Gaekwar of Baroda¹

New Delhi

27th February 1958

My dear Maharani Sahiba,²

Your letter of the 28th January came some time ago. I have had this matter examined since then by the Ministries concerned.

So far as the present law is concerned, it is quite clear that the permission to compound expenditure tax applies only to some ex-rulers who get privy purses under Article 291 of the Constitution. Thus this permission will not apply

1. JN Collection.

2. Widow of Maharaja Shivaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda; social reformer; President, All India Women's Conference, 1927; author of *The Position of Women in Indian Life*.

in your case. It is difficult and indeed hardly possible for us to go to Parliament for an amendment of this rule. I am sure there will be strong objection to it in Parliament.

I gather that your income is about Rs 3.5 lakhs a year. Of this, Rs 2.75 lakhs paid annually by the Bombay Government is free of income-tax. In view of this position, I do not see why you should be worried about this matter.

I realize that you have to incur expenditure on nurses, attendants, medical treatment, etc. But surely the very large income that I have referred to above is more than adequate for all these purposes.³

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Maharani Chimnabai again wrote to Nehru on 1 March 1958 and informed him that on the basis of her expenditure of Rs 360,000, she would get an exemption in the first year of Rs 75,000 in terms of Section 6 (2) and the balance of Rs 285,000 would be taxed at 100 per cent. That meant she would have to pay expenditure tax amounting to Rs 285,000. It was difficult to pay the tax as she needed the amount for her maintenance. She added that in each of the succeeding years the exempted amount would be reduced by Rs 5,000 and because of that the expenditure tax would go up by Rs 5,000 every year. To this, Nehru replied on 20 March 1958 that he had the matter examined afresh by the Finance Ministry which came to the conclusion that the burden on her because of the expenditure tax was not as great as it was made out to be.

8. To B.L. Chandak¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

Dear Shri Chandak,²

Thank you for your letter of March 4.

The point you have raised about the Gift Tax has not escaped our notice. In fact it was after careful consideration and much discussion that we decided to retain the words in brackets to which you refer. We realized that a number

1. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1903); Congressman from Madhya Pradesh; imprisoned during freedom struggle; Member, AICC, for several years; Member, PCC, Madhya Pradesh, 1928-62; Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1937-52; President, PCC, Nagpur, 1940-41; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67.

of people will unjustly escape in this way from paying tax which they ought to have paid. On the other hand many people will be unjustly penalized. Apart from this, it is a normal principle of law not to make any such law retroactive.

In order to get a few persons with evil motives, we may be punishing a large number of innocent persons and what is much more important, this may become a handle in the hands of petty officials and police to harass people. That will be bad.

I do not think you are right in saying that a few lakhs of people have defrauded Government in this way. You must remember that the exemption limit is Rs 10,000 and this is more so in the case of wives. There cannot be a very large number of persons who will be affected at all by this Gift Tax even now. Then again it will be a complicated procedure for our income tax people to try to trace back all these cases. In the result we will not get much, but we will harass large numbers of people, produce resentment in them, and many innocent people will suffer.

For all these reasons we came to the conclusion that we should retain the words in the brackets.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

External Affairs Ministry have received a paper from your Ministry containing a proposal to send a group of 18 railway officers and 33 other technical personnel for training in various countries in Europe. This is to cost Rs 13 lakhs of which the foreign exchange component is over 10 lakhs. It appears that this is the result of an agreement for technical collaboration.

It is difficult for me to judge of the necessity for this proposal. But I am a little alarmed at the number of people that are proposed to be sent abroad and the expenditure involved, more especially the foreign exchange expenditure. Rs 10 lakhs in foreign exchange at a moment when we are very hard pressed

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Railways.

for it does seem to be a figure which requires very much explanation. I see no explanation of it except a reference to an agreement. Are we so hard up for training facilities that we should send crowds of people abroad at this most difficult period? There appears to be certain casualness about this proposal. I should like you to examine it yourself.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 24 March, Nehru sent a note to S.K. Patil, Union Minister of Transport and Communications, stating that though Indian experts should be sent abroad to gain further experience, it was important to consider the expenditure involved in every such case, especially the foreign exchange element.

10. Export-Import Situation and Repayment of Foreign Loans¹

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Now, I shall just refer to a few matters. First of all, I should like to express my gratitude to you all for very helpful speeches made which deserve consideration. Certainly because in the matter of this kind the more we consider the points constructively, the more helpful they become, instead of just vague and general talk either in praise or in blame. That does not help at all.

Now, Mr Tyagi² referred to future exports of tea and jute and raised some other matters. Well, those problems are very much in the minds of our planners and others. It is not in our hands what East Africa grows, tea or coffee; they are growing more and more. It is said that China is likely to become a very huge grower of tea; it grows tea of course even now but it is planning to grow much more of it. All these things are going to happen. We cannot control them and we have to adjust ourselves to them, apart from what we might do with tea. That has to be considered in such instances, but the real thing is to have a much wider range of exports. If we rely only on our old traditional export of tea and jute, then it is a risky thing, dangerous thing; something happens elsewhere and we are badly hit. So while doing everything we can for tea and jute, we have to think of other matters and I believe gradually other fields of

1. Extracts from a speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 13 March 1958. Tape No. M-31/c (i), NMML.
2. Mahavir Tyagi, Member of the Lok Sabha from Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.

export are opening out. I think iron ore is going to be a progressively bigger item of export; sugar is coming in and possibly if our capacity to eat sugar does not go up as fast as it is going up, we will have enormous quantities of sugar; the way it has grown up in the last 10 years is surprising.

We are exporting sugar, we are exporting textiles, handicrafts and small machinery, engineering goods. That is so but our cost has been greater; it was less some time ago or rather the price of sugar was high enough to cover our costs. Well, that is for us to determine how much we produce, whether we produce efficiently or not. The sugar produced in Bombay side is much more efficiently produced than in UP or Bihar because conditions there are more favourable and they are doing it efficiently. So, all these matters have naturally to be considered. This is what might be called future planning or perspective planning which is very important nowadays. In regard to another matter I might say, what our friends have pointed out, about the cotton textile position. This requires serious consideration and no doubt it will be given to it.

Yes, one matter that Mr Tyagi referred to was the question of repayment of the loans; that is again a thing which is sitting on our chest all the time. In fact, the time has come when we do not even rush in to accept loans, lest there should be too great a burden in the near future, but nevertheless the position is not so bad as people might imagine. I gave the figures in the Rajya Sabha³ and if it is printed I can give them in the Lok Sabha. Two years were bad years. I think they were 1952-53 and 1953-54. In 1952-53 it was the highest when it went up to 127 crores. It is the bank loan. The problem is for three years, particularly for two years. Otherwise the position is well within our grip and under our control. If we take more loans, of course we will have to pay more. That is a different matter. Really our liability, our external liability, compared to the general position of our country is not distressingly great, but it should be less. Anyhow, provision has to be made for that and that can, obviously, be done by saving on imports, by exports or by fresh loans, whatever it may be, but it has to be spread out over a number of years.

Now, all the loans that we have taken are long-term loans—for ten years or fifteen years. But remember this that the principal thing which has led to this heavy drain on our foreign resources has been, well, food, and also iron and steel. When you read about imports, there is no doubt that to some extent imports for private enterprise have also helped in swelling the figures, although remember that private enterprise itself was dealing with engineering goods chiefly. They are not consumer goods, they are really engineering goods that we are getting mostly and which we encourage them to get because we want

3. For Nehru's speech in the Rajya Sabha on 11 March 1958, see *ante*, pp. 93-106.

the engineering to get on. We might have checked them a little if we had been a little more cautious. Anyhow, iron and steel has been a very big factor in the past 18 months. Now, with the production of iron and steel by us in the new concerns that are being built, that goes. I mean to say, we do not import iron and steel and we may even export a little. I am just pointing out to you one or two major factors which are helpful but we have to be very careful. Of course, we have to be cautious and we have to pass two, especially two years, in special difficulty in regard to foreign exchange, thereafter we may get other types of accommodation.

Well, the argument that my friend raised about fertilizers was quite logical and correct. Why import food, import fertilizers. Next step in that argument is equally correct; why import fertilizers, import machinery to build the fertilizer plant here. That is the right argument and obviously we should do, it is all right. As other friends tell us, why do you not have your own shipping, why have you spent a hundred crores in the last 10 years over the shipping fleet, which is completely correct. But unfortunately, under stress of circumstances one has to do things. Now, if you proceed quite logically, absolutely logically, the very first and most important thing in India is good health and good education, absolutely. If we have the resources and the technical personnel to educate our people really well, children upwards, we would have got that material which produces wealth. And yet the fact is that our education, our poor teachers, etc., are not well paid; you cannot expect very high type of education if you treat them in that way, everybody recognizes it.

But my point is that these are quite logical things. About fertilizers, I believe that some more fertilizer plants are being planned. But this morning, I wonder some of you may have been present in the Lok Sabha when I read out that government resolution on science policy.⁴ There is nothing remarkably new in it and yet I think it is a very important resolution, not only indicating our own point of view and intentions but drawing the country's attention to the importance of this. Because if you look at the past, I mean hundred years or 50 years, whatever you like, the real progress by every country has been made by its promotion of science and what flows from science. There is no doubt about it. All your industrialization, all your growth, whether it is defence strength or industrial, everything came from that. That is the past you can see and the future which you can easily envisage is that it will depend on your scientific and technological growth. And technological growth, mind you, is something infinitely more than buying a machine in America, in Japan or in Russia—that is not technological growth. Our industrialists and others, excepting a very few, have no conception of science. They use the machine, they buy a machine,

4. See *post*, pp. 321-322.

and maybe they know how to manage better than if I were in charge of the machine, but the background, the scientific outlook and the scientific background they have not got, barring a very few. They can, of course, occasionally buy scientific talent which industrialists are perfectly entitled to, but one must realize that our problems, such as they are, cannot be solved without industrialization, without adopting the latest techniques.

Now the world is on the verge of a tremendous increase in this field of technology and power, tremendous, it is increasing year by year, every year. You might say India is a backward country in that sense but I am prepared to say that every machine in the United States, which is very advanced, every railway line in the US, is out of date, it is obsolete. By the time you finish putting up a factory it is out of date. That is, the advance of technology today is so rapid; you cannot knock down everything as soon as you build it, but it is terribly rapid and it is only through that that you can now get more power, get substitutes for articles that we do not possess and so many other things.

About the textile position, I might remind you that last December we reduced some of our duties by half an anna per yard on certain varieties of cloth and that had a good effect.

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11. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

March 30, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

Thank you for your letter of March 28 in which you deal with Dr Ezhov's suggestions on statistical organization.³

The real difficulty has been that

1. File No. 17 (285)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
3. Dr A.E. Ezhov, Deputy Chief of the USSR Central Statistical Board and Chairman of its Scientific and Methodological Council, submitted a note on 'Organization of Government Statistics' in India. He suggested that the three existing statistical agencies be replaced by the Central Statistical Administration (CSA) of India to be established under the Cabinet Secretariat. He also gave suggestions for evolving a uniform statistical methodology, development of statistical science and establishment of a good printing base for timely printing of statistical data.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- (1) We have not got enough highly qualified statisticians in the country.
- (2) The methods of collecting statistics are not the same all over the country, and, therefore, comparisons become difficult.
- (3) Statistics is not merely some way of collecting figures but of relating these to our specific activities.

You object to what you call the centralization of education at one big institution. I do not think it is anyone's idea that training should be confined to one institution, but at present there happens to be only one such institution which gives that higher training. So far as I know, the existing provision of statistical courses in the universities is not up to modern standards. We should try to improve these university courses, but that is much more difficult than improving one institution. The Indian Statistical Institute is at present one of the world's great statistical centres. University teaching should, therefore, fit in with what is done in the Indian Statistical Institute. We must have both.

In our university teaching, Economics and Statistics are usually mixed up, to the great disadvantage of Statistics. Because of this, we have, after long discussion in the Planning Commission and, I think, in the Cabinet, decided to have a separate Statistical Service and a separate service for Economics.

I do not understand the proposal in your note that we should proceed cautiously and slowly in our attempts to evolve uniform standard forms and methodology and further that we should experiment with the public sector only. This seems to me rather an extraordinary approach. This will make it impossible for us to compare the public sector with the private sector in regard to any matter because they will have a different statistical approach. Indeed, the whole purpose of our statistics would be vitiated if we did that. I should have thought that this is one question about which there can or should be no delay whatever and that there must be uniformity about forms and methods of collecting statistical data.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear S.K.,²

I am sorry I was not here when you spoke in the House on the demands for the Irrigation and Power Ministry. I have, however, read your speech in the Parliamentary Records.

In this speech you mention that the potential water power in the country is not less than one hundred million kilowatts and you further add that the country will not use this even in a thousand years. Where did you get this figure? I remember that an analysis of the water power potential in this country arrived at a very much lower figure some time ago. I did not accept that analysis at that time and said that the potential should be much more. In fact, the actual figures supplied to me then were so low that we were alarmed at the prospect for the future both for power from hydroelectric works and thermal power. This has been one of the main arguments for the development of atomic power.

A calculation was made only recently that if we consumed our coal resources as well as water power resources at the rate of the United States, we could not last much more than two or three decades. Of course, it will take a mighty long time for us to reach the consumption standard of the US. But the point was that the water power resources were considered to be on the low side. That is why I am interested in finding out about your figure.

You have criticized the lack of coordination among the various Ministries dealing with this problem of water supply for agricultural purposes. The criticism is in many respects justified. The fault may have been ours to some extent, but probably it was much more so of the State Governments. During the last year very great stress has been laid on this aspect in Cabinet, in Parliament, in the Planning Commission and in the National Development Council. I must have spoken dozens of times on the subject of non-utilization of the water resources available and have urged the State Governments to wake up and do something quickly about this matter.

You refer in the course of your speech of your intention to appoint a committee to find out and investigate what had happened, but then you came to the conclusion that you could not do so because it was none of your business. This was the task of some other Ministry. Surely it was as much your business

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power at this time, and Minister-Designate for Transport and Communications.

as anybody else's and you could have brought this matter up in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, committees were appointed by the Planning Commission for this purpose and investigating teams were sent to all the States concerned. They have produced detailed reports. This investigation has at last done some good and a good part of these available resources are being utilized now. Of course, in the case of water channels, though something has been done, it takes a little more time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. To Bimal Roy¹

New Delhi
January 3, 1958

Dear Bimal Roy,²

I have your letter of December 23rd.

I think that the idea of having a picture on Asoka is a very good one, and I am sure that, with your talent, you can make it a fine picture. But I fear that it will not be possible in the foreseeable future for the Government of India to be able to help you financially in this matter. Owing to financial stringency, strict directions have been issued to avoid any new type of expenditure.

As you know, Government has not previously, except in one case, advanced a loan. That exception was the film *Par desi*.³ This was in rather exceptional circumstances as everything hung up at the last moment.

I am told that within two or three months the Film Finance Corporation will come into being. Perhaps, you could approach them in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.43 (110)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Well-known film director and producer.

3. The film *Par desi*, the first Indo-Soviet joint production, was directed by K.A. Abbas and Vassili M. Pronin.

2. Folk Dances of India¹

Dancing, I take it, represents the joy and vitality of life. It has to be in tune with life even as Shiva's dance is supposed to be in tune with the cosmic forces.

While the classical dancing of India or of any other country may be highly developed and very beautiful, it is the folk dancing which comes nearest to nature and therefore is more in tune with nature's ways. It is creative and spontaneous, friendly and human. It adds to the joy of life and has a very considerable social significance.

India has a wonderful variety of folk dances. That in itself demonstrates the inherent vitality of the Indian people, or at any rate of the people in our rural areas and in our hills and mountains. I am happy that Republic Day has become specially associated with our folk dance festival. Every year we look forward to this festival and welcome it.

May the joyful spirit of these folk dances spread in our country and indeed the rest of the world and thus produce harmony where there is often discord and conflict.

1. Message, New Delhi, 8 January 1958. JN Collection.

3. To S.N. Bose¹

New Delhi
10th January 1958

My dear Professor Bose,²

Thank you for your letter of December 30.

I do not think it will be desirable for Dr Radhakrishnan³ to make a public appeal in Visva-Bharati's name when he goes to the United States of America.⁴ He may, however, if he thinks it proper, informally mention the Centenary Memorial Fund.⁵ I am mentioning this matter to him. It is entirely for him to consider what would be the right approach.

I think you might wait a little before publishing a list of donations. I have not yet received a cheque from the Batas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati.
3. Vice President of India.
4. Radhakrishnan left New Delhi on a four-week tour of the United States on 14 March 1958.
5. The reference is to the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund.

4. Republic Day Celebrations¹

1. I do not particularly appreciate the idea of a helicopter with a National Flag going in front of the procession and certainly do not understand why the President should stand up and salute this when it passes.

If elephants are to accompany the party, they will be much put out by the noise of the helicopter unless they come after a very long interval.

2. I do not think it is necessary or desirable for the aircraft to break the sound barrier over the Rajpath. There is no particular advantage in this, and in the general noise, etc., of the parade, a further bang might not even be noticed.

3. The effort to make the general public sing the National Anthem after the folk dances is not likely to be successful. The effort might be made. What should be done, however, is for a select group of singers plus the folk dancers singing it.

1. Note to Ministry of Defence, New Delhi, 12 January 1958. JN Collection.

5. To S.N. Bose¹

Gauhati

January 15, 1958

My dear Professor Bose,

My office in Delhi has forwarded to me a letter from the Registrar of Visva-Bharati about the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund as well as a beautiful Receipt Book for this Fund.

In the appeal issued for this Fund,² I suggested that contributions might be sent either to the Treasurer, Visva-Bharati, or to me. Thus far, not many contributions have been received. Meanwhile, I have opened an account in the name of this Fund at Delhi and you have also opened an account at Santiniketan. My office had special printed receipts for this Fund made. The question is whether we should have two accounts or only one. Normally speaking, it is far better to have only one account as this will avoid any confusion. I would have preferred this account to be kept at Santiniketan only and I could send on any cheques or other contributions to the Treasurer for this purpose.

But there is one consideration which has struck me. It is possible that there might be more chances of our getting contributions if they came to me and a receipt also was issued from my office. I do not personally sign any receipts. One of my Secretaries does so and, for this reason, I would not like to sign any receipts issued by Visva-Bharati.

I should like to have your advice in this matter of two accounts or one. Probably, for the time being, we can carry on with these two accounts, keeping each other informed of receipts.

I suggest that you might send individual letters to a number of people who are likely to contribute, such as princes, industrialists, public charitable trusts and, of course, those who are especially interested in Visva-Bharati. A copy of my appeal could be attached to your letters. Such letters should be sent separately to each individual. A kind of circular letter does not help. People in foreign countries, who might be interested, could also be addressed by you. For the present, I think no announcement need be made in the press about the few donations received.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. For Nehru's appeal for contributions to the Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 245-247.

6. Sad Plight of Artists¹

There was a report in *The Statesman* a day or two ago about the sad plight of our artists and painters because of the strict limitation on the import of artists' materials. I wonder if you could have this matter looked into, because it will be a pity to almost put an end to the work of artists in India for want of materials. I suppose not much money is involved; probably about fifty thousand rupees or so. Perhaps you could have this matter looked into.

2. This note is being sent to the Finance Minister and the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

1. Note to T.T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister, and Morarji Desai, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Gauhati, 15 January 1958. File No. 44 (36)/58-PMS.

7. First Engineering College in Assam¹

Chief Minister,² Education Minister,³ Mr Principal⁴ and friends,

I arrived here at Gauhati day before yesterday. And I found that I have, in a sense, been involved as a member of this Assam Engineering College already by being put up at the house of the Principal. It is a great honour for me because I have no competence in engineering. Anyhow, even before this particular function, some kind of association with this Assam Engineering College began for me by my living here in the campus, by occupying the house of your Principal and by my passing this particular building several times a day.

Well, you know that how important engineering in its various forms is today. This is more and more the world of the scientist and the engineer and I am glad you have started this college. In fact, you rather delayed in doing so. I feel that even after this college is functioning fully and producing graduates in various departments of engineering, it will not meet the needs of Assam even. That applies to the whole of India. We are trying to produce and to train engineers in ever larger numbers but we are always short of the mark. I remember

1. Speech while inaugurating the Assam Engineering College, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam.
3. Kamakhya Prasad Tripathy, Education Minister, Assam Government.
4. N. Das Gupta.

reading somewhere that in the Third Five Year Plan we shall require five hundred thousand engineers. It is a very large number. At the present moment there is a census, a very full census of all kinds of engineers, senior, junior, etc., and I think the figure of engineers today in India of all kinds was seventy-two thousand. It seems apparently a large figure but, nevertheless, it is not enough even today and you think that in the Third Five Year Plan or thereabouts we want five hundred thousand engineers. You can imagine how difficult is this task of training these people, our young men and women.

We talk about putting up big and small plants. There are big projects, tremendous ones—steel plants, oil plants and river valley schemes—requiring not only a large number of engineers but highly trained engineers and engineers of experience. Because in a matter of this kind all the training that you get in college is not enough, experience also is necessary. In fact, the training itself should be such as to give you some experience, but when you come to deal with really big tasks, then experience is essential. Here are all these big plants, being put up in various parts of India, and they take several years to put up the big plants; let us take a steel plant, it takes about five to six years. But the training of engineers who will work in the steel plant will take ten years, much more than in putting up of the plant. It takes more time to train human beings than to put up brick and mortar structures or machinery. We talk now in India of all kinds of difficulties, foreign exchange and lack of external or internal resources and all that. But really the most important thing is not money. It is human beings, trained human beings. We will get over our difficulties about money, we cannot get over our difficulties about trained manpower. We have to train them, there is no way except to train them and, therefore, the question of training people for the various important types of work in India is of higher importance and in a sense engineering in its many aspects is the one that requires most people today.

Therefore, I am glad of this college being opened here. I do not know much about this college as it is a new college and I feel that it deals with the civil, mechanical and electrical engineering. I suppose it will grow as it should. There is one aspect of it, however, not only of this particular engineering institute, I should like to refer to. I asked your Education Minister just now: does this engineering college deal with non-engineering subjects also? As far as I could gather, it does not. Well, I think that is important because we want, of course, good engineers but even more so we want good human beings and good citizens. Of course, an engineer should be a good citizen; a man who does a solid piece of work is more likely to be a good citizen than the man who does not. Work is the most important factor in making a person a good citizen. By work I mean you have some function, you are interested in something to

which you can devote yourself, your mind and your ability; then it is easier for you to feel satisfied because you are doing something worthwhile. It is the person who does not do anything worthwhile who feels frustrated. But it is desirable even in engineering establishments to have some kind of a cultural side, something which makes you see life in its other aspects and therefore makes you a better and more integrated human being. I recommend this consideration to your Governing Body that they should have some of that aspect, because in the final analysis it is not the plants and the bridges and the oil refineries that are going to be built that will make India, but the human beings who live in India will make India. It is the men and women who make these plants and I am anxious above all that a rising generation of India of young men and young women should have this training which will make them good citizens, good human beings, well trained to do the type of work that is required, self-reliant and cooperative.

We live in the world and in India during a period of fairly rapid change. When there is a rapid change, there are breaks in our life. We have to give up sometimes old ways to adopt new ways. If we break too much with the old then we get uprooted. If you remain with the old all the time then you do not go ahead at all. You simply remain static and stagnant. We have to find some middle way of going ahead fast and yet not being completely uprooted and we have to think of this problem in its larger perspective. If you want to think of India today, you cannot ignore what is happening in the rest of the world. After all, your work and my work lie in India. That is our primary concern, to some extent our responsibility, but we cannot understand even India's problems fully unless we know something about what is happening in the world. If that is so, as it is, then apply that to India and to the states of India, to Assam or Punjab or Madras or any state. You cannot deal with the problems of Assam unless you see them in the perspective of India. You cannot isolate it. It is true that probably many of you will work in Assam; some of you may work in other parts of India. Nevertheless, you and all of us must have this picture of India. We are so closely interrelated, interwoven with different parts of India that any hurt to any part of India is an injury to the whole of India just like in body. I may injure my little finger but the little finger is not hurt, my whole body will suffer. I may get fever because of it, I may get pain because of it all over the body. Therefore, one must think of India as a living organic unity with great variety. Certainly, the variety has to be preserved; it gives richness to India's life and culture. Keep that in mind.

Then think of Assam here on the North-East frontier of India, touching great countries, touching Burma and China and that part of the Chinese State which is Tibet. It is a border, it is a frontier state. A frontier state always has

great responsibilities. In the past it did not have those particular responsibilities because these border territories were jungles and mountains and were rather inaccessible, and across the border too conditions were uncertain and nothing happened at the border. Now conditions have changed, as you know, and there are vital moving communities across your border and on this side also and, therefore, in a purely political sense, the importance of Assam has grown more quite apart from other senses. It will become more and more a connecting link.

We have discovered more oil in Assam and probably we shall discover even more. That is certainly an advantage to Assam and yet oil is a very dangerous and a very slippery thing. There is more trouble in the world about oil than probably about most other things. All these countries in West Asia have become places of conflict, of jealousy, of envy and Great Powers hovering over them. Why? Because they have oil. It is a dangerous thing to have oil and yet we cannot do without oil in the world. Therefore, it is a good thing that Assam in India has oil. We hope to have more, but I hope that, having oil, we shall try to avoid all this slipperiness and trickiness of oil because it has a very bad reputation. Anyhow, your oil will only bring advantage to you fully if you have the trained people to work it. Merely putting up the factory and refinery and all that may please your mind; here is a refinery but if it is worked by others and strangers, then only physically it is in Assam, otherwise it is somewhere else. That is why it is necessary for us to train our own people to do all this and only then can we advance. I suppose in course of time this Engineering College will train oil engineers, whatever they are called, I do not know, because there is going to be a particular industry in Assam which will undoubtedly grow.

I am happy to be associated today with this opening ceremony of this Assam Engineering College. Engineers are above all builders. We have got to build India, we have to build Assam and I hope young men and young women who go through this college will build well and truly.

8. Millenary of Abu'l Hasan Ali Al-Masu'di¹

I am glad to learn that the Institute of Islamic Studies of the Aligarh Muslim University as well as the Indian Society for the History of Science are celebrating the millenary of Abu'l Hasan Ali,² the famous Arab traveller and historian. It is right that we should honour these great travellers of the past whose writings help us so much to understand the period they lived in.

1. Message to the Institute of Islamic Studies of Aligarh Muslim University, Gauhati, 17 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. Abu'l Hasan Ali Al-Masu'di (896-957); Arab traveller, historian and geographer; gave an account of his travels to the Persian provinces, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, India and East Africa in his books; works include *Muruj al-Thahab wa al-Ma'adin al-Jawahir*, *Muruj al-Zaman* and *Kitab al-Tanbih wa al-Ishraf*.

9. To Amalendu Bagchi¹

Gauhati

January 20, 1958

Dear Shri Bagchi,²

You were good enough to give me a synopsis of the dance drama that you and Shri Rabi Ghosh³ have written, named *Pancha Sheel*. I have read this synopsis. I have not had occasion to see the drama actually performed.

The idea behind this drama is good. It is treated more from the religious and Buddhist point of view than from the political. Nevertheless, such ideas influence political work also.

I am told that the performance of the dance drama was good. I congratulate you on this novel approach to a modern problem.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A resident of Jalpaigudi, West Bengal.
3. (1931-1997); Bengali film and theatre actor, director and writer.

10. To S.N. Bose¹

New Delhi

21st January 1958

My dear Professor Bose,

Anil Kumar Chanda² has written a letter to me which he himself suggests I should send on to you for your advice. I am therefore enclosing a copy of it.

We are all naturally concerned that the buildings to be put up in Santiniketan should be not only adequate and attractive but should fit in with the older buildings and the general atmosphere of the place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (9)/56-59-PMS.
2. Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

11. Special Issue of 'Sur' a Spanish Literary Journal¹

This question of a special issue of *Sur* has been before us for about a year now. When the first proposal was made,² I referred it to the Education Ministry.³ Shri Humayun Kabir was Secretary then, and I asked him to deal with it. He wrote a note about it and, in fact, drew some kind of a list of contributions. Since then, that is, even after he ceased to be Secretary of Education Ministry, he has been dealing with this. I suggest that you discuss this matter with him.⁴

1. Note to Krishna Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 21 January 1958. File No. S.A. 96, *Sur*. Sahitya Akademi Records.
2. Krishna Kripalani had noted on 21 January 1958 that Vicente Fatone, the Argentine Ambassador in Delhi, discussed with him a proposal to publish a special issue of the leading Spanish literary journal *Sur*, devoted to Indian culture and literature. He requested the compilation of the necessary material for the special number and its translation into English for further translation into Spanish. He also stated that Nehru had given assurance of full cooperation of the Education Ministry with regard to this work to Victoria Ocampo, the editor of the journal.
3. For Nehru's note of 4 August 1956 to Abul Kalam Azad, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, p. 413.
4. Kripalani noted on 23 January 1958 that he had discussed the matter with Humayun Kabir, Minister of State for Civil Aviation at this time. Kabir had offered to help in editing the material. The expenses in compiling the anthology was not likely to exceed Rs 10,000 and Kabir was of the view that these should be borne by the Sahitya Akademi.

12. Free Meal to Elementary Schoolchildren¹

Yes. This question should be answered by the Education Ministry. The answer should be as follows:

(a) & (b) The Prime Minister did express the hope that, in course of time, it should be possible to give a free meal a day or some refreshments to every student of an elementary school. This is largely a question of finance and the State authorities are naturally concerned with it. The Education authorities, both at the Centre and in the States, are anxious to increase the number of elementary schools all over the country. If a free meal is given, then, apart from the present financial burden, this may result in restricting the number of new schools. These various factors have therefore to be balanced. But it is certainly hoped that the time may come when every child in a primary school will get a free meal besides free education.

(c) Meanwhile, Government are considering a proposal to make a beginning by providing free meals to children of employees in State Industrial Undertakings.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 23 January 1958. JN Collection.

13. Tradition of Hindi Poetry Reading¹

Poets, brothers and sisters,

Poets cannot be wholly trusted. They are so engrossed in their own emotions that they forget the world. I have come here because they invited and now they want me to speak to you. I asked our poet Maithilisharanji² whether gatherings of this kind, where thousands of people assemble to listen to poetry-reading, are known elsewhere. As far as I know there is no tradition in any other country of huge crowds gathering to listen to poetry-reading. Yes, in the olden days, poets used to read their works in royal courts before a select audience. But nowhere else in the world is poetry read before such huge public gatherings.

I do not know when this tradition began in India, other than in the courts. It is possible that it might have begun with the *mushairas*. We read of thousands of people gathering in Delhi and Lucknow to hear poets reciting their works.

1. Speech while inaugurating the *Kavi Sammelan* organized by the Delhi Pradeshik Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in connection with the Republic Day celebrations, Red Fort, Delhi, 23 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Maithilisharan Gupta, well-known Hindi poet and nominated Member of Rajya Sabha.

The people used to evince great enthusiasm and sometimes anger too.

Anyhow, whatever may be its origins, it is extraordinary that thousands of people, the general public, should take an interest in poetry. It is an excellent thing in more ways than one. First, the interest shown by such large numbers of people in poetry is in itself a good thing. Secondly, it is bound to have an impact on the poets. They are forced to face realities instead of being shut up in an imaginary world of their own. Both these interactions are good and a balance must be maintained. If the masses influence the poets too much, the latter will be crushed under that burden. If the poets fail to be influenced by the people, they will remain in the cloud, divorced from reality. Therefore, both these things ought to be kept in mind and a balance should be maintained.

14. To Rajendranath Madan¹

New Delhi
25th January 1958

Dear Rajendranath,²

I am very sorry for the delay in answering your two letters dated 26th and 28th December, 1957. They came here when I was away to North-East India and since then I have been very busy. I was also absent from Delhi.

I do not quite know what you expect me to do about a student organization. That is entirely for the students themselves to build it up. If any time I can be of any help by way of giving advice, I shall be glad to give it. But the responsibility must be that of the students.

I have often said that student organizations should not be tied up with political parties, though individual students have political views. If a student organization is merely a replica of a political party in miniature, then it serves no useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Senior Vice-President, National Union of Students of India, University of Saugar (now Dr Harisingh Gour University, Saugar).

15. Display of Portraits at the National Library¹

I have unfortunately not visited the National Library at Calcutta. My attention has been drawn, however, to the fact that the way some portraits have been displayed there is not very proper. For instance, Buddha's statue has the President's portrait and my portrait on either side of the shoulders and Gandhiji's portrait is over it. Buddha's statue should stand by itself without any portraits round about it, especially of living persons.

Also, while some other portraits are there like that of Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Shri Visveswarayya, Shri Bhagwan Das, it would obviously be desirable to have portraits of famous Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, J.C. Bose, Ramanujan (the mathematician), Dadabhai, Ranade and others who are famous in our recent history.

1. Note to Education Ministry, 27 January 1958. File No. 40 (57)/56-PMS.

16. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

29 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I hope you do not think that I take up too much of your time by my letters. But my mind is constantly revolving round the various problems that we have to deal with and I have the urge to share my thoughts with you.

2. In my last letter to you, I wrote, among other things, about education. I feel more and more that we cannot proceed at the slow and inadequate pace at which we have been moving.² We have to speed it up. In the old days education was considered chiefly as an avenue to employment in government offices. That approach continues. In addition, certain cultural development is considered necessary. That is also right. But in the problems we face today, industrial or agricultural, or other, it has become patent that some measure of education is essential for progress.

3. Everyone recognizes this for technical work. And so we are paying much more attention now to technical education. But even for the vast field of

1. File No. 40(137)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This letter is also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol.5 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 20-22.

2. For Nehru's letter to Chief Ministers dated 23/24 January 1958, see *post*, pp. 813-815.

agriculture, education is necessary. This is not merely to show a certain measure of literacy but to improve the farmer and the agriculturist and make him capable of utilizing the new methods available to him today. Agriculture improved greatly in Europe because the farmer is educated.

4. How then can we spread education, both in quantity and quality, so as to reach our vast rural population as well as others? The present figures supplied to me are as follows. These are for the whole of India and are for 1955-56:

<u>Stage</u>		<u>Number of students</u>
Primary	..	245,11,331
Secondary	..	68,26,605
University & Collegiate		<u>7,36,124</u>
	Total	<u>320,74,060</u>

5. The percentages are in corresponding age groups:

Primary	..	53.1%
Secondary	..	13.5%
University	..	1.7%

6. So far as States are concerned, the percentages are :

	Primary	Secondary	University
Travancore-Cochin	99.8%	33.3%	2.7%
(This was before the new State was formed)			
Bombay	88.1%	17.1%	1.8%
West Bengal	78.0%	18.5%	3.1%
Manipur	99.8%	17.1%	—

These figures give the quantity, not the quality. Both are inadequate.

7. Let us take primary education which must necessarily be the base. We hold it up because of lack of money and lack of teachers especially for basic education. Probably we still spend much more money on buildings than on equipment or teachers. Can we not stop putting up any buildings in rural areas and devote the money thus saved to a better class of teachers as well as to some equipment? The equipment would have to be kept somewhere and there should be a small room or hall for that purpose. But all that teaching might well be done in the open under trees or under very simple sheds. As I think I have told you, this is in fact done at Santiniketan.

8. It must be remembered that our climate helps and normally it is healthier to sit outside under a tree or in a grove, except during the rainy season. Also our old traditions fit in with this open-air teaching.

9. It seems to me more important to have a proper house for the teacher than to put up a building for the school. The teacher could keep the equipment and teach outside. The school revolves round the teacher and not round the

building. Can we develop any kind of a scheme so that village people can contribute in some way for the teacher? That was our old practice. Now, we are often offered by villagers money for a building and asked to meet the running expenses. Instead of that money for a building, could they not contribute a small sum for the running expenses and especially for the teacher? They could even contribute in kind.

10. I should like the village to give a small plot of land for the school and the teacher. A vegetable garden could be laid down there. The status of the teacher would go up even though his salary may not be as much as we would like it to be though it would be substantially higher.

11. These are very simple and obvious suggestions which I present for your consideration and for working them out. My point is that we have to change our approach to primary education. We have to make it better without buildings. Let us have our holidays during the monsoon season, and for the rest, work in the open and let us pay our teacher much more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Problems of the Publishing Industry¹

An enterprising bookseller from Bombay, Shri Jaman H. Shah² of the Jaico Publishing House, came to see me this morning. They have been issuing cheap reprints and translations and they showed me a number of these books which are well got up.

2. They made two complaints. One related to the paper for these books. Cheap reprints everywhere are published on newsprint and not on ordinary book paper. It appears that only newspapers and periodicals here get import licences for newsprint. A book publisher cannot get it for his books, although foreign booksellers can send their books printed on newsprint to India and this gives an advantage to the foreign booksellers.

3. I think there is much in this argument. As a matter of fact, the amount of paper consumed by the book is relatively little compared to newspapers. I see no reason why book publishers who want newsprint for books should not

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 31 January 1958. File No. 44(38)/58-PMS.
2. (1920-1993); first Indian publisher and distributor of paperbacks in English; founder-Chairman, Jaico Publishing House, 1946-93.

be given the same facility as newspapers and periodicals.

4. Another point he made was that foreign books are imported here free of duty. Then many of these books are re-exported to roundabout countries, like Malaya, Ceylon, etc., and sometimes even back to dollar countries. The result is that we lose foreign exchange and, therefore, export of imported books should be more or less banned. This might be looked into also.

5. His third point I do not agree with. This was that import of books from foreign countries other than those dealing with technical and educational subjects should be restricted. Many bad books come here, no doubt, from abroad but it is difficult to pick and choose.

6. So far as the first two points are concerned, they deserve enquiry and possibly action. Will you please enquire into this matter from the Ministries concerned?

7. I enclose a paper which the publisher gave me.

18. Primary Education for All Children¹

Hiralalji,² sisters, brothers and children,

I came here about 12 to 13 years ago. Since then, I have been getting reports about Banasthali³ off and on and have wanted to come here. But I could not get the time or there were other problems which prevented me from coming here. I am happy to be here once more and to see for myself the progress that has taken place. Progress of an institution does not depend merely on buildings of bricks and mortar, nor on the amount of money that is spent on it. These are superficial things. The important thing is the atmosphere which makes or mars an institution. So, I came here today and have caught a glimpse of Banasthali. I have seen the children and the old and new buildings and met the people who have come here from neighbouring areas. I was very happy to see all this. To Hiralalji, Banasthali is like his own child and very dear and so his attention is constantly towards its progress. It is obvious that my attention cannot be wholly

1. Speech on the occasion of the silver jubilee celebrations of Banasthali Vidyapith, Banasthali, Rajasthan, 2 February 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Besides the staff and students of the Vidyapith, the meeting was also attended by the people of the neighbouring villages.

2. Hiralal Shastri, former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, was the founder of the Banasthali Vidyapith.
3. Banasthali Vidyapith, an educational institution for girls from the nursery to post-graduation, is situated near Jaipur.

absorbed by one Banasthali because I have the picture of thousands of such institutions all over India before me, even if they are called something else. The question which is always before me is what the shape of the new India that we are building should be. How should it be done? What should the people of new India be like? The children of today will grow up to shoulder the burdens of India in the future. So, the education and opportunities that you give to the children today will mould them accordingly for the future. Therefore, the question of education is extremely important because the other things stem from this.

Let me give you an example. There are many problems before us today. There are the five-year plans to be implemented which cannot be done from Delhi or Jaipur. It is the boys and girls or the men and women of the country who have to implement them. If they are not well trained, the five-year plans cannot succeed, no matter how much money you spend on them. There is often great perturbation that there is not enough money. It is true that we are short of funds and let me tell you that it will always be so because our hopes will always exceed the actuality. But you must also remember that no country has ever been deterred by the shortage of money. It can be deterred by the lack of trained people or manpower. That is the real shortage. Money is of no consequence. It is the man who makes money and not the other way round. Usually, money only succeeds in spoiling a human being. But man can make money and by that I do not mean gold and silver. Those are mere tools of trade. Real wealth consists of the goods that a country produces. I do not know how much money has been spent here on Banasthali, nor am I bothered about it. But the country has now acquired something far more precious than gold and silver in the form of this Banasthali. Educational institutions or industries and thousands of things like them must come up in the country, for they are extremely valuable.

We come round again and again to the five-year plans, and the number of trained and skilled personnel necessary to implement them and the number of people being trained. A major part of the five-year plans is agricultural production, because the more we produce from land, the better off the people will be. The greater the increase in agricultural production the more wealth there will be in the country and we will be able to set up more industries which will provide more work to the people. The task of uplifting 36 to 37 crores of people is a tremendous one and involves a great deal of money. What does money mean? It means production of more and more goods. That is the real wealth. The more we produce from land and industries, the wealthier will the country become. The United States is rich because an enormous amount of goods is produced both from land and industries, not because of the gold and silver they

have. So, the biggest problem before us is to produce more from land because at the moment we do not produce even half or a quarter of what the other countries produce per acre. Isn't that strange? Why have we become backward? We do not make an effort to learn the improved techniques from other countries and continue to work in the old ways, while others have gone ahead and increased production tremendously. The farmers in other countries are extremely well off because they produce a great deal from land whereas here in India they remain poor. There is no doubt about it that we can also increase production. Wherever we have made an effort, the production has immediately gone up.

The United States and the European countries have advanced because their people, their farmers and their children have been given every opportunity to grow and be educated. Education is compulsory for every single child in those countries. They are not being educated so that they may go and get jobs in cities but that they may work on land and improve it and produce more, thereby make themselves and their families better off. So, you see, we urge the peasants to grow more food and I have full faith that they will do so. But the proper way is to educate the farmers' children, in fact every single child in India, so that there may be no boy or girl in the country who does not get adequate opportunity to grow and develop.

For one thing, there is basic education which should be available to every child in India. After that, those who want to study more can do so. There should be separate arrangements for training people in different professions. This is a great problem before the country. We want that it should be solved as quickly as possible. But difficulties in the way; two difficulties. We have already set up schools for crores of people but we need many more which requires a great deal of money and we do not have it now. The national income does not permit at the moment to provide basic education to the whole country. If we wait for our income to increase before we provide it, it will not be proper. So, it is a vicious circle. My own feeling is that education is more important than a mere school building. There should be buildings, no doubt. But we must run schools under trees if necessary, without buildings of bricks and mortar. That is much more important than to wait till we have saved up enough money to build schools. It is my firm conviction that education should be provided even under trees or in open fields in the villages and the buildings can gradually come up. The task of providing education should not stop. The resources we have at present should not be wasted in putting up buildings but should be utilized in two ways. One is to make the status of the teachers better. Nowadays they are very poorly paid. They should be well paid and enjoy the respect of the people because they perform the most crucial task in the country, that of

moulding the children. So, they are the builders of a new India. In the topsy-turvy world of today, the teacher is often very poor and is unable to make both ends meet, while those who are doing far less important work are paid fabulous salaries. I will not go into that question for it is a difficult problem.

But as I was saying, we must not waste our resources on bricks and mortar but hold classes under the trees in the villages, if necessary, and utilize that money first to improve the status of the teachers and, second, on teaching equipment. What I am saying is nothing new. But we often get carried away in the wrong direction. People from villages often come to me for schools saying that they are even willing to put up the building if we would appoint a teacher and run the school thereafter. Instead, I would say that it would be better if the villagers could donate some land for the school which would provide for at least part of the teacher's salary. The Government can make some plan for this. What I am trying to tell you is that it is my desire that we should make some arrangement as quickly as possible to provide education to every child in India. In fact, I would go a step further and say that basic education should be available to every child between the age of 6 to 7 and 14 to 15. After that a child who wants to go in for higher education can do so.

There is another thing. I feel that at least the primary school children must be given one good meal a day. Wherever there are hostels, food is provided. I am talking about day scholars. I have seen this in Japan. But we do not have the resources to do this immediately. But we must save in other ways and invest in this. I am fully convinced that education is more important than buildings, especially as the school buildings that are being built nowadays are useless except in a few cases. There is no objection to school buildings which can come up eventually. But it is wrong not to educate the children in the meanwhile. Well, I have talked about education in general so far.

Banasthali is a girls' school and when I had come here earlier, I was surprised to find an institution like this in Rajasthan where the girls are taught riding, swimming, sports and what not, because, if you will forgive me, the status of women in Rajasthan has been very low. Even now the old and useless customs of purdah and so on are prevalent here. I used to think that they had become part of history. But I hear that they continue even now in Rajasthan. This is absurd. A country cannot grow if its women are kept in cages and behind purdah. The nation and the men who perpetrate these things are useless and so are the women who bow down to them. Let me tell you that there is no pity in my heart for anyone, big or small, in this matter; there should be no sympathy for them.

Today, I got a letter from a gentleman in Alwar, a Rajput. He writes that he had felt for a long time that his wife should give up the purdah and ultimately

she did. When she came out, the *panchs* of that village got extremely angry and condemned the whole thing in stringent terms. This is the situation. It is my opinion that the *panchs* of that village should be placed in the purdah and asked to do the work of women.

We must strive to understand the modern times. The world is a revolutionary place today and is changing very fast. You may have heard about the satellite launched by the Soviet Union two or three months ago which is still in orbit. Today's newspapers carry the news that the United States has launched a similar satellite. These are the products of modern science. All kinds of new discoveries are taking place and if we do not keep our eyes and ears open, and are not alert mentally and physically, we will become backward and will keep repeating the old lessons learnt by rote while the world marches on. We will continue to remain poor and backward. Therefore, it is very essential that we should understand the times we are living in. So, education is extremely important to prepare the minds and bodies of children. It is especially important that the girls and women of the country must be educated. I can tell you categorically that a nation cannot progress if its women do not.

So, Banasthali has a special role to play. But I do not think of one or two places but of many places in the country. It is impossible to make separate arrangements for educating boys and girls when we are not able to do so for them together. It is impossible. It is not merely a question of money though that is also there. It is a question of teaching too. Wherever there are separate colleges for women, I have seen that generally the quality of teachers is second-rate or even third-rate and consequently their education suffers. We do not have sufficient number of first-rate teachers. We need more of them. Moreover, the demands of the modern times are such that every man and woman, boy and girl, must be prepared to take up the challenges and become strong and capable. The old days are gone when women suffered from cold feet and nervousness and retired behind purdah in the presence of a stranger. It is absurd. I do not know who coined the word *abala* for woman. He must have been a very foolish man and no woman must accept it. Everyone, man, woman or child, must be strong. We are unnecessarily maligning our women by calling them weak. There have been brave women here in Rajasthan itself. We must change our thinking in these matters if we wish to progress.

There are many children sitting before me. I was telling them this morning that when I was their age, there were no aeroplanes. In fact, I remember we had to write an essay in school on a subject of our choice and I had written about flying. I had written that soon people would be flying in aeroplanes. I had written to my father that soon a time would come when I might fly back home to see him. An era has passed since then and more than fifty years have

gone by. Well, I have seen aeroplanes and all sorts of other changes taking place in the last fifty years. Great wars took place and India got freedom. The whole future lies before the boys and girls of today and the world continues to change. I do not know what changes they will see. In a fast-changing world, it is necessary not only to observe the changes but to participate in them. We must make whatever changes we think are necessary and steer the country in the direction that we wish to. You must prepare yourselves for the great tasks before you. The better we prepare the children of today, the more our country will advance and be able to serve the world.

All right, it is now time for me to go. All my good wishes are with you though you do not really need them. I feel that good wishes and blessings are good and cleanse the atmosphere of evil thoughts. But Banasthali has already proved by its work that it is a strong institution with firm foundations. So I have no doubt about it that this will grow into something big. Even so, I shall give my good wishes and love to all the little girls who are seated here. *Jai Hind!*

19. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear Amrit,²

Your letter of February 8th about the Gandhi film. I really cannot say anything definite about this matter. All I can say is that if a really good film on Gandhiji could be made, I would like it. But I am exceedingly doubtful of this. The whole approach in the West, and especially in America, does not fit in with my idea of what should be done.

If anyone comes here, he would have to see first our experts in the Films Division and the Minister.³ Secondly, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, that is, Diwakar.⁴ If I have the time, I can meet him for a while.

One thing I should like to make perfectly clear, that I would not be agreeable to appear in such a film.

1. File No. 43 (114)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Amrit Kaur wrote about a proposal sent to her by Lloyd Young of the Film Productions International, USA, for production of a full-length film on the life and influence of Mahatma Gandhi.
3. B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
4. R.R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

The dates mentioned in the telegram from Lloyd Young are wholly unsuitable for me. They are the dates just before the Budget. The earliest that I might be able to see someone would be about the second week of March.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See also *post*, p. 272.

20. Preservation of Suraj Kund¹

There is an old lake called Suraj Kund² or the Lake of the Sun, about three miles from the Tughlakabad Fort. This is supposed to mark the site of the first historic Delhi founded in the 9th century by Anangpal I.³ This is thus an important relic of eleven hundred years ago which should be preserved.

2. I am told that there is not even a proper road to it. There is a road to Tughlakabad. It is only a matter of about three miles more. Will you please suggest to the Delhi Administration the idea of making a road up to this lake? To begin with, the road might be a good *kutchha* jeepable road. But it would of course be better to make it *pucca* later.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 9 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Suraj Kund is believed to have been constructed in the tenth century by King Surajpal of the Tomar dynasty, whose existence is based on bardic tradition.
3. In fact, Anangpal shifted the Tomar capital from the Suraj Kund area and raised a citadel known as Lal Kot probably in the 11th century, now survived by its thick stone-built ramparts which can be seen from Qutab Minar. This probably was the first city of Delhi.

21. To S.N. Bose¹

New Delhi
February 9, 1958

My dear Professor Bose,

Some little time ago, I received the draft report of the proceedings of the meeting of the *Samsad* of Visva-Bharati held on the 3rd December 1957. Also a report prepared on the basis of tape-recordings during the *Samsad* meetings. I am afraid I have been exceedingly busy and hence the delay in reading these papers. I have now read the draft report, but I confess I have not read the note based on tape-recordings. It is not necessary for me to read the tape-record. This can be kept for reference.

As for the draft report, I have no particular comments to make.

Resolutions were passed by the *Samsad* for me to appoint two committees on the advice of the *Upacharya* and Shri S.R. Das.² These committees have not been formed yet, and so far as I can remember, I have not received your advice or that of Shri S.R. Das. Could you kindly have this matter expedited?

I am returning the report sent to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

22. Preservation of Chhau Dance¹

I want to help these people who organize the Seraikella Chhau dance.² So does Indiraji. We have enough money in our Folk Art Fund.

2. In the papers attached, there is a long argument about some old fund, I am not interested in this. All I am interested in is helping this Chhau dance. Will you please write to the Raja of Seraikella³ acknowledging his letter to me

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Private Secretary, New Delhi, 12 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. There are three forms of Chhau dance: Seraikella in Bihar, Purulia in West Bengal and Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

3. Aditya Pratap Singh (1887-1969); Raja of Seraikella, 1931-47; Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1957-61.

and saying that I am not going to enter into this old dispute which apparently had been dealt with either by the Bihar Government or by the Home Ministry. But I am interested in the preservation of the Seraikella Chhau dance and I am prepared to help it directly. Will they please let me have some idea of how much help they require for this and what their annual demand is for it so that I can find out what we can do about this matter?

23. Banasthali Vidyapith¹

A few days ago I visited the Banasthali Vidyapith on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee.² I had gone there previously more than fifteen years ago. On my second visit I was greatly pleased and surprised to see the progress and improvements made there.

Banasthali Vidyapith is a unique institution in India. It deserves every encouragement and I look forward to its continuing progress.

1. Message to Hiralal Shastri, the founder of Banasthali Vidyapith, New Delhi, 15 February 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's speech on 2 February 1958, see *ante*, pp. 239-244.

24. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
February 19, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

I have often laid stress on the desirability of books on animals, birds, trees, flowers, etc., being issued in Hindi for our children and boys and girls. Such books in other languages are produced in other countries in abundance and are encouraged in schools. Unfortunately, in India people pay little attention to this matter.

1. File No. 40 (138)/58-PMS.

Similar letters were sent to the Chief Ministers of Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab, and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

To my surprise I have found that some very good books have been issued with coloured pictures. Shri Salim Ali³ of the Bombay Natural History Society has brought them out and the Bombay Government has subsidized them to some extent. These books have been produced in English, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada. The English, Gujarati and Marathi editions have met with adequate response. Unfortunately, the Hindi edition has done very badly, although our Education Ministry has put it on the approved list. This is not very complimentary to the Hindi speaking States.

I would suggest to you to take some interest in this matter. I am asking Shri Salim Ali to send you some sample copies of these books in Hindi especially. You will then see them for yourself and I have no doubt that you will appreciate them. I would like such books to be widely used in schools so as to make our boys and girls more conscious of the world we live in with its beautiful animals, birds, trees, shrubs and flowers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1896-1987); eminent ornithologist; conducted ornithological surveys in the western Himalayas, Tibet, Afghanistan, and many parts of India; associated with several national and international organizations, including, the Bombay Natural History Society, of which he was President from 1975-1984; awarded Padma Vibhushan and the US Paul Getty Wild Life Preservation Prize in 1976; works include *The Book of Indian Birds*, *A Handbook of the Birds of India and Pakistan*, *A Pictorial Guide to the Birds of Indian Subcontinent* and *The Fall of a Sparrow*.

25. Need for a Ministry of Cultural Affairs¹

The question of having a Ministry of Cultural Affairs has been repeatedly raised during the last few years. Sometimes it has been tied up with Social Affairs like a Ministry of Culture and Social Affairs. The difficulty always has been that these subjects are rather spread out in various Ministries, although the greater parts of them are with the Education Ministry.

I think that the line to be taken should be that we are quite conscious of the importance of these subjects, but we cannot commit ourselves at this stage to the creation of a new Ministry. We are anxious not to add to our Ministries and Departments which involve additional expenditure, but we are prepared to

1. Note, New Delhi, 26 February 1958. JN Collection.

examine how this cultural work can be carried on more efficiently and satisfactorily, and to have greater coordination in it.

26. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

February 27, 1958

My dear Reddy,

I am told that recently you had a meeting of some kind of a committee which has been formed to advise in regard to mural and like decorations of the public buildings we have put up. This would include the Vigyan Bhawan. I do not know what this committee has decided, or if it has decided anything at all, but I should like to say that this is a question of high importance and no decision should be taken or acted upon before we have fully considered it.

The original proposal for such murals was, I think, mine, and I am particularly concerned about it. There are, broadly speaking, no murals of note in modern India. Of course, we have the Ajanta frescoes and the like which are magnificent. Modern mural painting has thus far had no chance here. It is very important, therefore, that if and when we begin this, every care should be taken that it is of the right kind and appreciated. Otherwise, the whole conception of mural painting would suffer. It is desirable to start with one building where such paintings are made. We shall learn from that, and then form more precise ideas about other buildings.

As a matter of fact, the modern idea of mural paintings is that the artist should be associated with the architect even before the building is set up, so that the two ideas might be coordinated right from the beginning. A mural painting is not just decoration. Nor is it something which can be removed if we do not like it. It is a permanent thing and it has to represent some basic ideas. Our average painters and artists, however good they may be in painting on a piece of canvas, may have no conception of a mural painting. Our engineers also have no experience of this. It is for this reason that I am worried at any wrong step being taken which it might be impossible to retrace. Above all, I do not want commercial motives or methods to be brought in in this kind of mural painting.

I am told that somebody has suggested that in front of Vigyan Bhavan some kind of wire sculpture might be put up on either side of the main entrance.

1. File No. 28(21)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This seems to me a very wrong idea indeed. I cannot think of wire sculptures except in exhibitions or possibly for commercial uses.

The whole conception of a big scale mural painting has to be a unified one and not odd bits depicting different scenes. I hope, therefore, that your Ministry or the committee that it has appointed will take no step whatever in regard to this matter till we have examined it in all its aspects.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. Importance of Elementary Education¹

I am glad to learn of the establishment of the All India Council for Elementary Education. I say so even though I have a feeling that we have too many councils and committees and I would hesitate to start any more. And yet, perhaps few subjects can have greater importance than elementary education in India. From the educational point of view, it is at that stage that the real foundations of character and even of education are laid. If we go wrong at that stage, then it is very difficult to improve matters later.

Apart from this, there is the obvious necessity for widespread elementary education if we are to advance on any front, industrial, economic, social or cultural. Free and compulsory education was started in Western countries and in some other countries because of the Industrial Revolution. We are passing through this now and we cannot build on any structure which has not for its foundation widespread elementary education.

I take it that this education will be, as we have repeatedly decided, of the basic pattern.

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the inauguration of the Council.

1. Message to the All India Council for Elementary Education, New Delhi, 28 February 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

28. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

Your letter of March 5th about Western music. You refer to two camps in Bombay, one preferring high-class Western music and the other in favour of the jazz type.³ Surely, you do not mean to suggest that the jazz type of music should be encouraged at the expense of classical music. I do not object, if you like, to have some jazz music. But our effort must be to encourage high-class music. That, I understand, has been your effort in regard to Indian music. Why then should the reverse policy be followed about Western music?

I do not understand a Christian camp or a Parsi camp in this matter. The choice is between good music and some temporary popular jazz tunes. If your programme man is in favour of the latter, then he is not particularly suited to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
3. On 3 March 1958, Nehru had written to Keskar regarding various complaints he had received from Bombay including one from Khurshed Naoroji, granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, about the poor quality of Western music being aired by the AIR.

29. Relics of Tipu Sultan¹

We received last year a number of relics of Tipu Sultan from England. These came from the Duke of Wellington in exchange for a portrait of his ancestor which we had sent him.² Tipu's relics included a large number of sketches. Where are all these sketches as well as his clothing now? We had promised the Madras Museum to send at least some of these to them and I think we should keep our promise.

1. Note to Education Ministry, New Delhi, 6 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 195-196 and Vol. 38, pp. 183-184.

30. To Ravi Shankar¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Ravi Shankar,²

Your letter of the 1st March. I am very glad to learn of your having trained a full Choral and Orchestral group. I would indeed like to hear them. But I am terribly occupied at present and I do not know if I can possibly find the time. All I can say is that if I can do so, I shall try to come one day.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1920); sitar maestro and composer; well known for his pioneering work in bringing Indian music to the West; music director, All India Radio, New Delhi, 1949-1956; toured the world and held concerts, sometimes in association with Yehudi Menuhin and George Harrison; nominated Member of Rajya Sabha, 1986-1992; awarded Bharat Ratna in 1997; wrote two autobiographies, *My Music*, *My Life* and *Raga Mala* besides *Learning Indian Music: A Systematic Approach*.

31. Vallathol's Illness¹

Please telephone the following message to the Chief Minister of Kerala:²

I am very sorry to learn about poet Vallathol's³ serious illness. It would not be possible for me to ask either Dr B.C. Roy⁴ or Dr Jivraj Mehta⁵ to go to Ernakulam to see Vallathol. Neither of them has practised medicine for a number of years and they do not attend patients. Rarely in the case of an old friend whom they used to look after previously they may go there, but this is more for old friendship's sake than as doctors.

Dr B.C. Roy came here to see Maulana Azad as he had been treating him for the previous 45 years. Even so, he just came for a few hours and

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 8 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.
3. Vallathol Narayana Menon, eminent Malayalam poet.
4. Chief Minister of West Bengal and a well-known physician.
5. A leading physician of Bombay and Minister in the Bombay Government.



ATTENDING A KAVI SAMMELAN, RED FORT, DELHI, 23 JANUARY 1958



WITH FOLK DANCERS FROM KERALA, NEW DELHI, 29 JANUARY 1958

went back to Calcutta, and could not stay in Delhi. I do not know of any other outstanding doctors here who might be helpful at this stage. Delhi is rather poor in them. I should have thought that if local doctors are not considered good enough, Madras is the best place for eminent physicians or surgeons. Also it can be approached more easily and is fairly near. I would, therefore, suggest that the Chief Minister or the local doctors at Ernakulam might get in touch with some leading doctors in Madras.

32. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi

March 10, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,

What has happened to the price page schedule for newspapers and other matters connected therewith? Long ago, you told me it was an urgent matter, and now nothing has been heard about it for a long time.

I wonder if you know that it is proposed to celebrate Paul Robeson's² sixtieth birthday on April 9th.³ I think that the initiative was taken by a British committee. The idea is specially to show appreciation of the great artiste and, partly and indirectly, to express our regret at the way he has been prevented from carrying on his vocation by the US Government. A letter was received from the British committee by Indira here, and she asked me about it. I told her that I saw no harm in this celebration, in fact, that it was the right thing to do. Thereupon, she organized an all-India committee for this purpose, with Chief Justice Chagla as Chairman.⁴ Local committees are also being organized. It is proposed to have Robeson's records, etc., played.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1898-1976); renowned African-American singer, actor, peace and civil rights activist, and crusader for equality and justice for African-Americans, was considered to be pro-Soviet by the US Government, his passport was revoked in 1950 for his criticism of the policies of the US Government and was finally restored in May 1958 after a ruling by the US Supreme Court.

3. Robeson's sixtieth birthday was celebrated in several US cities and twenty-seven countries across Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa and also in the Soviet Union.

4. Apart from M.C. Chagla, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the all-India committee included, among others, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, C.V.Raman, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Justice P.B. Gajendragadkar, and P.V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras High Court.

I think a Delhi committee has been organized with V.K.R.V. Rao⁵ as Chairman. Indira herself has kept out of these committees.

I suggest that AIR might that day, that is, 9th April, give a programme of Paul Robeson's songs and music.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Vice Chancellor, Delhi University.

6. See also *post*, pp. 264-265.

33. Tagore Centenary Committee¹

The first meeting of the Tagore Centenary Committee was held on Monday, the 10th March 1958, at 5-30 p.m. at 2 King Edward Road, New Delhi.

Present:

1. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (in the chair)
2. Dr S. Radhakrishnan
3. Dr B.V. Keskar
4. Prof. Humayun Kabir
5. Shri K.G. Saiyidain
6. Shri D.M. Sen
7. Shri Bimalchandra Sinha
8. Shri Prem Kirpal
9. Shri Barada Ukil
10. Shri Sachin Sen
11. Dr Niharranjan Ray
12. Shri Amal Home

By invitation

Shri Kshitish Roy² attended the meeting on behalf of Dr Satyendranath Bose, representing the Visva-Bharati University.

1. Report of the first meeting of the Tagore Centenary Committee, 10 March 1958. File No. 66/CF/58, Cabinet Secretariat Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

Nehru was the President and Krishna Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, and husband of Nandita, the granddaughter of Rabindranath Tagore, was the Secretary of the Tagore Centenary Committee.

2. (1911-1995); joined Visva-Bharati as a lecturer in English, 1934; Curator of Rabindra Bhavan, the memorial museum for Rabindranath Tagore; editor, *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*; joined as Regional Secretary of Sahitya Akademi, 1963; translated a number of Rabindranath Tagore's works into English.

Secretary and Assistant Secretaries were in attendance.

1. Secretary placed before the Committee a brief report of the action already taken and sought the approval of the Committee thereof. (Appendix A). The Committee approved the action already taken with the following observations:

(i) Arising out of paragraph 9 of the Secretary's report there was a general discussion as to how best to ensure adequate coordination and implementation of the programme. President suggested that while the Sahitya Akademi would directly implement the literary aspects of the programme, the Akademi should place before the Union Government (Ministry of Education) the steps so far taken regarding other aspects of the programme and should request the Government to consider and approve the general outline of the programme and help the Centenary Committee to ensure its proper implementation and coordination on the national scale by inviting the cooperation of the State Governments, Universities and other literary and cultural organizations in the country. The President's suggestion was unanimously accepted and the Secretary was instructed to convey it to the Government of India (Ministry of Education).

(ii) As regards paragraph 4, point (iii) of Secretary's report proposing a Homage Volume on Tagore in English to be published by the Sahitya Akademi in cooperation with Visva-Bharati and UNESCO, President suggested that the proposed volume should be called "Tagore Centenary Volume" and need not be confined to articles on Tagore only but should contain serious contributions on related subjects. He further suggested that a committee should be set up to prepare an outline of the nature and contents of the volume and the list of contributors. President's suggestion was unanimously approved and the following committee was appointed:

- (i) Dr S. Radhakrishnan
- (ii) Dr N.K. Siddhanta
- (iii) Dr Niharranjan Ray
- (iv) Professor Humayun Kabir
- (v) Shri Kshitis Roy
- (vi) Shri Amal Home

(iii) It was decided that the proposal regarding the publication of a sixteen-page brochure for popular distribution should be referred to the above committee.

(iv) Secretary reported (vide paragraph 4, points (i), (ii) and (iv) of Appendix A) that UNESCO has agreed to participate in the Centenary celebrations

by (i) sponsoring the publication in English (and perhaps in some other foreign languages) of a centenary volume of select writings of Rabindranath Tagore not yet translated, and published abroad, (ii) sponsoring an exhibition of select paintings and manuscripts of Tagore in some foreign countries and (iii) meeting the expenses of foreign writer-delegates to the proposed international literary conference. The Committee welcomed the UNESCO'S cooperation. President suggested that the selection of Tagore's writings and their translation in English should be done very carefully by competent writers and should be done directly under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi.

2. The Committee considered the digest of suggestions received regarding the Tagore Centenary and approved the following items.

- (i) Centenary edition of Tagore's select works in Bengali in 12 volumes to be published by the Visva-Bharati.
- (ii) Devanagari edition of Tagore's select works in Bengali in eight volumes to be published by the Sahitya Akademi.
- (iii) Translation of the above volumes in all major Indian languages to be published by the Sahitya Akademi.
- (iv) Institution in some select universities of Tagore Chairs and Lectures on Comparative Literature, specially in Indian languages.
- (v) An international literary conference or seminar on problems common to contemporary writers in the East and West to be sponsored by the Sahitya Akademi in cooperation with UNESCO.
- (vi) Publication by Sahitya Akademi, in cooperation with UNESCO and Visva-Bharati of a centenary volume on Tagore containing contributions of a serious nature on Tagore and his works and other related subjects.
- (vii) A Tagore Bibliography to be published by the Sahitya Akademi.
- (viii) Tagore Scholarships or Fellowships to foreign students who wish to study any aspect of Indian culture.
- (ix) Tagore scholarships to Indian students to encourage serious study of languages and literatures other than the scholar's mother tongue.
- (x) A documentary film on Tagore's life and work to be produced under the auspices of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.
- (xi) An album of select paintings of Tagore to be published by the Lalit Kala Akademi in cooperation with UNESCO.
- (xii) Festivals of Tagore's dramas and music to be organized.
- (xiii) An exhibition of Tagore's paintings, manuscripts and books to be held in different cities of India.
- (xiv) Rabindra-Sadana in Santiniketan and Rabindra-Bharati in Calcutta to be put on sound and stable foundations to serve as active centres of

literary research in Tagore's writings.

- (xv) A sixteen-page brochure on Tagore for popular distribution.
- (xvi) Encouraging long-playing records of Rabindra-Sangeet.
- (xvii) A special Tagore calendar and diary to be brought out by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- (xviii) The Tagore ancestral house in Calcutta to be preserved and maintained as a national memorial by the West Bengal Government.
- (xix) Inscribed tablets to be put upon houses where Tagore lived.
- (xx) Issue of a special postage stamp and a medallion in 1961.
- (xxi) The All India Radio to organize a Tagore Centenary Programme in 1961.
- (xxii) Provision of simple theatres, preferably open air, wherever possible.
- (xxiii) A Memorial at the *ghat* where his body was cremated.

3. The Committee approved the proposal that regional committees consisting mainly of non-official representatives should be set up in the different States to plan detailed programmes for the region concerned and to raise money for the purpose.

34. Olympic Flag Week¹

I am anxious that the standard of our games and athletics in India should be raised. Some progress has been made recently, but much more is necessary. I welcome therefore our chosen athletes going abroad for the various Olympic sports gatherings. On the Olympic Flag Day I send my good wishes and I hope that this day will help in collecting funds for our contingent to go to the Asian Games at Tokyo.²

1. Message to the Indian Olympic Association, New Delhi, 14 March 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS.

The Olympic Flag Week was observed from 7 to 14 March 1958.

2. The Third Asian Games were held in Tokyo from 24 May to 1 June 1958.

35. Free and Compulsory Primary Education¹

The last thing that our friend said about free and primary education to be unsuited to Indian conditions. Now that is a very remarkable statement which is opposed to all current thinking on the subject. Free and compulsory education is necessary, it is a basic necessity for a country to improve its industry and agriculture. It is not a gift, it is not something to provide jobs. Unless you have widespread education you just cannot advance in any direction, agriculture or industry. That is why Industrial Revolution came in, in England and other countries, because they found that without it they could not get going. You cannot have an industrial revolution with people not having some education. In fact, you cannot build up your secondary education in the air with a large mass of illiteracy. Our friend said that people can pay for this. Well, I do not know how far that is true, if they can pay for this we are very happy. But even if they can pay for it, even then, I think, it is the State's duty. As a matter of fact, it is not a question of education, my idea of free and compulsory education is that every child should be given one meal also. Well, we cannot do it today that is a different matter, but that is the idea. I think in Japan most of the primary schools are giving one meal, it is another thing.

Now, I am not discussing this matter. I am merely saying what I have said even before that I am absolutely convinced in regard to primary schools in villages that we should forget the building. The school is a teacher; get a good teacher, pay him better than you do now, and provide some equipment; do not bother about the building at all. The amounts spent on bricks and mortar, first of all, is not necessary. Secondly, the way it is spent, it creates a horrid ugly structure and a tree is much better than that building. I can understand some difficulties, monsoon, this, that, but adjust your holidays to the monsoon, do something like that. Every school, every such class, should have two shifts, just two shifts whatever you can, two shifts, or one is immaterial. I think the whole outlook of education should revolve round the teacher and not the building. Or if you want a building, there are certain proposals just to have not exactly a building but a place, a room if you like, to keep some equipment, books, paper, etc., that is all, and the actual classroom is in the open. You may have a room to keep things there and you may even have four classrooms. Suppose you have a square building of about say, 25 feet square, you divide the inside diagonally, get four triangular rooms inside the four walls facing in four directions. Each is the background of a classroom, with material inside and

1. Extracts from a speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 14 March 1958. Tape No. M-31/C(i), NMML.

now if those people want to, they can, you can make a *pucca* ground in front of that building, or you can have some kind of shade to protect you from the sun, but that is temporary which anybody can make and if they want to, they can add to it, it is up to them. What I mean to this say is that the state might provide this nucleus which is simple and cheap and concentrate on paying more to the teacher and for equipment which is the most important thing.

36. Tribute to Poet Vallathol¹

I send my homage to the memory of the Poet Vallathol.² He was a great poet in his own language, Malayalam. But he was also a poet of national repute and indeed, to some extent, of international reputation. A great figure has passed from India's literary stage and we are the poorer for this loss.

I trust that the institution that he built up³ and nourished for the development of culture and more especially of the famous Kathakali dance will be encouraged in every way.

1. Message to the Malayalam weekly, *Mathrubhumi*, New Delhi, 16 March 1958. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in *The Hindu*, 13 April 1958.
2. Eminent Malayalam poet Vallathol Narayana Menon passed away on 13 March 1958.
3. Kerala Kala Mandalam was established in 1930 by Vallathol in the Cheruthuruthy village of Trichur district in Kerala.

37. Proposal for a Memorial for Freedom Fighters¹

I think the answer to this resolution should be more or less as follows:

Numerous proposals for memorials of martyrs in connection with India's freedom struggle have been put forward from time to time. Last year, in 1957, the celebration was not only for the events of 1857 but for the century of freedom struggle. It was decided to put up a memorial for all the martyrs of India's freedom struggle without specifying any particular incident. This memorial would be put up in Delhi. The place where it should be put up has not been decided upon, but it is obvious that it will be in some open place in the city, and not inside the Red Fort.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, New Delhi, 16 March 1958. JN Collection.

The question, therefore, of having a memorial for the place of trial of the Azad Hind Fauj does not arise and in any event the Red Fort is no proper place for it.

38. Pataudi Memorial Football Tournament¹

I am glad to learn that a challenge cup football tournament is taking place in memory of the Nawab of Pataudi.² We should honour the memory of a great sportsman, a fine man and one who served India in many capacities. His passing away at a very early age was a great loss to all of us and to India.

1. Message sent in connection with the Nawab of Pataudi Challenge Cup Football Tournament, New Delhi, 16 March 1958. PIB files.
2. Nawab Mohammad Iftikhar Ali of Pataudi passed away in 1952 at the age of 42.

39. Foreign Exchange Constraints on Education Abroad¹

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Shradhakar Supakar:² A few days ago the Prime Minister was pleased to state that no branch of study is non-essential so far as foreign exchange regulation is concerned.³ May I know what is the real policy of the Government and whether they are going to do away with this restriction altogether in case of all branches of studies in the future?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know what the honourable Member refers to in regard to what I said and on what occasion. But obviously there have to be some restrictions, however liberal we might be. Many people go abroad, well, presumably for study but do not succeed in studying very much. Because they

1. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 20 March 1958, New Delhi. Extracts. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 5774-5776.
2. Ganatantra Parishad Member from Sambalpur, Orissa.
3. On 26 February 1958, while commenting on Deputy Minister of Finance, Bali Ram Bhagat's reply to a question about restrictions on studies abroad due to foreign exchange difficulties, Nehru said: "When we look into this list, it is very difficult to decide what is essential and what is non-essential. In this matter opinions differ widely. My opinion is that something that is considered non-essential is very essential in life."

have enough money they can go abroad, but it is a drain on the foreign exchange situation and we have to be somewhat careful.

Apart from that, in regard to the subjects for study there is a great variety. We do not wish to come in the way, but when there is pressure on foreign exchange, we do put some limitation on what should be considered to be essential subjects. They can study in India, of course. It is not necessary to go abroad for every subject that one wants to study.

Shradhakar Supakar: Having regard to the fact that the foreign exchange involved so far as study is concerned is a very small part.....

Mr Speaker: I do not want suggestions for action. Honourable Members will elicit answers to questions.

Shradhakar Supakar: I am asking a question. May I know what liberalization of policy is conceived by Government?

JN: What policy can I say? For instance, in the list that we have made for the moment we have decided not to encourage fashion-designing. Does anybody think that fashion-designing is such an important subject as to call for foreign exchange being spent and somebody going to foreign parts to learn fashion-designing? We can do without fashion-designing for a while.

40. Norms for Students Going Abroad¹

I am broadly in agreement with the approach in the above note.² I do not want the development of the human beings to be restricted in any way. But even apart from the question of foreign exchange expenditure, complaints were made to us previously that many Indian students went to foreign countries

1. Note to B.K. Nehru, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, New Delhi, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. In his note of 21 March, B.K. Nehru wrote that certain severe restrictions placed in June 1957 on students going abroad were later modified and relaxed. However, the Ghosh Committee had subsequently recommended additional restrictions. He observed that the development of the human being was more vital to the country than any other kind of development. He pointed out that the existing regulations were difficult to administer and caused problems to students, and added that if the restrictions were removed, the cost would be Rs 10 lakhs per annum.

without adequate knowledge or preparation or any marked ability. Some of them, indeed, went just to have a good time; some were no credit to our country.

2. The other day, I read a report from our Deputy Minister Lakshmi Menon,³ who visited Australia and New Zealand. She wrote that some students who had gone there found it difficult to keep pace with other students of their class.

3. The main point is that students, who have the capacity to profit by their studies abroad, should be allowed to go. It is, of course, not easy to judge this capacity. Normally, a person who has got any kind of a scholarship should be judged capable of profiting by studies abroad, or any person who has done obviously well in his tests and examinations in India.

4. When I said in Parliament that some subjects which are called non-essentials are vital for life,⁴ I was thinking of some cultural subjects like literature, philosophy, music and the like.

5. I would suggest that, for the present, we should accept the recommendations of the Ghosh Committee with this modification that (1) we might allow all candidates going abroad under Government scholarship schemes, (2) graduate courses should also be allowed provided the student has attained a fairly high standard here, and (3) art subjects should also be allowed, subject to standard obtained here. This should include music, drawing and painting.

6. It might also be kept in mind that any brilliant student should be allowed, whatever his subject might be.

7. I am recommending this not from the point of view of foreign exchange but rather not to encourage those who are not likely to profit by their visit abroad or who might not bring particular credit to our country. I would not like school children to go, except under special circumstances where parents are abroad. Personally, I do not think that school children trained abroad will be able to adapt themselves to India afterwards.

8. We have to increase our educational facilities in India, and it is desirable that most of our students go through their earlier educational courses in India and go later for special courses abroad.

3. Deputy Minister in the MEA, 1957-62.

4. See the preceding item.

41. Central Aid to Universities¹

Broadly I agree with what you have said above.

I do not think it was right for us to override the decisions of the two committees appointed by the University Grants Commission on which Finance Ministry was represented. Also, I think that it is the function of the University Grants Commission to recommend further grants to Universities, though of course this will have to be considered by Finance later.

I also think that it is neither feasible nor desirable for the general pattern of Central assistance to be varied in the third year of the Plan. That would be neither fair to the States nor to the Education Ministry.

Therefore, you can inform the Education Ministry that while it is difficult immediately and at this late stage to increase the allotment to the Education Ministry schemes, we do feel that some changes are necessary and we can give them a general assurance that supplementary provision will be found if this is justified by the progress of expenditure.

More particularly, we can assure them that the balance of money for the block grants to Central Universities should be as previously suggested, that is, Rs 1.34 crores; also in regard to grants to Central Universities and constituent colleges of Delhi University. Further, you can assure them that we do not wish them to change their pattern of Central assistance.

There is one matter which I think deserves our attention. We give matching contributions in many cases, not only for Education, but for other purposes also, to the States. What happens often is that those that are better off can get this grant, while those that cannot match it at all get nothing. Thus, those who deserve assistance most are unable to get it. I do not think this is a proper way of proceeding with this matter. We cannot treat all the States and the Universities by the same rule like this.

I have already agreed to the acceptance of the proposal to introduce the three year degree course.

1. Note to N.N. Wanchoo, Secretary (Expenditure), Ministry of Finance, New Delhi, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.

42. To M.C. Chagla¹

New Delhi
March 22, 1958

My dear Chagla,

You wrote to me the other day about the celebration of Paul Robeson's birthday, and I sent you a message for the occasion.²

I gather that there is a good deal of excitement and some distress in the upper circles in the United States about this celebration of Paul Robeson's sixtieth birthday in India. In fact, we have been informed about this distress. It has been said that a person who has maligned the United States, and even expressed himself in favour of upsetting the Government there, should be boosted in India, is hardly a friendly act to the United States.

We have told them that we admire Paul Robeson as a great artiste and that it has little to do with politics or his opinions. This organization is not officially sponsored, though it is true that a number of us expressed our good wishes for Paul Robeson and our admiration for his art.

I am writing to you to keep you informed of these developments. I think that it will be desirable to keep politics quite apart from the meetings, etc., organized for his birthday and to lay stress on his being a great singer. There

1. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Nehru sent the following message for inclusion in a souvenir to be published on this occasion which was officially issued on 26 March 1958:

I am happy to know that an all-India committee has been formed under the distinguished chairmanship of Chief Justice Chagla to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Paul Robeson. This is an occasion which deserves celebration, not only because Paul Robeson is one of the greatest artists of our generation, but also because it reminds us that art and human dignity are above differences of race, nationality and colour.

I send all my good wishes to Paul Robeson on this occasion and I trust that he will have many long years before him to enrich the world with his great art.

may be and there are differences of opinion, but I do not want them to come in the way of admiring a person's artistry.³

This letter is for you only.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Chagla informed Nehru on 25 March 1958 that the Consul General of the USA had come to see him and told him "that what we were doing would be completely misunderstood in his country" and America would think that "this was one more piece of evidence to prove that we were heading for the Communist camp." The Consul General asked Chagla "what we would think if America were to celebrate the 60th birthday of Sheikh Abdullah." Chagla replied that it was his duty to convey to his country what the true position was so that there was no misunderstanding and "if Americans thought that Sheikh Abdullah was a great artist and a great humanist, we would not have the slightest objection."

43. International Hostel for Foreign Students¹

There is an old proposal to have what is called an International Hostel here for foreign students. This was approved of by the University Grants Commission, but I was told that the Vice Chancellor of the Delhi University, Dr V.K.R.V. Rao, was entirely opposed to the idea and said that he would on no account tolerate a separate caste in the University.

2. I spoke to Dr V.K.R.V. Rao on the telephone and enquired from him what the facts were. He told me that he was opposed to the idea of isolating the foreign students but he was quite agreeable to a separate hostel. But he did not wish all foreign students to be collected there. Some foreign students should live there and some with the Indian students in other hostels. Secondly, even in this special hostel there should be a number of Indian students. Thirdly, that the hostel should be under the control of the University.

3. I told him that I entirely agreed with all these three conditions. I did not wish to isolate the foreign students and I wanted them to mix with Indian students as much as possible. But I did want to have some place which would be more suited to the foreign students from the point of food, etc., and where even non-resident students could go as well as of course Indian students. In

1. Note to K.L. Shrimali, the Minister of State for Education, New Delhi, 22 March 1958. File No. 40(140)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

fact this would rather encourage the mixing of foreign students with Indian students, and foreign students of course were not of one variety. They came from many different countries.

4. Dr V.K.R.V. Rao said that he would prefer to call this place International Club instead of International Hostel, though this was a small matter. I told him that there was a proposal to have an International Club of a different type in which Rockefeller Foundation was interested.

5. I do not quite know who is dealing with these matters, but there is evidently some misunderstanding about it and hence the delay. It is obvious that the foreign students are very anxious to have some such place. This place should, in addition to living accommodation, have rooms for cultural activities. This I think is essential. These rooms will become a meeting ground not only for all the foreign students but for the Indian students also.²

6. I am sending a copy of this note to the Foreign Secretary.

2. See also *post*, p. 273.

44. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Thank you for your letter of 21st March. Humayun Kabir² has also written to me. This business of separating sections and departments has impressed me with one fact—the close relation of many of these with each other. Indeed they cannot be wholly separated and the two proposed Ministries must, therefore, work in the closest coordination with each other, both at the Ministerial level and the Secretarial level. In fact, some subjects should be specifically mentioned as requiring this frequent consultation and coordination.

I suggest that you and Humayun Kabir might meet me at 5.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 25th March, in my office in Parliament House,³ when we can consider this matter further. We have to arrive at some decisions, but whatever decisions they might be, may require further consideration with a little experience.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Civil Aviation at this time.

3. In a letter to Humayun Kabir on the same day, Nehru highlighted the same point.

In regard to Scientific Research and Technical Education, I feel that it will be undesirable to split them up. I realize, of course, that Scientific Education in a sense begins at the earlier stage of education. That particular stage cannot and should not be separated. But any specialized technical education should be closely associated with other matters dealing with science. Normally speaking, I would like a scientist as the Secretary dealing with these matters.

In the division made, I hope that care will be taken not to add to the staff.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. Bifurcation of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research¹

These two proposed Ministries overlap to some extent and it is not very easy to separate them rigidly.² Separation, however, has to be done. It should be realized, however, that there will have to be close cooperation between them, more particularly in regard to the overlapping subjects. It would, therefore, be desirable for the two Ministers to meet from time to time to confer with each other in regard to these subjects and consider them jointly; also for the two Secretaries to consult each other frequently in regard to them. A list of such subjects might be drawn up.

2. There are a large number of sections and sub-sections in the parent Ministry. I cannot go into all these details and I hope that the two Ministers themselves will draw up lists. Any particular matter about which there is lack of agreement or in regard to which they want my advice, might be referred to me. I understand that, apart from some minor matters, the major difference of opinion has been in regard to Technical Education and matters relating to UNESCO. I am, therefore dealing with these two matters particularly in this note.

3. I think that, broadly, Scientific Research, Scientific Surveys and Technical Education should be kept together in one Ministry. These are all closely allied and teachers and professors can and should be exchanged. To separate them would, therefore, not be desirable. Also, the approach to scientific and technical subjects is and should be a more or less unified one.

1. Note, New Delhi, 25 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. It was proposed to bifurcate the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research into two Ministries: (i) Ministry of Education and (ii) Ministry of Science and Culture.

4. It is true that General Education must necessarily include some scientific and technical education and in so far as this is concerned, it will have to be dealt with by Ministry of Education which, for that purpose, will keep in close touch with the general trend of scientific research and technical education and the Ministry dealing with this.

5. Thus, broadly speaking, the subjects at present dealt with by the Department of Scientific Research and Technical Education should form part of the new Ministry of Science and Culture. Normally speaking, the Secretary of this Ministry should be a scientist. At present Dr M.S. Thacker³ is the Secretary dealing with these matters. He will in future be the Secretary of Ministry of Science and Culture.

6. UNESCO and the Indian National Commission for UNESCO deal with general educational, scientific and cultural matters. Thus they cover the field of both the two proposed Ministries. In the balance, however, I think that UNESCO should remain with the Ministry of Education. It is to be understood, however, that any projects sponsored by UNESCO will be dealt with by the Ministry dealing with such subjects. That Ministry, indeed, might be not only the Ministry of Science and Culture, but Health or some other Ministry.

7. The three Akademies, namely, the Sahitya Akademi, the Lalit Kala Akademi and the Sangeet Natak Akademi, will go to the Ministry of Science and Culture.

8. Physical Education, Games and Sports should go to Ministry of Education. It would be conceivable to put some of them under the Ministry of Science and Culture, but it would be undesirable to split them up. Apart from some specialized agencies, the general work of Physical Education, Games and Sports will necessarily be connected with our schools and colleges and Universities. It is, therefore, better for this entire set-up to be dealt with in the Ministry of Education.

9. The following subjects should also be allotted to the Ministry of Education:

- (1) United States Education Foundation in India and other matters concerning the Foundation and Fulbright scholars.
- (2) Financial assistance to educational institutions and Indian Students' Associations abroad.
- (3) Recruitment of teachers for foreign countries.
- (4) Training in India of teachers from Indian community settled abroad.

3. Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director General, CSIR, 1957-62.

- (5) Admission in Indian institutions of foreign students recommended by our Missions.
 - (6) Exchange of scholars, students, teachers, professors, etc., with foreign countries; (in the case of artists, dancers, musicians, etc., this should be dealt with by the Ministry of Science and Culture).
 - (7) Principal libraries, such as National Library, Calcutta, etc.
 - (8) Sanskrit Commission's Report and its implementation.
 - (9) Grants to institutions of higher learning other than Universities. This will not include the technical institutions, which will be dealt with by the Ministry of Science and Culture.
 - (10) Central Secretariat Library.
10. The University Grants Commission will of course deal, insofar as grants are concerned, in addition to Universities, with also technical institutes which are under the Ministry of Science and Culture.
11. I trust that the division of one Ministry into two will not lead to additions to staff.

46. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,²

I understand that the Labour Ministry runs some technical schools. I am further told that these technical schools are conducted very badly. Could you please let me know what these schools are?³ I do not suppose your Ministry have competent technical personnel even to supervise these schools.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (137)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Labour and Employment.
3. In his reply to Nehru on 29 March, Nanda informed him that the training organization under his Ministry was being run successfully. However, he indicated some trouble regarding the training centre run by the Bharat Sewak Samaj in Delhi, which, he claimed, had nothing to do with the regular training institutions run by the Labour Ministry.

47. The First Newspaper from Ladakh¹

I am glad to learn that a newspaper, under the name *Naya Ladakh*, is going to be published from Ladakh in both Ladakhi and Devanagari editions. It is the first newspaper in the history of Ladakh and therefore it carries much significance. I hope this newspaper will serve the people of Ladakh. I send my best wishes to it.

1. Message to *Naya Ladakh*, New Delhi, 26 March 1958. JN Collection. Original in Hindi.

48. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
March 26, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

You will receive a copy of my letter to the Chief Ministers issued today.³ In this I have laid great stress on schools without buildings or, at the most, just a small building. I am convinced that the only way to spread education in India is to moderate greatly our building operations. In rural areas especially, classes should be held in the open air. A very small structure might be put up for books and equipment. I saw a model of it the other day which struck me as rather useful.

I think, this is good not only from the point of view of economy but from the health point of view.

Why I am writing to you is that your PWD rules come in the way of any innovation. Your rules may be very good for big solid buildings meant to last for generations. But they should not be made to apply everywhere and in all circumstances. Thus, in the NEFA, I remember reading a report which said that the school buildings put up according to normal specifications were totally unsuited there in the jungle. They were very costly and wholly unsuitable. It would have been far better to put up some kind of shacks which would have fitted in with the surroundings and would have been much cheaper.

I am told that the Education Ministry has had some difficulty in convincing your Ministry about simple schools for Delhi. I believe there has at last been some agreement. Anyhow, both Dr Shrimali⁴ and I agree that we should go

1. File No. 40 (137)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
3. See *post*, pp. 822-823.
4. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of State for Education.

ahead with schools in Delhi even without buildings or, at the most, with some temporary shacks. I am not for the moment interested in the distant future. Any simple structure to last for ten years or so will do for the present.

I hope, therefore, that you will have your rules revised for special purposes so that they may not come in the way of our spread of education.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. Railway Bookstalls¹

I understand that the Railway Board has prohibited the Railway bookstalls from selling books on a variety of subjects. These include books on family planning as well as books on scientific or technical subjects.²

I understand that the Railway Board has issued the following instructions (letter No. 461-TG of 20th May 1952):

The Railway Board desire to point out that Railway bookstalls are provided primarily for the convenience of the ordinary travelling public requiring reading material to mitigate the tedium of journey. These stalls are not intended to compete with the normal bookshop or provide the range of books covering highly scientific or technical subjects.

This interpretation of what the Railway bookstalls should sell seems to me quite a novel one. I am not aware of bookstalls in other countries being so limited in their sale of books. I think the Railway bookstall is as much a bookshop as any other and there should be no limitation on the quality of books they sell.

1. Note to Minister of Railways, New Delhi, 28 March 1958. File No. 43(118)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, in a letter written on 26 March 1958, brought the matter to the notice of Nehru. While passing through Allahabad and Kanpur Railway stations, he found that the Wheeler & Co had sold over Rs 50,000 worth of government publications. At the Kanpur bookstall of the Wheelers, he found that one complete side of the glass case was reserved for Government of India publications. He mentioned the ban on the sale of sex literature and the subsequent loss of Rs 60,000 a year on that account, and wrote that a bookseller just outside the railway station could sell these books. Even books on family planning were banned, he added.

The limitation might be in regard to obscene books or to a particular type of books which might be considered of a politically propagandist character.

Apart from this, it is very extraordinary that books on family planning should not be allowed. I am told that a book issued by the Madras Government on family planning had to be withdrawn. I should like to know on what basis the Railway Board functions in such matters, because the instances I have given are very odd indeed.

As a matter of fact, Railway bookstalls mostly sell light books and magazines. But how is that a reason to prevent them from dealing in more solid literature? Indeed, we should encourage them to sell solid literature if they can do so. The rule they have made seems to me quite wrong.

50. To R.R. Diwakar¹

New Delhi

March 29, 1958

My dear Diwakar,²

Your letter of March 27th about the proposed Gandhi film. I met Lloyd Young here. He struck me as a competent and earnest young man. I believe he means well. I told him, however, that I had little faith in anyone trying to portray Gandhiji in that way. I would, of course, like this to be done in a first-class way, but I saw no one either abroad or in India who could do it so. I did not want something that was a flop. Anything that was not up to the mark would probably be a complete failure.

Having said this to him, I told him that, so far as I was concerned, he could go ahead, and I referred him to you.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43 (114)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

3. See also *ante*, pp. 244-245.

51. To V.K.R.V. Rao¹

New Delhi

March 30, 1958

My dear Rao,

I spoke to you the other day on the telephone about the proposal to have some kind of an international club house for foreign students. I have long felt that this is very necessary. I entirely agree with you that this should not mean an isolation of the foreign students and in such a place a number of Indian students should also live. Also that foreign students should live in other hostels also.

There is no doubt that the foreign students feel the lack of some such place very greatly and I can quite understand that. Food may be a small matter, but it counts for a lot in a person's life. Also opportunities to meet should be provided. Unfortunately, the Indian way of life, though changing, does not encourage many social habits to which people in other countries are accustomed.

The mere fact that the foreign students have been asking for this kind of meeting place is itself an important factor and something should be done to meet this long-felt demand.

Indira has received the enclosed letter which she has given me. I pass it on to you. Perhaps you could send for Raj Singh, who has written this letter, and have a talk with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (140)/58-PMS.

52. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

You mentioned to me the other day that the Planning Commission was recommending to the State Governments to engage a large number—60,000 or so—of primary school teachers. The idea presumably was to have a single teacher primary school as we had had them two or three years ago.

It seemed to me that while this idea, of course, is good, we do not take the trouble to give any orientation to these new teachers who come in. Odd people are selected because of their degree or whatever qualification they might have, and then they are let loose in the school. If it is possible, it would be far better to collect these new entrants in a place—let us say for a month—and give them a brief course of training about our general ideals, five-year plans, etc., etc. This would probably increase their capacity to do their work properly and would improve them greatly. Each State could collect the new teachers in this way for a month's camp.

I would suggest that this procedure should be adopted in the case of all new teachers for primary schools.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (143)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

III. THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

1. Development of Languages Essential for Progress¹

Shri Avinashilingam,² Mr Governor,³ Chief Minister⁴ and friends,

For some time past, periodically Shri Avinashilingam has presented me with a volume of the *Tamil Encyclopaedia*, that is, previous volumes. I have treasured them, and although I could not unfortunately read them, nevertheless I have tried to form some idea of what they were by looking at the pictures. That does give me some idea as to how they have been dealt with. Now, you have done me the honour of asking me to inaugurate the fifth volume. I am happy to be present here on this occasion. It is really a tremendous and yet an essential task for a language to have good encyclopaedias. I do not know very well about the encyclopaedias in other languages of India. There are some of course, but I should personally imagine that the one you are producing is fuller than in any other Indian language.

I remember reading of an encyclopaedia that the Chinese produced long ago. It was the second Manchu Emperor⁵ who did it, I forget the date, maybe about 200 years ago. Two tremendous things he did. One was an encyclopaedia which was a tremendous effort of about 125 volumes. Another was an analysis of the Chinese literature which meant giving some kind of synopsis of every book in Chinese. It was done about two hundred years ago or more. So, I think that the task you undertook with the dawn of independence and which you have completed, half of it today, has been eminently worthwhile and I congratulate you upon it.

Shri Avinashilingam referred briefly to arguments and controversies on the language issue. Apart from these controversies, in spite of the fact that I do not know many languages—I have a smattering of some European languages, very little of some Indian languages—I have been fascinated by a language in the abstract, or even more, if I may say so, by words, by the history of words,

1. Speech on the occasion of the release of the fifth volume of the *Tamil Encyclopedia*, Madras, 6 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Member of Rajya Sabha, 1958-64.
3. P.V. Rajamannar, Acting Governor of Madras State, and Chief Justice of the Madras High Court.
4. K. Kamaraj Nadar, Chief Minister of Madras State.
5. K'ang-Hsi (1654-1722); one of China's most capable rulers; encouraged western education; commissioned many books, including the Kangxi dictionary and history of the Ming dynasty.

by the way the words have developed special meanings. A word is a very powerful thing. It has a family history and when people talk about translations, and some of our newspapermen rapidly and quickly translate things from one language to another, I marvel at their industry and brilliance because the real fact of the matter is that you cannot translate from one language to another really. Of course, you can translate a thing like 'chair' or 'table' or simple objects like this but the moment you get into any deeper thinking or ideas or imagery you cannot translate. You may express the idea, you may paraphrase it, you may give your idea of what it is in the other language but you cannot possibly convey all that history, all that imagery, which a word has in its own language, into another word, in another language with its different parentage, different history. Nevertheless, we have to do this, we have to translate. I am merely pointing out to you the difficulty, of course, in regard to the language, of an emotional significance like poetry, it just cannot be done. Prose can be done and in some measure it is done. You can do, of course, one thing. In your attempt to translate from one language to another what you really should do—first of all, you must know both the languages exceedingly well. It is not enough to know one language. You must be able to enter into the spirit of each language. Having caught the spirit, you should forget the words and convey the spirit in the other language. That is the only way you can really translate. I do not suppose our journalist friends do all this business of spirit and all that. That reminds me of the story of a great Chinese poet, Li Po⁶—a very famous poet who has written beautiful poetry. A young man went to him, maybe his pupil or disciple, and asked him: "Master, how can I become a poet, a great poet?" Li Po said: "Work hard, study hard, learn all the rules of language and poetry and then forget them—everyone of them. Afterwards do what you like. Try to write as you like." That is, he wanted the young man to forget the hard discipline of grammar completely. But, if you stuck to the discipline you only wrote rigidly, there is no life in what you write; it is difficult to write but without the discipline it is chaos. You cannot write unless you are a genius. So, you have to have all the discipline but forget the discipline and then write. And then you might or might not succeed. Of course, it depends upon you.

Well, I have often travelled abroad, not now only but for the last many many years, before Independence also. I found it peculiarly embarrassing when I went to foreign countries, not England but other foreign countries, and had to speak to people there in the English language. What is more, I had to speak

6. Li Po (about 701-762 CE) ; famous Chinese poet, a native of Sezchaun.; one of the two greatest poets of China's literary history, the other being Du Fu; best known for extravagant imagination and striking Taoist imagery in his poetry.

to my own countrymen there in the English language. They were astonished, the people of those other countries, I am not talking about England. And the questions they put to me—and it was very difficult to explain to them, I am talking of my student days, now long past—are: “Do you have no language of your own?” I said: “Certainly we have many languages, very good languages.” They said: “Ah, they are dialects.” I said: “No, they are great”, and they said: “Ah, yes, we understand.” I could not convince them. They could not understand; it is impossible to tell them that a number of Indians meeting, let us say in Germany, will speak in English. Of course, it is an embarrassing thing and, therefore, I adopted a technique. Whenever I went to France, Germany or anywhere I addressed Indians there and I met a number of students and others. It was quite true that some of them at least did not understand my Hindi, but just because I wanted to make it clear that I could speak in my own language before Frenchmen and Germans, I spoke in Hindi for some time and then I shifted to English. This bi-lingual practice has grown with me.

You will see countries in Europe, small countries, Scandinavian countries, with a very small population of three, four or five millions, much smaller than our States, how rigidly they adhere to their language. They always learn two or three other languages. Normally, a Norwegian or a Swede or a Finn knows at least four languages. In fact, I am mixing up things. Normally, there are at least three compulsory languages and a fourth optional language in all those countries, apart from a classical language. They take them all in their sweep. All small countries, especially, have to do it. But an Englishman need not know another language because he has a wide territory where his language prevails—America, France, etc. A German has also a pretty wide area. So also a French to some extent and Spanish. Some languages are confined to a very small population. These people have to learn and they learn an amazing number of languages regularly in the school, three or four I think. I remember, in Finland there are two or three national languages, Finnish and Swedish are two national languages because there is an eight per cent minority of Swedes in Finland. So, both are given equal status and everybody has to learn Swedish and Finnish. In addition to that, they have, I believe, agreed to learn two other languages. Here they have a choice. They can take either Russian, German or French. I forget exactly, but normally, I think three are absolutely certain and usually a fourth language is taken up apart from a classical language.

Now, another thing I should like to mention to you in this business of learning languages. The latest scientific theory is that the sooner you begin learning a language, the better. Of course, it is good sense too. But this good sense has been fortified by scientific examination of the brain cells. A very eminent Canadian brain surgeon came to India last year or a year or two ago.

Apparently, he had found a certain corner of the brain which is the language corner of the brain where the brain cells absorb the languages. He told us—he broadcast too on the radio—that these language cells are alive and growing till the age of about ten.⁷ After that they stop growing. Till the age of ten, therefore, any language that a child learns is automatic learning and like a mother tongue he almost imbibes it without effort. After that he can learn a language or two too but it is an effort. If he has laid the foundations of a language before ten, he can build upon those foundations easily. After that it is much more difficult. He can learn a language, he can learn the vocabulary and he can learn the grammar. But, that fine distinction which makes another language your own mother tongue or something like a mother tongue and something which is foreign is never removed after ten. That is his theory. And, therefore, his idea was that children should be exposed, if I may use the word, to two or three languages before ten. ‘Exposed’ I use because whether we learn at the school or not, maybe in the family circle, whatever it may be, the ears may get used to hearing the sounds of the languages and register them in those live brain cells which are growing. Once they have got the background of this they can build upon that later. How to do it I do not know. It is difficult to do this kind of thing in a school system. But it is interesting to remember that real foundations of a language are laid in your brain up to roundabout the age of ten. After that it is an effort, and the older you grow, the more the effort, the more the tears and perspiration about it.

There is this great argument in India going on about the language issue and yet the most important and vital part of the language issue has been decided. The really vital thing, that is, the language in which instruction has to be given—that is, the medium of instruction; that is the most vital part. Whatever the fine distinctions may be, it is established and acknowledged throughout India, I believe, so far as I know, that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue and not only the mother tongue of great languages like Tamil or Bengali or Gujarati or whatever the language may be, but the mother tongue of languages, say, from the North-East of India, the tribal languages, which have no written languages, except insofar as we are giving them character now. The missionaries originally sometimes gave them the Roman character which they used; you may give them the Roman character or some other character, the *Nagari*. Anyhow these North-Eastern tribes, many of them have no written languages

7. Dr Wilder Grave Penfield, the Canadian neurologist and neurosurgeon, visited India in 1957. In the course of a talk on the AIR on the human brain and the learning of secondary languages, he said that the time for teaching secondary languages in accordance with the demands of brain physiology was between the ages of four and ten.

but just dialects and dialects too which are not widespread. You have heard of the Nagas. We had some trouble there in the last few years. Well, there is no such thing as a Naga language, there are scores of Naga languages. And, one language does not go beyond ten villages and gradually changes often enough. And, in fact, when there was a Naga convention recently,⁸ the language the convention had to use was some kind of slightly corrupt Assamese and that was the only common language which they could understand more or less because when they spoke their own language, only their village group understood and the next village group did not understand. And yet we have gone so far as to try to educate them in their own very limited language to begin with; we cannot carry it very far in the primary stages. Because we have attached importance to a person acquiring the languages and learning through his mother tongue, obviously in the case of highly developed languages which are mentioned, those which are mentioned in the Constitution—thirteen or fourteen, they have to be. In fact, another thing, if I may mention it to you, is, it may be difficult to put it into practice but the theory is that we should give opportunities for a child to learn through his mother tongue even in a different area, let us say, in Delhi. If there are enough Tamils in Delhi those Tamil children have a right to receive education in Tamil in Delhi or anywhere, in Bombay or Calcutta. Of course, if they are too few, it is difficult to arrange, but the theory is that the state should provide education in the mother tongue wherever the child may be, provided there are enough of them. I believe, in the Bombay city, the Bombay Corporation has schools, I do not remember, but I have vague ideas of schools for 16 or 18 languages—some large number—because there the Corporation provides for every language group. I do not know what rule you follow here. So that a vital change has come about in India with the decision that the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction. That is the real break with English because English is up to now the language for the medium of instruction and that immediately puts English into another category. It does not become the medium as such.

Now, personally I am very partial to English, partly because I studied in it, it has been very much the medium of instruction for me, partly because, for entirely practical reasons, I think that we should know foreign languages. We should know several foreign languages. But, obviously, English is the most widespread and English is the best-known today in India. Why not take advantage of this fact and continue that advantage? So, from all this it seems to me quite clear that the argument that really goes on today is not as to what should

8. For the Naga People's Conference held at Kohima from 22 to 26 August 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 207-208.

happen in a state because it is established that the state language is the medium in everything, the argument is about the so-called all-India language of communication between the states as well as possibly of the all-India Government with foreign countries. There are two aspects of it. And, as you know, the Constitution lays down that after a certain period, Hindi should replace English in that respect. I confess I am not going into this matter because I do not think it would be right for me to go into details, when this matter is being considered by Parliament and others. I am merely throwing out some ideas for your consideration.

Now, in this matter, rigidity is difficult and should be avoided. Language is an extraordinarily tender plant. You cannot treat it in a rigid way at all. It is a tender thing which is intimately bound up with people's emotions. Therefore, one has to proceed, first of all, without rigidity, with certain flexibility, and with a very large measure of common consent. There can be no real compulsion. You may compel a little boy to go to school. You cannot compel large numbers of people to do something, which they do not like. And the whole virtue of it goes, if you compel them. One has to proceed in this way and I have no doubt that, difficult as the problems are, they will be solved step by step. We need not try to solve every problem quickly and suddenly. But as has been stated repeatedly, two or three factors have to be borne in mind, that no decision should be arrived at which creates any kind of disability for people of one part of India in comparison with others, that is to say in regard to Hindi, it is quite natural for people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas to feel that this might create a disability for them whether in the services, in many ways, and it is perfectly a legitimate subject to raise, and possibly other disabilities too. So, this matter should be considered realizing that there can be no real compulsion. There should be none and one should, whatever may be the decision we arrive at, be rather flexible so that one can see how things progress. And, one should always try to arrive at decisions more or less by general consent.

There is one thing that I should like to mention here especially which, to my knowledge, has not been discussed. We talk of language now and we refer to our languages which are mostly, as Mr Avinashilingam pointed out, non-technical. All our languages are not full of technical words or scientific words, naturally, because these languages did not pass through technical experience or scientific experience. Something terrible is happening now and that is often the coining of entirely artificial words for technical or scientific expressions—technical and scientific words which have no history behind them, no life, no connotation, except that what you may learn by heart, a school boy may learn by heart, as is now happening in some languages. Now, apart from the fact that more and more of future literature, future books, are going to deal with the

technical and the scientific aspects; already literature on these subjects in foreign countries is immense, millions of volumes. I read somewhere that a library devoted solely to bees consisted of, I forget now, about 35,000 books on just how to keep bees—a very small part of the subject. You can imagine how vast literatures have grown up.

Now, we are, in India, on the eve of the industrial and technical revolution. All our languages no doubt will produce books—at first, naturally they will be probably translations from foreign languages or simple adaptations for school purposes. But that is a very small matter. They have to grow and get original works. Now, it will be a terrible thing, if these technical books in the different languages of India differ widely from each other or indeed differ widely from foreign technical books. I do not say we should adopt foreign words completely, but Mr Avinashilingam said something about it, that in the *Tamil Encyclopaedia* they have broadly accepted the international terminology which, I think, is a good thing. Another aspect of this is—take English, the scientific words in English and in other languages have a peculiar meaning which is not the common meaning in English. It is not the question of merely Alpha, Beta or Theta, etc., some algebraic symbols but simple. I use the word, 'simple'. Now, 'simple' means, technically, maybe all kinds of things in a scientific treatise; it is not 'simple' with the normal dictionary meaning of English. It has a highly technical meaning which I do not understand, I do not know. So, a new highly technical language has grown up in all these Western tongues which has very little relation to their day-to-day language. And it would confuse you if you only know the day-to-day language.

Now, we have to face these complicated problems at a time when we are shifting over into an industrial revolution and technological revolution. Therefore, in order to escape disaster we should try—do what you like with the cultural aspect, but for heaven's sake try to evolve some relatively common medium for the technical and scientific things. Otherwise, you will not make progress. It will produce enormous confusion in our boys' minds. Because, today a scientist really cannot do much, unless he knows three or four languages of Europe. Take another language. English is very well known. Take Russian. The scientific literature in Russian is growing very fast and is very important. It is a fact, there is no doubt that Russians have advanced greatly in science and it is obvious by various things that they have done. The time is coming when no scientist can afford not to know Russian. He may not be able to deliver a lecture in Russian but he must be able to read the Russian periodicals and books just as today he has to learn German and French. So, it really is becoming an extraordinarily difficult problem how to deal with the world's accumulations of knowledge without knowing a number of languages. And to

some extent many of these technical terms are, if not common, similar in these Western languages. It helps them. If we go off completely in a different direction, well, we may teach our people something in science or technology, but it will be difficult for them to get in touch with the main currents of science and technology. It will put an additional burden on them. On the other hand, there is another aspect of this question, and that is, if you want to build up a scientific background and a technological background, you must build it up not at the top but, to some extent, among the common people. I am quite sure that you cannot build it in the common people with an entirely foreign language. You may do it in two hundred years. I do not know what may happen in two hundred years, not even in the next decade or the next generation. I doubt if you can do it even in two hundred years. You have to approach them with a language which they can thoroughly grasp and terms which they can grasp; otherwise, the burden is too great upon them. So, all these factors, complicated factors, have to be considered in evolving our schemes of education in technical and scientific subjects. As I said, I am not very much concerned about the purely literary or cultural matters.

So, I congratulate you on the production of the fifth volume of this *Encyclopaedia*.

2. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

My dear Rajaji,²

Thank you for your letter³ which I received this evening. This morning, however, I saw the same message which you had sent to Dhebarbhai.⁴

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54; founded the Swatantra Party in 1959.

3. Rajagopalachari had written that the Congress resolution on the language issue, proposed to be discussed at the Gauhati Congress, did not solve the problem in its real form. He wrote that the entire press of South India had unambiguously declared that "English must continue indefinitely if unity is to be preserved." He added: "This raises no hopes here as it is generally well known that the language decision in the Constituent Assembly was taken on a Party vote in a manner that hardly fits in with the idea of a general consensus of opinion.... The only satisfactory way to quell the growing dissatisfaction is to delete Part XVII of the Constitution and keep the status quo intact in regard to the official work."

4. U.N. Dhebar, President of the Indian National Congress.

I was in Madras recently for a little more than half a day.⁵ I would have much liked to meet you and talk about these matters with you, but unfortunately every minute of my time was taken up during my brief stay.

I need not tell you how earnestly we have thought about this matter of language and considered carefully whatever you and others have said. We were very anxious to come to a decision here in the Congress which would meet with the wishes of our friends in the South. As a matter of fact, we made some changes in the draft resolution for this purpose and this resolution was then passed unanimously by the Subjects Committee.⁶ These changes were made at the instance of some of the delegates from Madras. The Andhra, Mysore and Kerala delegates supported it strongly.⁷

I can very well understand the basic reason for a certain amount of apprehension in the South about Hindi. I think we have gone far to meet this apprehension and I do believe that there is no reason for it now. So far as the State languages are concerned, there is, of course, no rivalry with Hindi. The State languages will grow and prosper and do the work of the State. They will no doubt take the place of English in the work of the State. Hindi does not come into the picture there.

The only question that remains is the use of Hindi at some future time for our work in two ways, (1) in relation to foreign countries, and (2) in inter-state matters and certain all-India institutions. There is the question of recruitment to Services and the work of Administration.

Several years ago, the Working Committee passed some resolutions making it clear that no step should be taken which places people from non-Hindi-speaking areas at a disadvantage in recruitment or administration.⁸ Naturally this has to be worked out, but the principle is there. It was made clear that recruitment should not take place necessarily on the basis of knowledge of Hindi. The examinations could be held either in the State language or English. So far as the administrative work is concerned, this can only be replaced by Hindi very slowly and when it is considered feasible. But, anyhow, throughout this period English will also be in use. It is not merely a question of timing or phasing, but even after any prescribed period, English may well continue to be used together with Hindi.

5. On 6 January 1958.

6. See *post*, pp. 571-572.

7. A.S. Raju of Andhra Pradesh, S. Nijalingappa of Mysore and P. Govinda Menon of Kerala supported the resolution at the Subjects Committee meeting in Guwahati on 16 January 1958.

8. The reference is to the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee on 17 May 1953 and 5 April 1954.

I realize that there are many Hindi enthusiasts in UP and elsewhere who have taken up a very unreasonable and aggressive attitude in the past. As a matter of fact they have realized their mistake and have toned down greatly. So far as I know, hardly any of them, in the past few months of some controversy, raised their voice in any aggressive way. Even if they did so, there is no chance of their having their way.

I have no doubt whatever that changes should be brought about by common consent, which means by the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking areas. That has not only been clearly laid down, but, in the nature of things, it has to be so. No Government or Parliament that I can conceive of can act otherwise.

In the resolution for the Subjects Committee, we did not and could not go into details. It seemed to us improper to dictate in every small matter to a Parliamentary Committee⁹ that is sitting. We can only lay down general principles. My information is that the Parliamentary Committee itself is taking a very reasonable view.

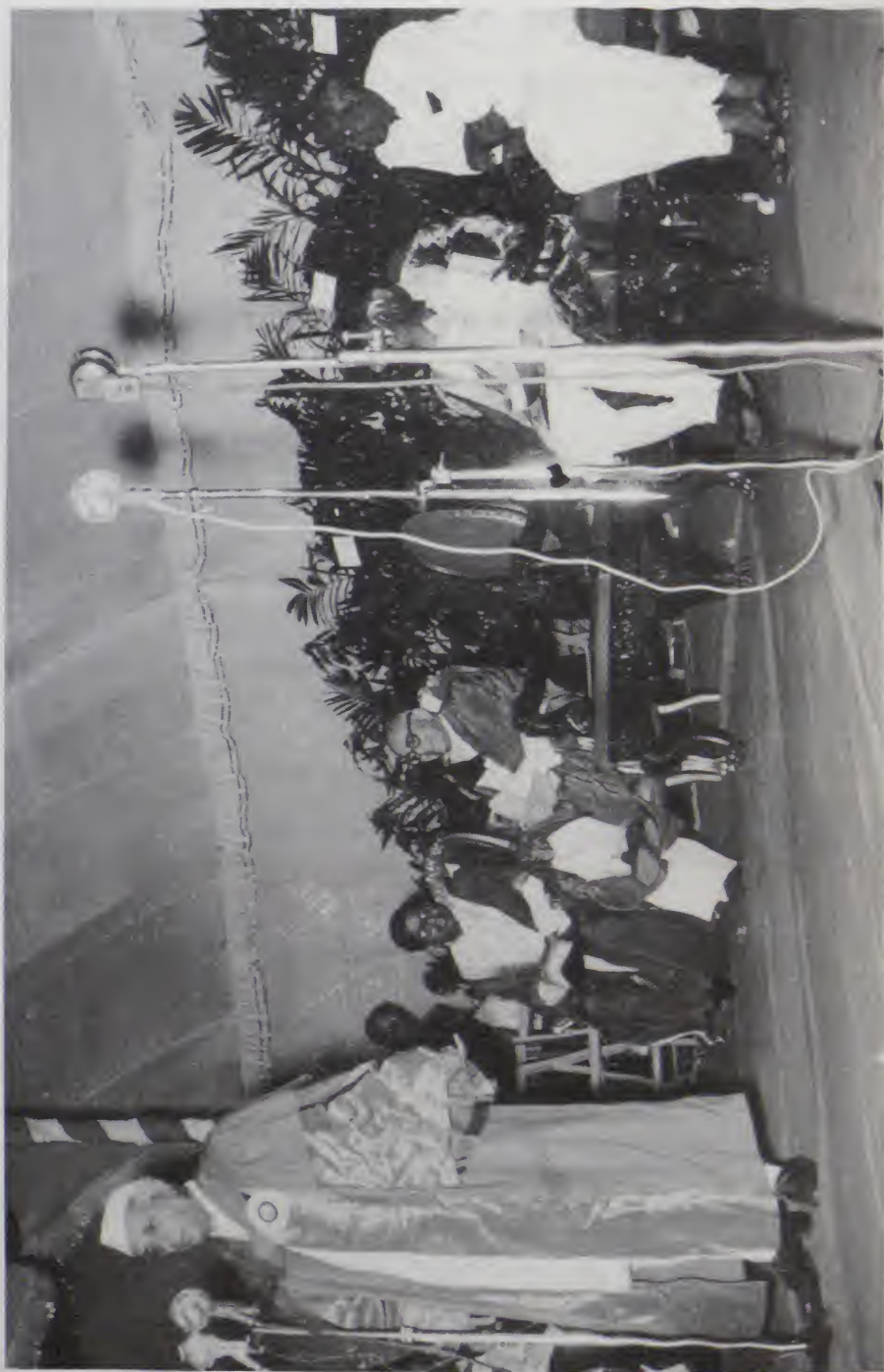
On many occasions, during the past two or three years, I have spoken about English and recommended that it should be widely taught and learned. In fact, I am all in favour of this being a compulsory second language in our schools at some stage or other. I attach importance to the widespread knowledge of English, and I expect that, oddly enough, there will be more English-knowing persons in the future in India than now. Probably, however, the quality of our English may suffer. It will suffer not because of Hindi, but because in future the medium of instruction will be the State language. Many of us had English for our medium of instruction. This can hardly be repeated in the future, and it is because of this I say that the quality of English will suffer, even though it may be more widely known. Of course, individuals may maintain the quality also.

It is one thing to encourage the learning of English widely because of its importance in many ways. If it is so encouraged, it will, of course, be used also. But it is another thing to lay down, as you have suggested, English as our national language for all India purposes. That, I think, has two major disadvantages. One may be called sentimental, although it is much more than that. You know that I am partial to English. But I have been gravely embarrassed in every foreign country I have been to, other than the English-speaking ones, by the surprise I have seen in peoples' faces at our use of English between ourselves. This is the thing which no foreigner understands, and it seems to

9. The reference is to the Joint Parliamentary Committee constituted to consider the report of the Official Language Commission.



AT THE TAGORE CENTENARY COMMITTEE MEETING, NEW DELHI, 10 MARCH 1958



INAUGURATING THE FORTY-FIFTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, MADRAS, 6 JANUARY 1958

them a symbol of our lack either of freedom or of our not possessing any real and worthwhile language of our own. However much we may use English—and I have no doubt we shall do so in many ways because of its importance—I cannot understand how we can give it the official status in India which you have suggested.

The second reason is that English, however widely known in India, cannot be a language of the masses. If we give an official place to English almost permanently, we shall be cutting ourselves off from our masses. There will be two divisions of our people: the English-knowing ones and those who do not know English. I do not think this is desirable from any point of view, including that of our national progress.

You will see from the resolution we have passed in the Subjects Committee that we have laid stress on scientific and technical terms being adapted from international terms and being more or less similar in our own languages. This means that in regard to such terms we shall have a common basis with English. That itself gives a very important place to English in a domain which is of growing importance and which in the future will cover a great part of our national life and activities. Thus from a variety of points of view we have assured a permanent place for English in India. To go further than this is, I think, to do grave injury, both practical and psychological.

The question of giving a date for the changeover or replacement is of course important and there should be no hurry about it. But even if some such date was fixed later on, I have no doubt that English will continue as an alternative language for use for a considerable period of time after that. No one is going to ban English for that purpose. My own view is that no language should be banned. The purpose of language is to be understood and to reach the people.

Your suggestion that Part XVII of the Constitution¹⁰ be deleted is one which seems to me to be a very harmful one, and one which would create a furore over a great part of the country. It would immediately invite all kinds of disruptive elements to raise their heads. It would upset not only that part of the Constitution, but the whole Constitution, and everything would be in the melting pot.

I cannot presume to suggest that the arguments I have advanced will convince you, though I hope they will. But I can assure you that there is no desire on the part of any responsible person that I know of to take a step which

10. Article 343 of Part XVII of the Constitution reads: “(i) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script”... and “(ii) for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union....”

puts the slightest burden on people in South India. Every step that may be taken in the future will have to be taken with their consent and goodwill and, of course, keeping in view the practical aspects of the question. If once we get tied up with a passionate approach to this problem and each party takes an extreme view, then this question, like any other, will become much more difficult to deal with. We have tried our utmost to take it away from that plane, and yet, at the same time, suggested a way which seems to me fair and reasonable.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To S. Chellaswamy¹

Gauhati
January 17, 1958

Dear Shri Chellaswamy,²

Thank you for your letter of the 15th January,³ which has just reached me.

Only today, the Congress Subjects Committee adopted a resolution on this language question. This was adopted unanimously, delegates from all the South Indian States as well as other non-Hindi-speaking areas voting for it. In fact, the resolution was moved by a delegate from Andhra and supported by delegates from Mysore and other places.

1. File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS.
2. S. Chellaswamy was the Convener of the Action Committee of the Union Language Convention, South India, Madras. The other members of the Action Committee were C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, C. Rajagopalachari, M. Ruthnaswamy, P.T. Rajan, P. Kodanda Rao and A. Subbiah.
3. Chellaswamy had written that the Union Language Convention, South India, had "unanimously decided that English should be continued as the Official Language of the Union" and "Chapter XVII should be deleted from the Constitution" to permit this. "Imposition of a decision", he warned, "by a majority vote" and without the willing consent of the non-Hindi-speaking people on the language issue, would be against the spirit of democracy. He stated that almost all the Southern States were unanimous in their view that English could not be replaced by Hindi.

You will, no doubt, have seen this resolution and perhaps also read the speech I made on that occasion.⁴ You will notice that any apprehensions that you and your colleagues might have had have been removed. There is no question of imposition and I agree with you that we must consider this matter on grounds of practical politics and utility. So far as English is concerned, we want to encourage it in every way and I expect it to become even more widely known than now. No step is going to be taken without the fullest consideration and consent of the people concerned. Further, that we feel that even when Hindi is used for Union purposes, English can also be used. In any event, we have stated quite clearly that nothing should be done in regard to Services or Administration which places people of non-Hindi areas at a disadvantage.

You will thus see that we have paid every consideration to the views expressed by some leaders in the non-Hindi-speaking areas and have tried to meet them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *post*, pp. 571-572 and 574-583.

4. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

Gauhati
January 17, 1958

My dear Sachar,²

Your letter of the 14th January. What I have said on the question of language and in regard to the controversy going on in South India has, of course, no reference to the position in the Punjab. I quite agree with reasons which induced you to make both Punjabi and Hindi compulsory in the Punjab. I am sure that is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Governor of Andhra Pradesh.

5. To S. Chellaswamy¹

New Delhi
January 22, 1958

Dear Shri Chellaswamy,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st January² which I have just received. I have read the various attached papers you have sent. May I say that I appreciate the decision you have taken in this matter?³ You can rest assured that there is going to be or can be no imposition. Whatever steps may be taken now or hereafter will have to be cooperative and with consent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS.
2. Chellaswamy wrote that Nehru's speech at the Gauhati Congress session on the language issue had "gone a great way towards allaying the fear and apprehension of the people of non-Hindi-speaking area. I am glad that you have clarified many of the points in your speech which have been unfortunately left vague in the resolution." He added that Nehru's practical approach "is greatly appreciated."
3. Chellaswamy resigned from the membership of the Action Committee of the Union Language Convention, South India, when the Committee on 19 January 1958 failed to accept the Congress compromise formula and the Prime Minister's clarification and assurance and insisted that "English alone should continue as the official language and all efforts should be made for the deletion of Chapter XVII of the Constitution."

6. Jan Sangh's Opposition to Urdu¹

Please reply to this letter² from the Jan Sangh. Tell them that I am surprised to read what they have written about the Urdu language and the Urdu Conference. They should remember that Urdu is one of the national languages listed in our Constitution. It is a special language of India which has found its birth and growth in India. It is spoken by millions of people, including large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs, apart from Muslims. As President of the Sahitya Akademi, it is my function to encourage all the languages of India, including Urdu. A large number of newspapers in Delhi, Punjab, UP and some other parts of India are

1. Note to C.R. Srinivasan, Private Secretary, New Delhi, 24 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not available.

published in Urdu. Even newspapers associated with the policies of the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha are published in Urdu. There is nothing communal about a language recognized by our Constitution. To oppose it, however, is definitely communal and anti-national.

7. Encouragement to Urdu¹

Please reply to this letter² as follows:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 3rd February. Normally, it is his practice not to deal with any person who threatens a hunger strike, as he considers this kind of threat or practice highly objectionable and not to be encouraged.

However, he has asked me to tell you that you are under some misapprehension about Urdu. It is true that in some States, Urdu is not encouraged fully as it should be. So far as the Government of India's policy is concerned, Urdu is one of the recognized national languages to be encouraged in every feasible way. The national literary academy, the Sahitya Akademi, has done much to encourage Urdu and gives prizes for notable books in Urdu. So far as the State Governments are concerned, a number of them give every facility for Urdu in their schools and elsewhere. Opinions might differ as to the extent of these facilities, and the Prime Minister himself would like in some cases greater facilities to be given, but to say that Urdu is being suppressed as a language is completely wrong.

The Prime Minister is anxious to encourage Urdu and, in fact, is presiding over the Urdu Conference in Delhi to be held on the 15th February.³

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 8 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.
3. For Nehru's speech at the Urdu Conference, see the succeeding item.

8. Urdu is Sure to Flourish¹

Our approach should not be to oppose any language but to persuade others to learn the languages they do not know. The approach to ensure the growth of a particular language at the cost of other languages is wrong. To think that the progress of one language will retard the growth of another language is equally wrong. So far as the growth of Urdu is concerned, personally I am not much worried about it. It will undoubtedly flourish and develop gradually. It cannot be suppressed.

In the past, passions had been roused in the name of language. It was thought that the state can either help or suppress the growth of a language. But it is not so. Sometimes state suppression of a language has the reverse effect. Of course, state paves the way for progress. Languages flourish by their own strength and vitality. Urdu too, if it has these qualities—I think, it has many of them—will have its own place. It is one of the fourteen languages recognized by the Constitution and it cannot be suppressed. About three thousand five hundred books have been published in Urdu in India since Independence. This is quite a big thing. I am not aware of such a large number of books having been published in any other language during the same period.

Besides the constitutional provision for Urdu and other languages, the Government has stated that education should, as far as possible, be imparted through the mother tongue of the students. Even in the North East Frontier Agency, where many hill languages are spoken, arrangements have been made to impart education through those languages. Those whose mother tongue is Urdu should get education through Urdu. It is the duty of local bodies to make arrangements for imparting education through the language of the local people.

In States like Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab and Bihar, where a considerable number of people speak Urdu, opportunities must be provided for the study of that language. Formally and constitutionally, there is no bar on the study of Urdu but, of course, in practice sufficient attention has not been paid to its development and proper opportunities have not yet been made available. This is bad. It will be a sad day if any of the country's languages fade out, as every one of them has contributed to the literature and culture of the country. It

1. Inaugural speech at the All India Urdu Conference, New Delhi, 15 February 1958. From *The Hindustan Times*, *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 16 February 1958.

The three-day conference was held under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, to discuss the ways and means to preserve and develop Urdu. About 600 delegates from various parts of the country attended the conference. Dr Tara Chand, an eminent historian and Urdu scholar, presided over the inaugural session.

should be remembered that the progress of one language influences the growth of other languages.

In the South, especially in the Madras State, some people are agitating over the issue of official language. These people who speak Tamil—one of the oldest languages in the country which should prosper along with other languages—want that English should be the official language for all times to come. Well, I have no enmity with English, I have love for it. I have been educated in this language and it is one of the richest languages of the world. I want people to love it and learn it. However, to say that English should be learnt is one thing, but to say that it should be made the national language is something quite different. How can I accept this?

I disagree with the demand that the State documents should be published in Urdu along with other languages. If two or three languages are spoken in a State, then they should be published in all those languages. But it is not at all necessary that all the official documents should be published in all the fourteen languages recognized in the Constitution. Doing so would be absurd and costly.

9. To Salim Ali¹

New Delhi

February 19, 1958

My dear Salim Ali,²

Thank you for your letter of February 18 and the pamphlets you have sent. I like these pamphlets and I think they have been very well produced. I am sorry and somewhat distressed to learn that the Hindi editions have had very small sale. Will you please send a set of the Hindi editions to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. I am writing to them separately about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Ornithologist and President, Bombay Natural History Society.

10. To Mirza M. Ismail¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1958

My dear Mirza Saheb,²

N.R. Pillai³ has sent on to me your letter of the 19th February.⁴

The question of language in India has become so much wrapped in emotion that it is difficult to consider it objectively or briefly. Since, however, you have been good enough to write, I shall indicate my own views on this.

I agree with you that we should endeavour to build up what is called Hindustani, that is something that is not Sanskritized Hindi or Persianized Urdu. We call this Hindi now, whatever its content might be, because this is not only laid down in our Constitution but the word is generally used in many parts of the world and is simpler than Hindustani. But the content should be what you have indicated.

So far as education is concerned, it seems to me inevitable that the medium for the schools will be the regional language. I should like, however, English to be a compulsory second language. In colleges, etc., I suppose it is inevitable that the regional language should be used more and more, though English will naturally have a very prominent place, more especially in regard to scientific, technical and like subjects. I do not think it is possible to lay down any hard and fast rule as to what should be done through the regional language and what through English in regard to higher education. I have no doubt that English will be necessary for a considerable period as a supplement to any teaching in the regional language. To have a passionate argument about dates, etc., is neither necessary nor helpful. We should adopt a flexible approach. I feel, however, that whatever our inclinations might be, it is not only inevitable but desirable also for stress to be laid on the regional language. Through no other language can you reach the inner mind of large numbers of people. I imagine that in the

1. Mirza M. Ismail Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Former Dewan of Mysore State and former Prime Minister of Jaipur and Hyderabad States.

3. Secretary-General, MEA.

4.. Ismail had suggested that (i) Hindustani, which was midway between Sanskritized Hindi and Persianized Urdu, should be built up as a common language without any insistence on fixing any date for the replacement of English and without impinging on the other languages; (ii) English should continue to be taught in schools and colleges; (iii) in subordinate government offices, particularly for revenue work, regional languages should be used; and (iv) in the Secretariats of the States and at the Centre, English should continue to be used as the official language.

future, with the spread of education, English will be far more widely known in India than it has been in the past. It is true, however, that the standard of English is not likely to be as high as it has been in the past for a relatively small number of persons in India. Individuals will no doubt specialize English also in the future.

As for the official language, this really means the language of communication with foreign countries by the Central Government and the language of interstate communication. If we adopt more or less officially English as our language for this purpose, I think that this will perpetuate a division between our internal work and external work. Also this seems to me to be psychologically wrong. In fact, apart from the English-speaking countries, all the other countries deal with us in their own languages, though they are good enough to send English translations sometimes. Some of them have even told us that they would prefer for our communications to be sent to them in Hindi rather than in English. Some of our formal communications, such as letters of accreditation, etc., have been sent in Hindi to them for some years now. Some foreign dignitaries coming here now actually bring Hindi interpreters with them who do not even know English. This practice is likely to increase.

It seems to me that here also we should be flexible. I cannot conceive of India officially adopting English, but I can conceive and would encourage English to be used whenever necessary as an alternate language. Thus, for a certain period English will continue as now. For another period, it will be an alternate or necessary language for such communications. We should see how matters develop then and come to further decisions.

While English, of course, is today the most important and widespread world language, we must remember that some other languages are rising in importance both from the international point of view and the scientific and technological. We have to learn other languages also.

You will observe that while I attach a good deal of importance to certain approaches, I want to be as flexible as possible and not to impose anything. If we approach these questions quietly and objectively as well as pragmatically, I have no doubt we shall adjust ourselves to changing conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I forward a letter from Mushtaq Ahmad.² You know that I feel rather strongly about this matter. I understood from you that you also agreed that Urdu should be one of the languages of the Delhi State.³ I hope that some time before long this might be announced.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (132)/57-60-PMS.
2. Mir Mushtaq Ahmad (b. 1915); participated in individual satyagraha and Quit India Movement; Member, Delhi State Assembly, 1952-56; President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, 1963-66; Chief Executive Councillor, Metropolitan Council of Delhi, 1966-67, and its Chairman, 1972-77.
3. Replying on 23 March, Pant informed Nehru regarding Mir Mushtaq Ahmad's proposal to declare Urdu as a regional language for Delhi in the light of the Delhi Language Advisory Committee's unanimous recommendation. But he doubted "however if it would be just the proper time for making any declaration whether about Hindi or Urdu," since the question of language was delicate and controversial. He also wrote that Urdu was being used freely in courts and offices in Delhi and there had been no objection or difficulty on this score.

12. To Mirza M. Ismail¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Mirza Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of February 27.² It was good of you to write to me at some length.

1. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Ismail wrote on 27 February stating that he appreciated Nehru's attitude on the language issue. He added that the Hindi spoken by Mahatma Gandhi at his prayer meetings and by Nehru at public meetings should be the official language and not the "stilted, artificial language" used by the AIR. Ismail further stated that making Hindi now the official language was "far too daring" because of the partiality for English among the influential educated circles not only in the South but also in Bombay and UP. He felt that English should "continue to be the official language of the Union Government and play its useful part as a unifying and cementing force."

I shall not pursue this argument. It may be that we do not wholly agree.³ But I do not think that our differences are very great. As I have told you, I do not wish to hustle things and I believe in a flexible approach which is adapted to changing conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Ismail had written that there was no doubt that going slow in regard to the language issue was the right policy when there was so much disharmony in the country but the general complaint was that practice was at variance with policy and Hindi, in fact, was being imposed in devious ways and by various methods. He added that a feeling of resentment was thus created against it and the Government.

13. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1958

My dear Mahtab,²

Your letter of the 3rd March,³ enclosing a letter from Rajaji.⁴ I am afraid it is quite impossible to argue with Rajaji now on this subject. He has developed a passion and has quite ceased to be objective or detached. He talks about the *panchmoh*, the five delusions. It is easy to retort that he is suffering from various *mohs*.

1. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Orissa.
3. Mahtab had enclosed Rajagopalachari's reply to his memorandum on the issue of language.
4. In his letter of 9 February 1958 to Mahtab, Rajagopalachari termed the Hindi plan a 'grave error'. He saw the plan suffering from five 'delusions' and went on to enumerate them: English was the gateway to modern knowledge and the first delusion was to regard it foreign. The second was to make Hindi the language of the Union though it was only the language of a few States. The third was to regard Hindi good and rich enough for official work at the Centre. The fourth delusion was the Hindi-speaking people's hope that Hindi would one day become the spoken language of all Indians. It issued from the Hindi-speaking people's love of their language. The fifth and the last was the hope that one Union language would produce unity.

I realize that some Hindi protagonists often misbehave, although I must say that they have been very quiet of late, and all the aggressiveness has come from the other side.

Nobody denies the importance of the English language. I am sure it will spread more in the future than in the past. Nobody wants forcibly to impose Hindi. We have also made it clear that English will continue as an inevitable accessory language. For the rest, we want events to shape themselves. Our attitude is a flexible one, though certainly it aims in a particular direction. I really do not understand all this excitement.

But, quite apart from the merits of the case, Rajaji's approach and the new contacts he is developing, seem to me most unfortunate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Use of Simple Hindi in Official Work¹

Some questions in Parliament are put in Hindi. Answers to them are also in Hindi. These answers are usually drafted in a language which it is difficult for most people to understand. I have repeatedly drawn attention to this, but it has produced practically no result. Today, there was an answer to a question addressed to the Education Ministry. This was in the Lok Sabha. Hardly anybody understood it and in fact there was general laughter in the House.²

I wish you would address all the Ministries and Departments on this subject and point out to them that the type of Hindi that is being evolved in our Ministries is stilted, unnatural and difficult to understand. This is not so much the fault of the translator as he tries to be literal and faithful, and probably takes words from a dictionary when in doubt. I do not know what can be done about it, but surely some attempt at least should be made to write in simple language. Technical words should normally be given in English unless there are well known equivalents. The cause of Hindi is being hurt much more by this exhibition than almost by anything else.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 12 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Mono Mohan Das, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, replied to a question about the establishment of two centres in the Central Himalayas and the North-Western Himalayas for research on biophysics, high altitude biology, cosmic rays, glaciology, meteorology, etc.

15. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
March 18, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

Shriman Narayan³ has sent me the attached copies of Hindi news bulletins issued by the AIR. He himself writes a great deal in Hindi. But even he has found it difficult to follow the Hindi news bulletins, how much more others. He says in his letter to me that it is very necessary that the Hindi style of the AIR is simplified as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
3. General Secretary of the Congress and Member of the Planning Commission.

16. A Common Spoken Language¹

Perhaps, we might pass on to some newspaper the following extract from an introduction which Shri Rajagopalachari wrote in a book in 1928,² in which he pleaded for a common language in India.

Can the deliberations of the Central Assembly and the transactions of the high officers of State and others exercising authority in the Central Government be permitted to be done in English? Obviously not, if we desire democracy to be true in fact as well as in form—if we do not want educated men to be appointed to places of power and influence and conduct their affairs apart from the people and the electorate. To make popular control real, the State language must be one spoken and understood by large masses of people. Hindi is bound to be the language of the Central Government and the Legislature and also of the Provincial Governments in

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Personal Secretary, New Delhi, 20 March 1958. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. *Hindi Prachar Pustak Mala* No.7, published by the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha in February 1928.

their dealings with each other and with the Government of India.... No less important than political reasons, the cultural unity of India demands the knowledge of a common spoken language. The South will be a dead branch of the tree, if it is not in living daily contact with the larger India, and here, too, we cannot rest on the English medium, which is bound to recede into the international background as India advances towards its goal.³

3. Mathai noted on 21 March 1958: "I have checked up with Shri K.S. Ramachandran of the PTI. He told me that this has appeared in full not only in *The Hindustan Times*, but in several other newspapers, including some English dailies of South India."

17. Aims and Objects of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha¹

The primary aim of the Sabha is to spread the written and spoken language of Hindustani or Hindi in both Devanagari and Urdu scripts, in conformity with the wishes of Gandhiji. It was his wish that the *Rashtra Bhasha* should be a mixture of what had come to be known as Hindi and Urdu which were basically the same language, though written in two scripts.

In furtherance of this aim and in order to help in developing the language as a medium of expression for the various elements of the composite culture in India, in particular, to spread the knowledge of Hindustani in both Hindi and Urdu scripts, the objectives of the Sabha will be:

- a. to found an Institute for the dissemination of the knowledge of Hindustani;
 - b. to trace the development of a common language and culture in order to encourage the growth of the national language;
 - c. to conduct research in the different languages of the country, and more particularly in the old forms of Hindi, Urdu, Rekhta² and allied forms of this language;
 - d. to undertake studies of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic languages and determine their relationship with each other and with the modern languages of India;
1. Draft sent to Morarji Desai, President, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, New Delhi, 24 March 1958. JN Collection.
Hindustani Prachar Sabha was founded by Mahatma Gandhi for propagating Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas.
 2. Rekhta is a Persianized form of Urdu that contains Persian, Arabic and Hindi words and was largely in use in the 17th and 18th centuries.

- e. to determine the interrelationship of the languages of India;
- f. to undertake publications in Hindustani in both the Devanagari and Urdu scripts as well as in other languages of India;
- g. to conduct examinations in Hindustani for the purpose of its propagation and dissemination;
- h. to award research fellowships and scholarships to deserving students; and
- i. generally, to take all measures for the promotion of the Sabha's aims and objectives.³

3. In the covering letter to this draft, Nehru sought Desai's opinion about the aims and objects of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

18. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi

March 26, 1958

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter to me of the 21st March.² I have naturally read it with care and with every desire to understand your viewpoint on the question of language. It may be that our differences on this subject are not quite as broad as would appear, but it does seem that they are fairly deep. I am not optimistic enough to be able to bridge this difference by convincing you of what I think is right and I doubt if I shall be convinced by you, even though I try hard.

It is true that I have not liked your activities over this issue. But, certainly, I do not want you or anyone to be silent over it. What I deeply regret is the approach made and the general manner of dealing with this problem. I hope you do not consider it impertinent of me to say so, but this whole manner has appeared to me not aimed so much to convince and to win over but rather to coerce. Inevitably, this produces contrary results. That is why I described it as

1. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Rajagopalachari had written that Hindi could not take the place of English and that it was wrong to think that Hindi would make the people feel the effect of democracy. He added that Hindi might increase the contact between the people of Hindi-speaking areas but in other areas it would have an opposite effect.

some kind of "cold war".³

If, to our misfortune and in spite of our efforts, disruption comes to India in the future, it will be more because of the disruptive tendencies that we encourage, and there are many. In Madras State there are some people and a well, organized group who even talk about a separate independent State of Tamil Nad. Anything more foolish I cannot imagine. Any attempt to bring this about will not only create disruption but civil war, because I think that any further division of India will never be tolerated by the great majority of our people. We have had enough experience of partition. I know very well that you are not in favour of this separate independent State in South India. But I do not remember you raising your powerful voice against it in the way you have raised it about the Union language.⁴

I am constrained to think that you are so angry with our Government and its policies as well as the National Congress that this colours many of your views on other subjects. I am well aware of our numerous failings in Government and in the Congress. But still I have thought and still think that we serve some useful purpose in the present stage of our development. Anything else might spell immediate disruption and even chaos.

I do not agree with some of the recommendations of the Official Language Commission and I shall endeavour, to the best of my ability, to get them changed. I think we shall succeed in that. Indeed, the Congress resolution on language, passed at the recent Gauhati session indicates our line of approach. That resolution is by no means complete or detailed. It seemed to us that when a Parliamentary Committee was considering this matter, it would be an act of impropriety on our part to lay down detailed provisions and try to impose them on it. But we gave enough indication in that resolution to guide the Committee and the public. We gave enough importance to English. We tried thus to educate public opinion so that the changes to be made might be brought about without any appearance of coercion. You know that if people thinking differently on this question dig in their toes and close their minds, then there is no hope of a peaceful or cooperative solution. Therefore, even though we might have strong views, the approach

3. During the discussion on Budget in the Lok Sabha on 18 March, Nehru said: "What troubles me is this disruptive spirit. And, may I refer to a person whom, I am sure, the whole House respects very greatly, one of our seniormost members in India, who has held the highest offices in the State, who has been a crusader for many good causes? Now, he is carrying on a cold war on the language issue in the South".
4. Rajagopalachari replied on 28 March 1958 that DK and DMK were "separatists" and "everyone in the land... knows I am against it and totally disapprove of it." He clarified: "If I have not raised my voice against it in public platform it is because I do not wish to give that recognition to it which my opposition would carry by implication."

should be a milder and a more flexible one.

It has seemed to me that the real and basic change that is being brought about in India is not the gradual substitution of English by Hindi but the growth and use of our regional languages. These regional languages will be the media of instruction and will be used for governmental work. It is they that will replace English basically. Whether this will be a good development or not may be argued. But it is an inevitable development which will powerfully affect the status of English in India. English has flourished here chiefly because it was the medium of instruction as well as of our official and public work.

The so-called conflict between English and Hindi is a relatively minor aspect of this broader question. Neither of these two languages will be the medium of instruction in non-Hindi-speaking areas. They will be secondary languages, the basis of education and work being the regional language. It may be that this basis itself may create problems for us, but they have to be faced. I have no doubt that the regional language is essential for the growth of our people and they cannot fully develop through English or through Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas.

I have no doubt also that Hindi or indeed any other Indian language is not at present developed enough to serve the numerous purposes of the State. Apart from the literary aspect, today a language has to deal with a vast, new and ever-growing field in science and technology and all that flows from them. This process has continued for the last century or two at an ever-growing pace. Today, the pace is terrific and no language which is not fitted for use for scientific and technical purposes can serve fully a national purpose, if that nation wants to keep abreast of modern thought and activities. Therefore, it becomes essential for us for a very considerable time to have a good knowledge of foreign languages which can serve this purpose. It is clear that of all the great foreign languages, English serves us better than any other. We shall, therefore, have to continue English as an important language. But, I think, it is important that other foreign languages should also be known fairly widely in India.

In the Gauhati resolution on language, this aspect has been emphasized and indeed it has further been stated that our scientific and technical terms should approximate to international terminology. In this way we have in fact indicated that we should incorporate in our languages a great and ever-growing bulk of terms and phrases from international usage. Naturally, this will have to be more or less from English. Further, these will be or should be common in the Indian languages, thus bringing them nearer to each other in this vast field of human knowledge and practical use.

I cannot, and I doubt if anybody can, prophesy what the future will bring to

us or to the world. Recent scientific developments have opened out enormous vistas of change, if not progress, and we cannot escape them. We have to keep abreast of this thought and activity and adapt ourselves to them without, I hope, losing touch with our roots. It is necessary, therefore, to have a flexible approach to almost all our problems and avoid a dogmatic one not only in religion but in other aspects of human life.

The Gauhati resolution presents this flexible approach and we have repeatedly said that there can be no imposition of Hindi or any other language. Whatever the dates might be fixed, the fact remains that practical considerations will prove more important than dates. Therefore, I imagine that English will inevitably continue to be used as an additional language even when we are using Hindi for Union purposes. If this is so, then it can be no burden to any non-Hindi-speaking area. We have separately said that in examinations for public services and the like, Hindi should not be made a subject in which it is essential to pass. After entry into the public service, it will certainly be necessary to learn Hindi as it will be necessary for some people to learn other languages in accordance with the territory where they serve. It may be that this may give a slight advantage to Hindi. Even today a person in our Administrative Service, who is serving in a Hindi-speaking area, has to learn that language. If Hindi or Tamil or Bengali or any other Indian languages are not considered sufficiently adapted for some kinds of work, well, English will continue to be used for that purpose.

No one claims or should claim that Hindi is a highly developed language or is more developed than other Indian languages. It is certainly in a formative stage. But it is a fact that it covers in its various forms a great part of India. Further, as Urdu, it covers Pakistan. Even beyond Pakistan, and in the caravan routes of Central Asia, Urdu is a useful language to know. Thus, through Hindi and Urdu, including the scripts, we pass on to vast areas beyond India.

You know that I am very fond of English and there is not a trace of animus against it in my mind. I want it to continue in India and I have pressed for English to be a compulsory language in our schools. But it is quite inconceivable to me for English to be declared as a national Union language of India. It hurts me and I can very well understand that if this is so in my case, how much more so it must be in the case of millions of people. Having travelled fairly widely in other countries, I know that their reaction to our adopting English formally would be one of enormous surprise and some contempt for India. No one outside, except in the English-speaking countries, will appreciate the reasons for it. In fact, they will insist on dealing with us in their own language or some of our languages and not in English.

I make a difference between English being adopted formally as our language

and English being widely used in education and even in other works. I envisage that English would be much more widely known in the future than it has been in the past, simply because more and more education will spread. I am, therefore, not at all worried about the future of English except, to some extent, about its quality. As it is, we have to suffer all kinds of English—American, Australian and others. In India we have already Punjabi English, Bengali English, Madras English and so on.

I have already written at some length. You will forgive me for this. I know that these long arguments do not carry one very far. But since you were good enough to write to me, I thought that I should open out, to some extent, my mind to you. While English will continue and perhaps in some ways much more than today, I do not want English by itself to be the link which binds India together. If we have no other adequate link, then we shall fail to preserve our unity.

You will forgive me for drawing your attention to what you yourself said about Hindi some thirty years ago as well as to what Gandhiji said on numerous occasions. Conditions are different today and we have every right to change our opinions. But surely one is entitled to say that what Gandhi said and what you said previously could not have been without some force and cannot be considered absurd even in the present context.⁵

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru forwarded a copy of his correspondence with C. Rajagopalachari to President Rajendra Prasad who agreed with his view that the real and basic change that was being brought about in India was not the substitution of English by Hindi but the replacement of English basically by the regional languages.

19. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
March 28, 1958

My dear Rajaji,

Two days ago, on the eve of my visit to Bombay, I wrote to you in reply to the letter you had been good enough to send me.² I see from the newspapers that you have made a reference in a speech³ to what I had said in Parliament about a "cold war" and the language question.⁴ You have expressed your opinion that this is an indication of authoritarianism on my part and inability to accept any criticism.

It is not for me to judge, of course, as to what my failings are, as they are many, but I have found it a little difficult to understand where authoritarianism comes into the picture, insofar as I am concerned. Nor have I been able to follow how this illustrates my being blind to criticism. I shall be glad if you will kindly enlighten me.

You have spoken on many occasions about this language question, not only in Madras, but elsewhere. I have refrained from saying anything in reply, except that very brief reference in Parliament to which you have referred. In my letter to you, I have ventured to point out how we have given careful consideration to what you have said and other criticism. It was partly because of this that we passed the Gauhati resolution.

Do you think it helps or clarifies issues by saying that a person who does not agree is authoritarian or blind to criticism? Surely, I would not be justified in saying this about you, even though you do not agree with me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. The reference is to Rajagopalachari's speech at a public meeting in Madras on 27 March 1958.

4. See *ante*, p. 300 fn 3.

20. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

March 30, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

A few days ago you were good enough to write to me about the question of language in Delhi. You pointed out that Urdu was in full use here as previously, and any formal step taken now might perhaps disturb a delicate situation.

My own impression is that Urdu is being progressively squeezed out of Delhi by the authorities, that is, chiefly the Municipality, etc. Even obvious indications like street names point in this direction. It seems to me extraordinary that in the old city of Delhi, the Urdu names of streets have been removed. In a place like Ballimaran where Hakim Ajmal Khan³ lived, and where most people know Urdu only, I am told that the Urdu name plate has gone.

This is just one thing to which I am drawing your attention. There are many other distressing symptoms of how a language of India, enshrined in the Constitution, and one in connection with which the city of Delhi was proud and famous, is being edged out.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (132)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

3. Leading Congressman and famous Unani physician of Delhi; President, Indian National Congress, 1921.

IV. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

1. Search for Truth: Address to Indian Science Congress¹

Mr President,² Mr Chancellor,³ Mr Pro-Chancellor,⁴ Vice Chancellor⁵ and distinguished scientists,

Every year I appear on the scene. I am invited by the Science Congress authorities and it has become some kind of a routine or a habit for them to invite me and for me to accept their invitation. It is easy to fall into these habits and difficult to break away from them. It is not quite clear what precise function I perform except that I hope to try and cheer you up a little and to indicate that the Government which I represent is favourably inclined to science and scientists. Perhaps, that is the principal virtue that I possess in this gathering. Nevertheless, I feel rather out of it in the sense that I do not want to come here really as Prime Minister—I would rather come in some other capacity; but if I was not the Prime Minister, the other capacity would not lead to an invitation. Anyhow, I come here and pretend to be a scientist and try to shine in the reflected glory of science. Even now, as I am standing before you, I am wearing a robe to which I have no right whatever. And I put it on my back. I do not think anyone in India, except those who are very strong, can wear it for long. I can assure you, it is the heaviest thing I have worn for many years. I am told it is an Oxford robe. Well, it may suit the climate of Oxford but does not suit the climate of Madras. Apart from that, I have not had the honour of going to Oxford. I have a fair selection of these various gowns and robes but Oxford is not among them. I do not mean to say that I am inviting the University of Oxford to provide me with one.

Anyhow, I come here because, honestly, I feel that by my coming I may not perhaps do much good to you but that I do good to others who are not here. I make many other people in India who might not be interested in science, think of it, and that is a worthwhile task. We are an odd country as all of you know. In most things we adopt extreme attitudes. We function sometimes in a way which was common a couple of thousand years ago. We still function like that, in some ways rightly and some ways wrongly. Every century is represented

1. Inaugural speech at the 45th session of the Indian Science Congress held at Madras University, Madras, 6 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. M.S. Thacker, Director, CSIR, was President of the Indian Science Congress.
3. P.V. Rajamannar, Acting Governor, Madras State.
4. C. Subramaniam; also Education Minister in the Madras Government.
5. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.

in India in some way or other, including the latest, the present. We talk of the latest techniques and of scientific discoveries, and indeed our scientists are successful in this pursuit. Yet some of our other practices are quite remote from science or anything like it. All our yesterdays bear down upon us, upon our todays, and try to push their way into our tomorrows, and yet, today and tomorrow change us and affect us. I suppose to some extent this is true of most countries. But in this country particularly, where we have both the privilege and the burden of a very long past, it is very obvious. We profit by the experience of that past; and we are also rather bogged down by its weight. Anyhow, science today has established itself in the minds of those who think of success in terms of some obvious material good that comes out of it.

We live in a world of science—we are the children of science, technology and all that. And, no doubt, the latest achievement of science—what is called the Sputnik—this first adventure of man's effort into the outer space has also suitably impressed millions of people in the world. Science is something which cannot be ignored. But even so, I think, most people—I am not referring to scientists—look upon science as some kind of a tool to further their own particular interests, their own particular ideas. It is a tool in the sense of technology coming out of it and adding to man's power to achieve things, what he wants. And in this way, though science does, of course, still function, it is rather distorted when it is sought to serve particular ends, particular beliefs and particular ideologies. There is no such thing, to my thinking, as capitalist science or communist science or any other science. Science is science, just like truth is truth. If you call it as capitalist truth or communist truth, well, it may be some fraction of truth. It is not the full truth. You are excluding things from it.

I referred to Sputnik. It has been an interesting experience to see the reactions of this on various people, various countries. Every scientist acclaimed it and, of course, others, as a great advance and something commendable and highly to be praised. Nevertheless, it is so tied up with other matters that it was considered from the point of view of politics and world conflicts and power conflicts. The essential nature of it, the scientific part of it, was rather covered up by this political or like aspects, which is unfortunate, and which led, in some people, to some reactions of fear: the terrible thing which can be turned into a weapon and may be used against us.

How should we look upon science? Although I may not be a scientist, I certainly hope I have approached this question in what I may call the temper of science. And apart from that, being a bit of pagan, my mind is open to all ideas. It does not reject any idea, unless after examination I do not find it good enough to accept it. That is a virtue of the pagan outlook. It is an open outlook.

It does not deny anybody's right to search for truth in his own way. It does not deny anybody his way of life. It does not try to impose one's ideas of truth or one's way of life on others unless they accept it gladly. Whether that is a virtue or not I do not know. I merely described it, but I think it is perhaps a certain way of looking at things which India has possessed together with many other bad things. And so, when you talk about science, what exactly do you mean, and what exactly are your approaches?

Certainly, we want science to be used for the betterment of human beings or humanity. Pure science is important because the search for truth is always important. Nevertheless, you want to apply it for the betterment of human beings. That is not only justified but it is right. On the other hand, if in the pursuit of that objective you make science and the pursuit of truth a kind of handmaids to set policies which you have in mind, political or other, then perhaps the temper of science is affected and the approach to science is not exactly what it should be. I am merely putting some ideas for your consideration because they come to me sometimes and trouble me. Suppose science becomes intimately tied up with various world conflicts today, becomes part of what is called the cold war. Well, apart from the cold war being not a thing that is desirable, it will be very bad for science if it is tied up in that way. So, one sees people sometimes praising science, of course, and at other times becoming very apprehensive because science has led to the discovery and use of tremendous powers of nature, whatever they are, which can be used for good or ill, which can produce terrible weapons of mass slaughter. Surely it is not the fault of science, it is the fault of the human beings who misuse science. Science is neutral; truth, I suppose, is neutral. It is truth. There is no question of its being positive or negative. There it is, everything together, and you can discover various aspects of it. So it is no good blaming science, because if you blame science, you can as well blame knowledge, all kinds of knowledge, because knowledge misused becomes dangerous. Yet we want knowledge, we want science. Instead of blaming science we should improve ourselves, get to know how to use it properly and not allow it to be misused.

Being a politician, naturally these problems come up before me, though not in the acute sense in which possibly they appear to others, who have to deal with them in a more concrete way. I have no hydrogen bomb or any other kind of nuclear weapon, nor am I thinking of one, nor am I likely to have one. So it does not worry me. But, nevertheless, it worries me that somebody else's hydrogen bomb may come down on my head. That is not particularly likely so far as my head or Indian heads are concerned—I admit that, because those who possess the hydrogen bomb have no particular hostility or animosity to us. They are friends in whichever camp they might be. Nevertheless, the fact

remains that we do live in an extraordinary age when the skies are filled continuously by hydrogen bombs being carried by jet planes, night and day. It is an extraordinary thought that even a slight accident, incident, madness, loss of nerve of the commander of the aircraft, might lead to terrible consequences. All this is done, I suppose, as a measure of precaution. It does seem very strange that we have been reduced to such straits as to take these enormous risks as a measure of precaution. So, it is no good blaming science for this. Science necessarily must go on, for the moment science ceases to go on, we become static and no doubt we shall decay, deteriorate. We have to adapt ourselves rather to the approach of science and to the ways of science and try to benefit by it and not use it for evil purposes. As to how that is to be done, I do not know.

The Vice Chancellor was telling us how this Science Congress started with six sections and then more and more sections were added. I wonder when this Science Congress will also have a section trying to probe into the ways of the human mind and the human spirit, and whether that attempt of scientists will meet with success, because obviously there has been some kind of a big lag between the achievements of science and the capacity of the human mind to adapt itself to them in the right way. Scientists, therefore, good folks as they are and very competent, may gradually develop something of the wisdom of the sage; something even of the compassion of the sage. Science, thus far I believe, does not deal with saintly things. Sometimes those who deal with them so often delude themselves and go astray, that it is rather dangerous to go along that path. Yet the fact remains that a good deal of wisdom is necessary and a good deal of compassion is necessary and not merely scientific discovery and achievement, good and essential as scientific achievement is. Perhaps we have come to a period when unless something is done in that spirit there might be very big disaster. Well, it is not for me or you from the Science Congress to do much in that respect but it is good at least to express ourselves and to think about it and thereby create some kind of opinion in its favour so that others who are in positions of greater authority may also be affected by these thoughts. I believe that millions and millions of people are thinking along these lines and there is no special virtue in my saying this here, although Indians, our countrymen, are in that habit—a bad habit—of imagining themselves more spiritual than others, which they are not. All that they do is to recite some old verses and call it spirituality—very good, very fine verses, full of wisdom. But mere recitation does not make one spiritual; it is the life that one leads which makes one spiritual. And we imagine that we have rather come down in the world in the last one thousand or two thousand years but how high up we were and we still are, so people think. That, I think, is sheer delusion. We have our virtues undoubtedly and some inner strength also. Otherwise we would not carry on in the way we

have done, and we should nourish that inner strength. But the fact is that the world—not India—has come up against a serious impasse, deadlock. And, it is not the scientists as such, although they can do much, who can deal with it by their experiments, but something that affects human mind and human emotions in the right direction.

We, in India, in our own generation have had experience of individuals who were not scientists but who had a powerful effect on people's minds, emotions, in the right way. Take Gandhiji, an amazing man, and in his own way a scientist, not with test tubes and laboratories, but human minds and hearts. There is even now a frail man wandering about on foot, Vinoba, standing out from all the rest of us. We may be prime ministers and governors and chancellors and vice chancellors and persons of high status, but somehow, sometimes we feel very small before a man like Vinoba, who is a very learned man but whose shining quality is compassion. And we see how these qualities are sometimes greater than all the learning we may possess, though we should have the learning also, of course. So I wonder that in the tremendous achievements of science—they are magnificent, they have done enormous good to humanity—have we not been lacking in some direction? And, must we not try to fill that lack, to make it more wholesome for the future?

I referred to the Sputnik, the great advance that the Russian scientists have made, a tremendous step forward. A great argument sometimes arises as to why, as to what the effect of it is, as to what there was in Russia that enabled them to do it, why did not other countries do it, and frantic attempts are made to do it. I have no doubt that other countries will produce these space satellites. If one country does it today, one batch of scientists, others will also do it too, given the facilities. Sometimes one may be a little ahead and sometimes the other. Nobody will think of this as a kind of rivalry except, unfortunately, for the political temper in which we live today. Otherwise everybody would have welcomed it and learnt from it and the other countries and other scientists would have gone ahead. Why do countries make progress in science? There are many reasons, but primarily, I suppose, because science is encouraged, science is considered important and scientists are respected and given due status, so that more and more people are attracted to science and out of that large reservoir the brighter people go ahead and geniuses come out. You cannot produce a genius obviously, but you can produce a large number of people, give them opportunities, and those who have the capacity will go ahead. And, I think, that essentially is what has happened in Russia—the Soviet Union—greater opportunities are being given to science and scientists. And any country which gives opportunities will achieve results. In America there are opportunities, of course, therefore, there have been great American scientists, and also great

scientists from England or Germany or France. But, so far as I know, in the Soviet Union probably far more opportunities have been given and are being given, and I am told that in the Soviet Union even the material rewards come more to the scientists than to almost anybody else. So there is all this encouragement.

So, the question of advancement of science, first of all, depends upon your decision, your feeling, that science is important. That must be there. And do not think of it merely in connection with providing you with some slightly new device to improve some technique so that you may make a little more money. That is very good and I have no objection to it, but do not look upon it as some kind of a tool merely to do this or that—it is something more vital and important. So you must consider that science, and the spirit and temper of science are important. If they are important, then they should be given an important place in your political, economic and social structures. Facilities should be given for the advancement of science, to the scientists and to the universities, wherever this work is done. And the scientists should be duly honoured and not considered some kind of a camp follower of some concern. This is the lesson which I think we should draw from all these recent events. One, that we should look upon and keep science apart from those political conflicts, cold wars and the like. Keep it apart so far as we can. Secondly, that science and scientists being neutral agents, should develop the quality of the sage and saint. It is a very difficult thing. Still, unless something of that quality comes, you are not quite fully grown into full human beings; none of us are, of course. We have all grown very lopsided. And thirdly, it is the function of the State to encourage science in the ways I mentioned, to encourage it not only because it is the right thing to do but even from a narrow opportunist point of view that it has become important to do so. If you do not, you get left behind, you get weak.

We are engaged in this country with what we call our five-year plans and we have to struggle hard because we are low down in the scale of things in regard to our methods of production and other things connected therewith. Whatever policy we adopt, we have to struggle hard. The question is what policy we should adopt which will give us the best results and as soon as possible. We experiment, we succeed, we fail, we try again in a better way and do not adhere too much to any rigid approach so as to profit by our failure as much as by our lack of success. It is a hard task. It can only be achieved by what might be called a scientific approach. And a planned approach means, after all, a scientific approach, a logical approach, a thought-out approach. Some people imagine that planning is something wrong and evil. They do not understand it. A particular plan may be good or bad, but planning is essential in human life. So we are trying to do it, and in doing that, therefore, while inevitably

others have to play their part, the scientists ought also to play their part fully, increasingly.

I know that our background in India has been different. It is changing, of course. It has been different because both science and technology have been backward here and have not been encouraged adequately. Now they are being encouraged to some extent. It has been thought here that all these mighty problems should be settled or solved by wise men sitting at the desks and writing long notes on big files. Well, sometimes that may be necessary but it seems to me that we will achieve more by the wise man either going to the field and doing a bit of digging, that is, if he is interested in agriculture, or doing something else instead of merely writing on files, which pertains to the administrator. So the emphasis in our country should gradually shift because in the type of society we seek to build that emphasis has to shift. It cannot be the old emphasis. Everybody recognizes that, of course. But, again, it is difficult to get out of our old habits. It is even more difficult to get the set methods of the countries, government, bureaucracy, call it whatever you like, to change. They should inevitably change because of pressure, and they are changing, and will change more. Here, anyhow, I have been trying to look at these problems that you have in this larger context. We suffer today, on the one hand, with a lack of trained personnel—engineers and the like, scientists and the like, and yet we have plenty of unemployment in our country. That shows a lack of proper organization and planning. Obviously, that cannot be done quickly. It takes time. However, I am not going to talk to you about all the problems we have.

I am here again to express, on behalf of myself and on behalf of my Government, our appreciation of the work being done in the scientific field in India by you and others who are not here, and I hope that this will increase, and we shall certainly try to help you to the best of our ability. I am very glad that distinguished foreign scientists have come here, both because we profit by meeting distinguished people, by hearing them, by talking to them, we broaden our own horizon, and also as an indication that so far as we are concerned the republic of science knows no frontiers or boundaries.

2. To C.V. Raman¹

New Delhi
January 25, 1958

My dear Professor Raman,²

Thank you for your letter of the 21st January.³ Immediately on receipt of it, I enquired into this matter as to the best procedure to be followed. I asked our Secretary General, N.R. Pillai,⁴ to meet Dr Ensminger, Representative of the Ford Foundation in Delhi.⁵ Dr Ensminger said that he had no doubt that the Foundation would gladly consider this request in the light of its resources and its defined scope of activities and that it would do so carefully and sympathetically. He added that the Foundation has dealt in the past directly with institutions in India desiring aid, and following this practice, he would suggest that you might write to him in the matter and he would then do his best. He added, however, it was not normal for the Foundation to make a grant for endowment purposes.⁶

I suggest, therefore, that you might write to Dr Ensminger of the Ford Foundation in Delhi. He knows that we are all interested in this Institute and would be glad if the Ford Foundation helps your Institute.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Physicist, Nobel Laureate, and Director, Raman Research Institute, Bangalore.
3. Raman had written to Nehru about an American Professor, who took it upon himself to try and obtain massive financial support from the USA for the development and working of the Raman Research Institute.
4. Secretary General, MEA.
5. Douglas Ensminger; rural sociologist; Representative of the Ford Foundation for India and Nepal, 1953-70.
6. It was suggested that the Ford Foundation might make a donation of a million dollars, half of it as endowment and the other half for developmental expenditure.

3. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear T.T.,²

Professor C.V. Raman, as you perhaps know, has been awarded the International Lenin Peace Prize. He has been invited to visit Moscow to receive the Prize personally. He is anxious to go there for this purpose and at the same time to avail himself of the opportunity to visit some other Research Centres elsewhere in Europe to meet the leading scientists there. He wants to leave India on the 15th March by sea and to return about the third week of June.

In the Soviet Union he will of course be the guest of the Government or of the scientific organizations there. Probably in Europe too he will often be somebody's guest. Nevertheless, some hotel charges and fares have to be paid.

The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research have sponsored this visit and have indicated that Dr Raman might require a foreign exchange equivalent of £750. How they have calculated this sum, I do not know. The steamer fares for the journey to Europe would be paid in India. The Ministry says that the Government of India will not be required to bear any part of the expenditure involved in the deputation of Dr Raman. I do not quite understand this, but I take it that it means only some foreign exchange is to be provided.

I think that we should help Dr Raman to go there. He is after all our leading scientist and it would be difficult for us to refuse him this help. All kinds of deputations are going abroad.

I should like your advice however before I deal with this matter any further.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

3. The Government of India agreed to arrange for the foreign exchange required for Professor Raman's visit to Moscow and to pay part of other expenses if required.

4. Exploit the Synergy¹

As you know, the Trombay Establishment of the Atomic Energy Department has done and is doing very good work in electronics. They have produced many types of electronic machines which are in use by them. Probably they have done much more practical work in this connection than Bharat Electronics.

2. I think it will be beneficial to both if they were more closely associated. I suggest that a representative of the Atomic Energy Department might be added to the Board of Directors of Bharat Electronics Ltd.²

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Union Defence Minister, New Delhi, 6 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru suggested this also at a Cabinet meeting on 5 February 1958.

5. Institute in Memory of Srinivasa Ramanujan¹

There are two matters which are not clear to me:-

- 1) There is already a Mathematics Department in the Madras University. Can there be another and a separate Mathematics Department called the Ramanujan Institute?
- 2) Is this Institute up to any standard that we would approve of? Is Shri Rajagopalan a first-class man on the subject?

Unless these points are clear, it is difficult to come to any decision. I am all for honouring the memory of Ramanujan.² But it is no honour to him to put up a second-class Department in a University and to call it after his name. I think these matters have to be considered carefully before we commit ourselves indefinitely for the future.

1. Note to M.S. Thacker, Director, CSIR, New Delhi, 25 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Srinivasa Ramanujan, a famous mathematician.

6. To Homi J. Bhabha¹

New Delhi
March 4, 1958

My dear Homi,²

You spoke to me today about the Heavy Water Plant at Nangal. I have enquired into this matter and indeed I mentioned this at a Cabinet meeting.³ I was told that both the Fertilizer Plant at Nangal and the Heavy Water Plant have already been given high priority. You can therefore proceed on this basis and give any assurance of this kind that may be necessary. We are ourselves prepared to tell the German Government of this should they enquire from us. In view of the new agreement arrived at with the German Government, it might not be difficult to arrange for deferred payment terms.

I do not know if you have met Dr Gyan Mohan, a scientist and a physicist, who has recently come back from the United States. I do not know him myself, but the President has spoken to me about him on more than one occasion and is much interested in him. Apparently, he was teaching in some university in the United States, but he is anxious to work in India. More particularly he is interested in research work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.
3. At a Cabinet meeting on 4 March 1958 Nehru said that a German firm was interested in offering a loan on deferred payment terms with regard to the plant and equipment for the heavy water plant at Nangal. The Cabinet agreed that apart from meeting internal requirements for the atomic energy programme, heavy water could easily be exported to foreign countries in return for valuable foreign exchange.

7. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi
March 8, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,²

I hope you met the leader of the Soviet Parliamentary Delegation³ and his colleagues. Some of them are eminent engineers. Among other points, one thing was specially mentioned to me by them. This was that the people that are being trained at Bhilai or elsewhere should not be lost sight of after Bhilai was completed. If once they disperse, then we will be heavy losers. We should, in fact, keep them in continuous employment. I entirely agree.

I have just seen a copy of a letter that G.L. Mehta⁴ has sent to you (dated February 25th) from Washington. The same point is raised in a different context. The Chairman of the American Institute of Iron & Steel, Fairless,⁵ has said that the people they are training must be assured of employment. Obviously, we must do so and we must make this clear to them even at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
3. A twelve-member Soviet Parliamentary delegation, led by Pavel Lobanov, President of the Supreme Soviet, arrived in New Delhi on 15 February 1958. The delegation, which was reciprocating a visit by an Indian Parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union in the previous year, stayed in India for three weeks, visiting developmental projects.
4. Indian Ambassador in USA.
5. Benjamin F. Fairless (1890-1962): Director, United States Steel (New Jersey), 1937; Member, Iron and Steel Industry Advisory Committee of War Production Board; Vice-President, American Iron and Steel Institute; Member, Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh and New York; President of United States Steel Corporation, 1938-51, Chairman of the Board, 1951-55 and its Director, 1955-1961.

8. To A.N. Khosla¹

New Delhi
12th March 1958

My dear Khosla,²

I have seen your letter of March 8 to Srinivasan³ and have read Dr Malti's⁴ letter⁵ to me with great interest. The approach he suggests is a fascinating one and I would certainly like it to be adopted by us. The question is how we should proceed about the matter.

You say that the University of Roorkee will help. Could you not forward some specific proposals to this end? Take the two suggestions made by Dr Malti—that of an electrometer and dies to cut electrical laminations or stamp various articles of manufacture.

I am sending a copy of Dr Malti's letter to the Ministries of Commerce & Industry and Community Development.

Malti refers to some suggestions he made to you in 1955 about establishing a fractional horsepower motor course at Roorkee.⁶ He adds that you acted on this idea and developed a workable scheme, sending reports to Government here. It appears, according to him, that no action was taken although they were sent two years ago. Could you send me some particulars of these reports and also let me know if in fact you are training men at Roorkee in the designing and manufacture of fractional horsepower electric motors.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (291)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Vice Chancellor, University of Roorkee.

3. C.R. Srinivasan, Private Secretary to Nehru.

4. Michel George Malti (1895-1975); American electrical engineer; known for his work in circuit analysis; taught at Cornell University till 1962; spent his sabbaticals at University of Puerto Rico, 1947, and University of Roorkee, India, 1955-57.

5. Malti wrote that the innate ability of Indian craftsmen to produce fine accurate work requiring patience could easily be used for the manufacture of products needed in industry and scientific research requiring these attributes.

6. According to Malti, the objective of the course was to train men in the design and manufacture of fractional horsepower electric motors and to provide work for the village nearby.

9. Production of Heavy Water, a High Priority¹

When I mentioned this matter in the Cabinet, the Minister of Commerce and Industry² and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission³ both said that the Nangal Fertilizer Plant and the Heavy Water Project had been assigned the highest priority. Other Ministers present agreed with this. It was pointed out that the production of heavy water was not only essential for our atomic energy programme but was an investment, as there was a great demand for heavy water elsewhere and we could sell it at a considerable profit and thus gain foreign exchange. In fact, we had already received enquiries from some countries in Europe about our capacity to sell them heavy water later.

Thus the question of the quantity of heavy water that we should produce does not arise and we should try to produce even more than we ourselves might require.

After the Cabinet meeting, I informed Dr Bhabha of our views, that is, that we were treating this matter as one of high priority. He has, I believe, informed the Chairman of the Nangal Fertilizer Project.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 12 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Lal Bahadur Shastri.
3. V.T. Krishnamachari.

10. Supply of Thorium to the International Atomic Energy Agency¹

Ila Palchoudhuri:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that India has offered to supply thorium to the International Atomic Energy Agency; and
- (b) if so, the details of the offer?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The International Atomic Energy Agency have been informed that Government are prepared to arrange, on conditions to be agreed between them, for the supply of thorium in the form of a suitable compound or metal. As the supplies to the Agency will have to be made from

1. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 13 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 4679-4680.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Nabadwip, West Bengal.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

current production and not from any stockpile now in existence, adequate notice of the Agency's requirements has been asked for in order to permit appropriate planning of production schedules. The quantities to be supplied and the schedule of delivery will be determined only after the Agency's requirements are known. There has been an exchange of correspondence with the Director General of the Agency, and details have not yet been finalized.

Ila Palchoudhuri: May I know if any Indian will have the facility of working or getting training in this International Atomic Agency?

JN: I cannot understand that question. The International Atomic Agency is an office, an international office where various countries have their representatives; our country too. They do not dig for atomic energy there or prepare it. It is an office, an agency. The work is done in different countries. There are plenty of Indians working in India, and Indians are important members in the International Agency.

Nemi Chandra Kasliwal:³ The honourable Prime Minister was pleased to mention that he has offered to supply thorium to this agency. May I know whether any other special fissionable material has been offered to be deposited with this agency?

JN: By other countries?

Nemi Chandra Kasliwal: By India—any special fissionable material.

JN: No, Sir. The only thing we have offered is thorium, because we possess large quantities of it. We do not possess large quantities of the other things. Therefore, we do not offer them.

3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kotah, Rajasthan.

11. Scientific Policy Resolution¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Government of India, Scientific Policy Resolution No. 131/CF/57, dated the 4th March 1958.

I shall read it out because we consider this Resolution as an important one, defining our attitude to science and technology, generally.

The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies, in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors, technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for a deficiency in natural resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its applications.

The dominating feature of the contemporary world is the intense cultivation of science on a large scale, and its application to meet a country's requirements. It is this which, for the first time in man's history, has given to the common man in countries advanced in science, a standard of living and social and cultural amenities, which were once confined to a very small privileged minority of the population. Science has led to the growth and diffusion of culture to an extent, never possible before. It has not only radically altered man's material environment but, what is of still deeper significance, it has provided new tools of thought and has extended man's mental horizon. It has thus influenced even the basic values of life and given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism.

It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of recognition of this possibility that the idea of a welfare state has grown. It is characteristic of the present world that the progress towards the practical realization of a welfare state differs widely from country to country in direct relation to the extent of industrialization and the effort and resources applied in the pursuit of science.

The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend on the effective utilization of its human and material resources through industrialization. The use of human material for industrialization demands its education in science and training in technical skills. Industry opens up possibilities of greater fulfilment for the individual. India's enormous resources of manpower can only become an asset in the modern world when trained and educated.

Science and technology can make up for deficiencies in raw materials by providing substitutes or indeed by providing skills which can be exported in

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 13 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 4736-4739.

return for raw materials. In industrializing a country, a heavy price has to be paid in importing science and technology in the form of a plant and machinery, highly paid personnel and technical consultants. An early and large-scale development of science and technology in the country could, therefore, greatly reduce the drain on capital during the early and critical stages of industrialization.

Science has developed at an ever-increasing pace since the beginning of the century, so that the gap between the advanced and backward countries has widened more and more. It is only by adopting the most vigorous measures and by putting forward our utmost effort into the development of science that we can bridge the gap. It is an inherent obligation of a great country like India, with its traditions of scholarship and original thinking and its great cultural heritage, to participate fully in the march of science, which is probably mankind's greatest enterprise today.

The Government of India have accordingly decided that the aims of their scientific policy will be:

- (i) to foster, promote, and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied, and educational;
- (ii) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognize their work as an important component of the strength of the nation;
- (iii) to encourage, and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry and defence;
- (iv) to ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity;
- (v) to encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge, in an atmosphere of academic freedom;
- (vi) and, in general, to secure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge.

The Government of India have decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according to them an honoured position, by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time.

12. Economic Progress through Atomic Revolution¹

It is necessary that Members of Parliament should be kept in touch with these developments in atomic research, apart from a, well, relatively minor matter but very important, we are spending fairly considerable sums of money on it and Parliament is always interested, and should be interested of, how monies are spent. The really important aspect is, a future potentiality of all this. It is not merely for show that we are doing it, that we are good at atomic energy—that would be absurd, but really because we are laying the foundations of our future economic progress, apart from scientific progress, by this. It may not bring results in the economic region for a few years; that is a different matter. And it is a very odd thing that while in many ways we are, well, more or less a backward nation from the point of view of economic development, and we still live, more or less, in the cow-dung age, as I said one day, we are trying to jump from the cow-dung age to the atomic age. Of course we are doing other things too. We are passing through now the pains and travails of an industrial revolution. While we are going through an industrial revolution which took place generations ago in some of the countries of the West, we at the same time have to prepare the ground for atomic revolution. Now as we are waiting for the Speaker to come, I might just read out to you a paper I just got. Dr Bhabha sent it to me.²

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1. Extracts from a speech at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Members, New Delhi, 20 March 1958. Tape No. M-31/C (ii), NMML and from *National Herald*, 21 March 1958.

The meeting was addressed by Homi J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, on "The Economics of Atomic Research".

2. Nehru read out a report on the status of world nuclear energy entitled "World Progress of the Atom since Geneva", published by Stan Research Institute, California. The report termed the Indian nuclear programme as the "most impressive" outside Western Europe and the United States. "With the exception of the fuel elements," the report said, the Indians could be "justifiably proud" of their nuclear reactor 'Apsara'. The Atomic Energy Commission of Thailand was "sufficiently impressed" with the Indian reactor to request for copies of its drawings. The report also termed the Canadian-Indian reactor under construction at Trombay as "one of the most advanced research and materials testing reactor."

13. Manufacture of Oral Contraceptives¹

I enquired from Dr B.C. Roy² about the progress made in the researches for a satisfactory oral contraceptive. He gave me the attached papers. From these it would appear that a fairly satisfactory progress has been made and that work was being done in two places in Calcutta. This work has now slowed down because of lack of funds. The main object now is to carry on these experiments and especially to follow them up. This does not require much money and Dr Roy suggested to me that we might provide ten thousand rupees to each of these institutes, i.e., twenty thousand rupees in all, to carry on this work. This is a small sum and we should certainly provide this money.

2. I feel that we should proceed in this matter in a much bigger way now than we have done thus far. This could be done by a larger manufacture of these oral pills for trial and experiments in a large number of establishments, more especially family planning clinics. You might perhaps find out how best this can be done. Are our family planning boards in touch with these developments? The other day I had a proposal from Richard Gregg,³ who is working with the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, for the Government of India and the Government of China to join together for extensive research in the field of oral contraceptives.⁴ I told him that it was hardly necessary for the two Governments to do this jointly and we were in fact doing it.

3. You will notice that actually the Calcutta oral contraceptives are being manufactured on a commercial scale in the Plan now.

1. Note to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health, 21 March 1958. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. Richard Bartlett Gregg (1885-1974); American lawyer and trade unionist; visited India after the First World War and became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi who named him 'Govind'; participated in the World Pacifist Meeting held in India in 1949; works include *The Economics of Khaddar*, *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-violent Struggle*, *Gandhism and Socialism*, *The Power of Non-violence*, *A Discipline for Non-violence*.
4. Gregg had suggested, in a letter dated 12 March 1958, that India, Japan and China should quietly pool substantial monetary resources to finance and expedite the invention of a harmless, effective and inexpensive contraceptive pill in order to get the desired result. He also suggested that the project be kept secret because "if the Roman Catholic Church should hear of it, they would do their utmost to wreck it."

14. Status of CSIR¹

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The DGSIR.² made a report. There was full discussion on this subject in which most members took part. The Prime Minister³ thought that placing the Council on a statutory basis might give it a rigidity which would not be desirable. He considered that any report and accounts of the CSIR which the Public Accounts Committee and Parliament might desire to be placed before them from the Council could be arranged. He thought that in a developing organization, such as the Council, there was need for considerable flexibility. The Governing Body passed the following resolution:

The Governing Body considered the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee. While the Governing Body was in general agreement with the object of the recommendation of the Public [Accounts] Committee, and was also in agreement that all the information that was desired to be placed before the Public Accounts Committee and the Parliament should be made available to the Parliament, yet to make the CSIR a statutory body might at this stage impede its flexible development.

1. Extracts from the proceedings of the 35th meeting of the Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi, 22 March 1958. From CSIR files.
2. M.S. Thacker.
3. Nehru was the President of the CSIR.

15. Constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission¹

A copy of the Resolution of the Government of India dated 1st March 1958 relating to the constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission is laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha. This Resolution gives information required about the constitution and the powers delegated to the Commission, also the objectives and responsibilities of the Commission and its autonomy.

According to the constitution of the Commission, it shall consist of not more than seven and not less than three full-time and part-time members. For the present, it is proposed to have three members. These will be:

Dr H.J. Bhabha, FRS, Chairman, ex-officio.

Shri P.N. Thapar, ICS, Member for Finance and Administration.

Dr K.S. Krishnan, FRS, Member.

Additional members will be added as and when required. Both Dr H.J. Bhabha and Dr K.S. Krishnan were members of the old Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr H.J. Bhabha, the present Secretary of the Department and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, is also the Director of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and the Director of the Atomic Energy Establishment, Trombay. The Trombay Establishment, which is the national centre for all research and development in the field of atomic energy and where all the research and experimental reactors will be set up during the next few years, is a very large establishment. Its scientific and technical personnel already numbers about 700. The work of the Director is very heavy, onerous and difficult, and, by its very nature, can only be discharged by a scientist with a deep and thorough knowledge of the entire field and familiar with the most recent developments in this rapidly advancing field. It has, therefore, become imperative that Dr Bhabha should be relieved of as much of his administrative and non-scientific duties as possible to enable him to devote more time and attention to matters of policy in atomic energy and other technical questions. There are many scientific and technical matters to which he is anxious to pay special attention and which he has not been able to do because of the load of work and lack of time. The intention is that the Member for Finance and Administration will discharge all the administrative duties of a Secretary to Government in the Department, except regarding important matters of policy, which will be the responsibility of the Chairman, and will also be ex-officio Secretary to Government in the Department of Atomic Energy in financial matters.

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 24 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 6291-6292.

16. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
March 28, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

Your letter of the 28th March about the Science Delegation going to the Soviet Union.³ I agree that it is often desirable for the wife of the leader to accompany the delegation. I hope, however, that this does not mean any special expenditure on our part.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (154)/58-PMS.
2. Union Minister of State for Civil Aviation at this time and Minister of State-Designate for Scientific Research and Culture.
3. Mrs Thacker, wife of the leader of the delegation, M.S. Thacker, was also invited to visit the Soviet Union. Raising the question of the general policy of taking the wife of the leader of the delegation to a foreign country, Humayun Kabir wrote that it would be advantageous if she was permitted to go. He felt that "the presence of a lady helps in many ways and it is the custom in many countries..."

V. SOCIAL ISSUES

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

I enclose a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur,³ with which she has sent a letter from the President of the All India Council of Indian Christians.⁴ I do not quite know what to answer her. Broadly speaking, I am inclined to think that in local bodies there must not be too much strict party alignments, or, rather, the people should be chosen from a wider sphere. But I do not quite know how this can be brought about.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(152)/58-65-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.
3. Amrit Kaur, former Union Health Minister, Chairman of the Governing Body of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, and Member of Rajya Sabha at this time, had written to Nehru on 15 January that he should give personal attention to the matter of selecting candidates for local bodies on non-party lines, and that she could suggest candidates who would be excellent, though party politics would debar them. She added that there were some good Christian men and women, though she was thinking in general terms and not with reference to any particular minority.
4. In fact, Amrit Kaur had enclosed a memorandum, addressed to the Prime Minister and sent to her by J.D. Chowdhry, President, Indian Christian Association (ICA), Delhi State, an affiliate of the All India Council of Indian Christians. The memorandum wanted the Congress to sponsor the Christian candidates and appealed to the Prime Minister to take the initiative in securing due representation to the Christians of Delhi on the Delhi Municipal Committee.

2. Reply to Isaac Santra¹

Please reply as follows to Dr Isaac Santra:²

Dear Dr Santra,

I have showed your letter of the 14th January to the Prime Minister.³ He is well aware of the good work you have done in India and elsewhere in connection with leprosy. It was in appreciation of this good work that the Prime Minister was happy at the President awarding you the Padma Shri decoration.

The Prime Minister also agrees with you completely that there should be no self-deception. Nevertheless, it seems to him that your description of India is neither true nor fair and can only be based on a superficial and limited view of India and the rest of the world. Undoubtedly, the standard of diet and sanitation is low in India. This as well as other evils flow from the poverty of India. But opinions differ very greatly about India's place in civilization and in regard to general moral standards. Every country has its good points and failures. To lay stress on the failings of a country only is to give an entirely false view. The general opinion all over the world of those who know India, past and present, is very much in favour of India's civilization and moral standards. This does not mean that in some parts of India, or among many people in India, the standards in these respects are not low. We have in India people living in the Stone Age and also people who are probably more advanced in the basic tenets of civilization than in other countries. There should be no self-deception, but there should also be no running down of one's country before foreigners.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Private Secretary, Gauhati, 20 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. (1892-1968); physician from Orissa who worked for several years in villages in India for eradication of leprosy; established a lepers' home at Hatibari, Sambalpur, 1951; editor of *Prabhatee*, a magazine on human values.
3. Isaac Santra wrote to M.O. Mathai that he had it conveyed to a European lady, who wanted to work with him for a year, that she should be prepared to undergo difficulties, as the place of her work might not be congenial to her taste. He further wrote to Mathai that in his view the people in the West had a wrong idea about Indians because they saw the best of Indians who went there for sightseeing or study. He added, "There is no gain in self-deception. Unless we see ourselves properly we cannot improve. I still feel that India is low in civilization and in its standard of diet, sanitation and morality."

3. Minority Communities in Civil Services¹

In a Lucknow weekly paper, the *Sidq-e-Jadid*,² it is stated that among the 126 candidates who were declared successful in Civil Service, Police Service, Finance and Accounts Service and Sales Tax Officers Service of UP, there was only one Muslim.

2. You will remember that once I had an enquiry made through the Home Ministry about the proportion of candidates from minority communities who were entering various civil and military services. I was not satisfied with the information received.

3. I should like you to enquire from the UP Government how far the statement made in the *Sidq-e-Jadid* is correct.

4. Also, please enquire from the Home Ministry if they can supply us with some correct figures about the All India Services and the entrance into them of the minority communities, that is, Muslim, Christian, especially.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Edited by Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, a renowned Muslim divine and Urdu writer, *Sidq-e-Jadid* was noted for its comments on India's social and political problems.

4. Complaint of Harijans¹

In your above note you say that according to the President of the New Delhi Municipal Committee, the complaint made by the Harijans that they had no proper access to the Community Hall was contrary to facts. This statement has astonished me. When I went to visit this Community Hall and saw it for myself, it was perfectly clear that the poor Harijans had nothing to do with it.² All kinds of middle class clubs were utilizing it. There was a badminton court inside. I was shocked the way this place, reserved for Harijans, had been handed over to other people. I spoke about this then and there to the Deputy Commissioner and other officers who were present and they admitted to me what the facts were.

2. For me to be told now that the complaint of the Harijans was contrary

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 22 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. For a previous note of Nehru on this matter, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 279.

to facts makes me doubt the veracity of any statement that might come to me from the New Delhi Municipal Committee. I do not want excuses or whitewashing statements. I want a job done, not explanations. It is really extraordinary that after I have seen a place myself I should be told that my own impression is wrong and something else has happened.

3. I had not previously heard of the Bapu Samaj Sewa Samiti, but the objects indicated in your note do not impress me. How does it propagate the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi? Are there going to be lectures there and all that? Also you say that it is meant to promote health, education and social welfare of the general public with particular reference to the Scheduled and Backward Classes. All this alarms me. I am afraid the poor sweepers of the locality will remain outside the pale so far as this building is concerned.

4. So far as the camps on the Ridge are concerned, it is clear that ultimately these camps cannot be allowed to remain there and the only problem is of providing other accommodation for these people. If this cannot be done in the near future, then we have to provide more tap water, etc. Anyhow, we should have the advice of the Delhi Development Authority about this matter as to what they propose to do with that area and with the squatters there in future, that is, where they will send them.

5. I have spoken to the Health Minister³ on this subject and he will also interest himself.

3. D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health.

5. To Dhannalal Loudwal¹

New Delhi
January 25, 1958

Dear Shri Loudwal,²

I received your letter of the 5th January some time ago. I was much surprised to read it because it is apparently based on ignorance of facts.³

1. JN Collection.

2. President, All India Scheduled Castes League.

3. Referring to the caste riots in Ramanathapuram District, Madras State, in September 1957, Loudwal had alleged that "while the Harijans were being butchered like anything in Ramanathapuram, the Government and its police and military were quietly seeing the situation and they directly helped the killing of Harijans."

All of us know that Harijans have been badly treated in the past in India. All of us know also or should know that both legally and otherwise the progress made in helping the Harijans to advance educationally, economically and socially has been very considerable. I agree that a great deal remains to be done, that especially social customs and practices are not easy to root out and we must try our utmost to put an end to these prejudices.

Your reference to what happened at Ramanathapuram is singularly inappropriate. The whole of the Government organization there was engaged in protecting them from the attack made by some other castes. In fact, many protests were made to us to the effect that Government had too severely punished those who had attacked Harijans. Even now large numbers of these persons, including their leader, are in prison. Your sources of information are obviously not good and you have got the story upside down. So far as I know, the Brahmins did not come into the picture at all in Ramanathapuram.

I do not know what happened at Builsa to which you refer.

You refer to the appointment of Shri Bisnuram Medhi as the Governor of Madras.⁴ Because he was unwell for some time, you presume that he is physically unfit. He is in excellent health and is one of our ablest men.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Requesting Nehru to appoint a Harijan Governor for Madras State, Loudwal had written that though Bisnuram Medhi resigned Chief Ministership of Assam "because he was physically unable to pull on", he was being "rewarded by upgrading as Governor of Madras. This is not only trouncing of our Constitution, but actually a measure against the interest of Harijans." Medhi was sworn in as the Governor of Madras on 24 January 1958.

6. Bhangi Colony and Delhi Master Plan¹

I paid an unannounced visit to the Bhangi Colony today. I had gone to the big Community Hall that has been put up there. After that, I spent nearly an hour walking about all over this Bhangi Colony, including the hutments across the ravines. I was greatly distressed by what I saw. Human beings certainly should not live in this way.

2. In your larger plan of Delhi, which you are making, what do you propose to do with this area? It is clear that you cannot merely push out people without providing accommodation for them.

3. For the present, what I am chiefly interested in is some immediate steps to be taken to give at least a little relief and introduce a little sanitation. Can you suggest any such steps? I am prepared to find some little money especially for this purpose.

4. I am particularly interested in the large number of children there. Could they have a decent open playground? We could also, perhaps, start a school there for them. There are one or two so-called schools, but they are not much good.

5. Also, there are innumerable filthy pools in the ravines and, I understand, in the rainy season these places become much worse and a breeding ground for disease.

1. Note to G. Mukharji, Secretary, Delhi Development Authority, New Delhi, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.

7. Sweepers' Colony in the Larger Delhi Plan¹

I have read these papers.

2. Yesterday I went to the Community Hall to see the Ambar Charkha Exhibition.² Afterwards I spent nearly an hour wandering about the Sweepers' Colony. I went not only to the *pucca* structures, but to the hutments spread out all over the place. The conditions of living there are terribly bad, and it was a painful experience for me to go about. Yet I was glad to see them, and perhaps this had a slightly good effect on the people there who were pleased with my visit. Shri Morarji Desai³ accompanied me.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 22 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Morarji Desai, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, took over as Minister of Finance on 22 March 1958.

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3. I have written to Shri Mukharji, Secretary of the Delhi Development Authority, on the subject. I presume that in the new Delhi Plan there must be something about this place. We cannot allow it to continue as it is. Obviously, people cannot be removed from there unless some alternative accommodation is provided. All this may take some time. Meanwhile, it seems to me that some attempt should be made to improve conditions there without very radical alterations. There are filthy pools there breeding all kinds of diseases. Something should be done for the children there. Some open ground should be given to them to play. I have asked Shri Mukharji to look into this matter and inform me of what is possible. I am prepared to try to give some money separately for this.

4. I have received a letter from Dr Sushila Nayyar,⁴ which I enclose. Without knowing further about the state of affairs, I cannot pass any opinion on her proposal. You may further send a copy of this letter to the Health Minister as well as to the Chief Commissioner.⁵ The Chief Commissioner writes the Health Minister is dealing with this subject. I should like to know what his suggestions are.

4. India's representative to the UN Social Commission, 1955-58, and Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Jhansi, UP.

5. A.D. Pandit.

8. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
23rd March 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,²

I sent you two days ago a copy of a telegram about some alleged misconduct of officials against women employed in coal mines. Subsequently, Renuka Ray³ came to see me and gave me some details of these allegations which distressed me. She told me that she had been writing to your Ministry repeatedly with little result. In fact, I saw the copies of her letters. A particular officer in the mines is accused of misbehaviour.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning.

3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Malda, West Bengal.

Surely, when such charges are made they should be dealt with expeditiously and no man should be above an inquiry where the charge is serious. Even in the telegram I sent you specific instances are given.

I hope you will take early action in this matter and have an inquiry into the allegations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,

I have written to you briefly before regarding the complaints made of the working of the Women's Welfare Section and Training Centre of the Coal Mines Welfare Board.² I have now received a letter and a long report from Renuka Ray. There is also in it a copy of a letter she sent you on the 2nd February. From this, it appears that some of these complaints were brought to your notice previously during the last session of Parliament.

I have read through all these papers with considerable disquiet. Whether all the facts are true or not, obviously I cannot say. But the general effect produced on my mind is very damaging to the working of this Women's Welfare Section and Training Centre, etc. It must be remembered also that the mere fact that such charges are repeated publicly and believed in, itself creates a very serious situation regardless of the quantum of truth in them. The officers in charge there cannot possibly function adequately when these charges are made against them and remain in the air.

But there appears to be something much more than vague charges, when children had been born to girls working there and police enquiries have been made and all that.

A case like this deserves full and immediate enquiry the moment one hears about it. It cannot obviously be left to the officers concerned. I am afraid this matter may assume bigger proportions in Parliament and in the country.

I should like to know what steps you have thus far taken for a proper and impartial enquiry. I doubt if a visit by Sushila Nayyar can take the place of a proper enquiry, though it will be a good thing if she goes there.

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

What I am worried about is that complaints have been made for many months past and apparently little has been done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
26 March, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you about a matter which has troubled me greatly for a long time. That is the position of minority communities in India. Our Constitution lays down very good provisions and we are never tired of saying how well we deal with our minority communities.

But have we any reason to be pleased about this matter? We are apt to become complacent and pleased with ourselves, even though there might be little reason for this. The real test about a minority community is not how we feel about it, but how they feel. If they are not satisfied, then we have to search for some remedy for their malaise. In a democracy this is especially important. Democracy means rule by the majority, but it means something more, that is, full play and opportunity for the minorities. It means also that the minorities should have the sensation of having this full play and opportunity.

I realize that when the vast majority of our people in India lack so much, it is difficult to please the minorities. When we cannot satisfy the needs of the majority, it is not easy to meet the needs of the minority. Nevertheless, we must always remember that a minority community is a trust for the majority and constant thought should be given to its needs and complaints.

In a country like India, with its great variety, this is particularly necessary. We have also many hangovers from the past which it is difficult to forget or get over. We have also, let us be frank about it, communalism not only in the minority but very much so in the majority. The chief difference is that in the majority it puts on the garb of nationalism and democracy. But that is a false democracy.

The fact is that the minorities have a sense of grievance and that is enough to put us on our guard and to induce us to meet these grievances. I am not thinking in terms of elections and the like, but of much more basic issues.

1. File No. 25 (30)/58-PMS. This letter is also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 34-37.

There is the question of language which has agitated many of our people so much. It is a vital question and we have made laws and rules which should meet the situation. But how far do we implement these laws or carry out these rules? Everything depends on a host of petty officials who are often very far from being impartial or fair-minded. Therefore, it is important that those who sit in high positions should be vigilant and should impress upon the army of officials and others what our policy is and how it must be followed.

I shall not refer here to many matters which affect the minorities. I want to lay stress on one particular aspect. This relates to the services. In our present conditions in India, recruitment to the services plays a very important part in producing a sense of satisfaction or the reverse in the minds of the minority groups. I have sometimes called for figures of recruitment and these have been very unsatisfactory insofar as the minorities are concerned.

When I have asked for an explanation, I have been told that recruitment was made by examinations and it is nobody's fault if people did not pass the tests. That is not a good enough explanation. Firstly, there is a tendency for the minority group not to appear for these examinations in sufficient numbers because they imagine that things are weighted against them. Secondly, subjects and tests for the examinations also come in their way. For instance, in the Hindi-speaking areas especially, Hindi is a compulsory subject and the type of Hindi required is high-flown and difficult. Many people, who know simple Hindi quite well, cannot easily pass that difficult test. This applies often to Muslims in the Hindi-speaking areas. They know the Urdu version of Hindi and they learn Devanagari, etc., and try hard to improve their knowledge of the language. But this is no easy matter after a certain age. The result often is that while they are quite good in other subjects, they fail in Hindi.

This is unfair and bad for the minority as well as for the State which loses sometimes good people and gets second-raters.

Long ago, the Congress Working Committee, dealing with the question of all-India public examinations, laid down a rule that while these examinations may in future be conducted in Hindi, English or the regional language, a compulsory paper on Hindi should not be included, as this would obviously be unfair to the non-Hindi-speaking people.² After the person has passed the examination, Hindi or any other regional language should be learnt and, if necessary, an examination could be held in it at a later stage. This was, I think, a fair provision.

This should apply to the State examinations in every State and more especially in the Hindi-speaking areas.

2. A resolution to this effect was passed by the Congress Working Committee on 5 April 1954.

Thus, in a Hindi-speaking area no person should fail in an examination because of inadequate knowledge of Hindi provided he has passed in other subjects. He may be called upon to improve his Hindi later and even to pass a test then. But the door of service should not be closed upon him because his knowledge of Hindi appears to be not up to the mark.

Further, of course, the question arises of the content of Hindi. I am not referring to the other regional languages, because I do not know enough about them, and perhaps this may apply to them also to some extent. Hindi, as used now, is becoming more and more an artificial language far removed from common speech. In our Parliament here, questions are often answered in Hindi, drafted, no doubt, by bright young men fresh from the schools. Most Hindi-knowing people even do not understand these answers and there is frequently a hubbub in the House when these answers are read out. Something very radical has to be done about this if the growth of Hindi is not to be checked.

I would beg your attention to this question of recruitment for services. I would suggest to you to examine why the present methods come in the way of members of the minority communities appearing in these examinations or passing them. I know bright young men who have failed, when persons not nearly as good as they are have passed.

Then there is the question of recruitment to the police, army, the railways, postal services and many minor services where no examinations are necessary. This requires particular attention because here it is easy for partiality to creep in. I would request you to have charts prepared showing how the system of recruiting for these various services by examination or otherwise is working. There might be quarterly charts and I would be grateful if you could send me these charts every three months.

I have referred to the services because the State is directly concerned with them. But this applies in a different way to trade and industry and commerce, to our corporations in the public sector. When adequate opportunities are not given, the result is a progressive deterioration of the position, and that of the minority. In fact, that minority becomes more and more incapable of advancing. It becomes necessary to deal with such a situation in some radical way and even to give some special attention to the minorities who have suffered in this way.

You will forgive me for writing to you on this subject, but it is of vital importance to our national growth and national unity. I hope to hear from you about this and to get these charts and figures.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Face Challenges Cheerfully¹

I am happy to be here and see the good atmosphere in which the handicapped are living cheerfully and happily. It is this atmosphere or approach which counts in solving problems in life. In every sphere of activity one must see that one takes to one's pursuit cheerfully. The handicapped should not be afraid to face difficulties in their lives, for the problems and difficulties in a way also afford opportunities to learn new things in life. There are people who may be fortunate in having rich parents and may not be having difficulties. In a sense they are deprived of the opportunities to learn. Face the problems happily and cheerfully and if you do so you will succeed in life.

1. Speech at Anand Kendra, an institution for the physically handicapped, run by Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bombay, 28 March 1958. From *National Herald*, 29 March and *The Hindu*, 31 March 1958.

12. Bhangi Colony and Delhi Development Authority¹

Some days ago, after visiting the Bhangi Colony, I wrote a note to Shri Mukharji, Secretary of the Delhi Development Authority.² I expected some kind of a reply from him, but I have received no acknowledgement yet. Will you please find out if he received that note and what he has done in regard to it?

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary. 30 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 333.

INQUIRY INTO LIC INVESTMENTS:
THE MUNDHRA AFFAIR

1. To M.C. Chagla¹

New Delhi

February 5, 1958

My dear Chagla,²

Thank you for your letter of the 4th February, which reached me today.³ I am glad that you wrote to me and cleared up this matter. I might mention that my remarks in Bombay were directed to the people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML.
2. A one-man Commission, consisting of M.C. Chagla, the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, was appointed on 7 January 1958 to enquire into the investments made by the Life Insurance Corporation in the following six companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra: (1) Angelo Brothers Limited, Calcutta; (2) British India Corporation Limited, Kanpur; (3) Smith Stanistreet and Company Limited, Calcutta; (4) Jessop and Company Limited, Calcutta; (5) Richardson and Cruddas Limited, Calcutta; and (6) Osler Electric Lamp Manufacturing Company Limited, Calcutta. These investments were made in contravention of the policy of the LIC to invest money only in blue-chip companies on the advice of their Investment Committee. Moreover, the value of the shares of these companies was going down when the LIC made the investments.
3. Referring to Nehru's remarks in his speech at Bombay on 3 February about loudspeakers being installed during the LIC enquiry (see *ante*, pp. 40-41), Chagla clarified that the crowd outside the Council Hall, the venue of the inquiry, was uncontrollable and the police insisted on loudspeakers being installed to satisfy the public.

2. Attorney General's Role in the Inquiry¹

The Prime Minister referred to the inquiry being conducted in Bombay into the investments of the Life Insurance Corporation and, particularly, to the part played by the Attorney General in that inquiry. The Attorney General's line of argument struck the Cabinet as most extraordinary. He had not consulted Government with regard to their point of view, although he was supposed to

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 5 February 1958. JN Collection.

appear on behalf of Government and, strangely enough, had proceeded to make insinuations of mala fides without adequate justification.²

2. The Cabinet considered whether any action could be taken with regard to this matter. As the inquiry had, more or less, concluded and the Chairman had only to submit his report,³ it was considered too late to take any action. The Cabinet, however, decided that with regard to future inquiries of this kind, care should be taken not only for evolving a correct procedure but for proper briefing of the Government's counsel.

2. Chagla wrote in *Roses in December*, his autobiography: "I did not want him to appear for Government as though it were a party to a dispute, but as Government was as much interested as I would be in arriving at the truth, his primary function would be to assist me in arriving at a proper decision." See also, *post*, p. 373.
3. Chagla sent his report to Nehru on 10 February 1958.

3. To H.V.R. Iengar¹

New Delhi

February 5, 1958

My dear H.V.R.,²

I have today received your letter of the 4th February.³ I quite agree with you that the way in which the Attorney General has handled the proceedings of the Chagla Commission has been extraordinary and has surprised us greatly. His references to you appeared to me to be wholly unwarranted. Indeed, this could be said of some of his other references too about other people. He has put us in a difficult position.

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor, Reserve Bank of India.

3. Iengar wrote that he was distressed at the extraordinary and unwarranted manner in which the Attorney General, M.C. Setalvad, argued before the Chagla Commission. He further alleged that Setalvad had told the Commission, "without there being the slightest evidence," that Iengar must have heard the discussion between T.T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister, and H.M. Patel, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance regarding the Mundhra shares but failed to disclose his full knowledge to the Commission. These remarks, Iengar pointed out, had not only done great damage to him but also caused serious injury to the prestige of the Reserve Bank.

When we appointed this Commission and the formal appointment was made by the Finance Minister, it was naturally our wish that the available facts and evidence should be sifted, and whatever truth there was, these various transactions should be brought out. We did not wish to shield anyone, however high he might be. At the same time, we certainly did not expect all kinds of people to be put in the dock and not given any opportunity to defend themselves or even to explain their position properly. This has been a novel and painful experience not only for you, but for many of us also. I do not suppose we can do anything now about it, but statements will have to be made in Parliament, and I propose to refer to some of these matters.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *post*, pp. 375-413.

4. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
February 9, 1958

Nan dear,²

Tomorrow morning the next session of Parliament begins, with the President addressing a joint session of the two Houses. Normally, this Budget session would have brought heavy work. But in addition to the normal work, we have to face the crisis created by this wretched enquiry into investments by the Life Insurance Corporation. We have not received Chagla's report yet and we shall have to wait for it before coming to final decisions. This whole business has been a wretched affair. It is quite wrong, I think, to say that the Life Insurance Corporation has suffered any material loss by this investment. But it is true that the manner of carrying out this investment was improper. Our Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, as Minister, has to shoulder responsibility to some extent, though I do not think that he was to blame except insofar that he allowed others to go ahead without further enquiry. I am naturally much concerned about T.T. because he has been a very good Finance Minister in spite of his shortcomings in temper and the way he treats people sometimes. He has a way

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Indian High Commissioner to the UK.

of making enemies, and finding an opportunity, these others react.

The way Setalvad conducted this case was rather extraordinary. He is a member of Government and yet he functioned as a Prosecuting Counsel. Chagla appeared to encourage him though we have to wait for his report to see what he says.

Apart from T.T.'s unquestioned ability and hard work, there is the question that he is the only Tamil member of the Cabinet. I wonder if you know how an agitation is spreading in Madras against the North on the plea that the North dominates over the South and does not look after its interests. Indeed there is a party there which actually claims for separation from India.³ All this is rather mad. But then we have plenty of mad people in India. Rajaji also appears to have lost his head completely. He is carrying on a very aggressive agitation against Hindi and in favour of English.⁴ I can understand his stress on English continuing and also that nothing should be done which might place the non-Hindi people in India at a disadvantage. In fact, we have ourselves laid great stress on this and have agreed to English continuing as an additional language for an indefinite period. But this does not seem to satisfy Rajaji although it satisfied the Madras Cabinet and many others. Fortunately, in Andhra, Mysore and Kerala there is no such agitation.

Rajaji actually wants a whole part of the Constitution dealing with languages to be deleted and further wants English to be declared the official language of India. It is not enough for him that we have said that English will continue as such. One thing I have said: I cannot agree to call English the national all-India language. That just seems to me fundamentally wrong and absurd. This would also be, of course, absolutely opposed to what Gandhiji said and wrote. Rajaji has gone so far as even to hint support of the move for separating Madras State from India if his proposals are not wholly accepted.

Our economic position, though difficult, has undoubtedly improved, partly by the measures we have taken here and partly by the aid we are receiving from abroad.

President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam had been here and has captured all hearts.⁵ He is a delightful and simple individual full of affection for everybody. He is now in Bombay. In another two days, a person of an entirely different

3. The reference is to the DMK, led by C.N. Annadurai.

4. For Nehru's correspondence with C. Rajagopalachari on the issue of language, see *ante*, pp. 282-286 and 299-304.

5. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, arrived in New Delhi on 5 February 1958.

type, the King of Afghanistan, is coming here.⁶ The King of Iraq⁷ also intended coming, but he has postponed his visit indefinitely, presumably because of the new situation created by the union of Egypt and Syria. I am rather glad he is not coming during this very busy period, as that would have added to our burdens.

I have come across an extract from an autobiography of M.R. Jayakar.⁸ This extract deals with Father. It is a fine tribute to him and I am enclosing this as you will no doubt be interested. The last but one paragraph will amuse you....⁹

Love,

Jawahar

6. King Mohammed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan arrived in New Delhi on 11 February 1958.
7. King Faisal II.
8. Jayakar, a barrister and judge, and a liberal leader, wrote in *The Story of My Life*, his autobiography: "His (Motilal Nehru's) great characteristic, which he ever maintained in any complex situation to which he was subjected, was that he was always wide awake. He never lost his equipoise, never made a mistake of judgement...with a thorough knowledge of men and a capacity to awe them into submission, he made an admirable leader."
9. The paragraph read: "I had my first opportunity of talking to him (Motilal) at a dinner given to the Indian Delegates by some Bengali celebrities. I was charmed with him and his son. I could hardly then picture Motilal as leading the Swaraj Party of the future, clad in Khaddar. Talking of Khaddar, he alone knew how to wear it. The tilt in his Khaddar cap, as it sat on his ample forehead, made his Khaddar look different from that of other wearers. It could easily be said of him that whatever he wore turned into pashmina. I once asked him the secret of this trick, and with laughter he remarked, 'You have to be born a Kashmiri to know this, a rugged Maratha like you can hardly understand this business'."

5. To M.C Chagla¹

New Delhi
February 11, 1958

My dear Chief Justice,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th February, 1958, with which you have sent me the report of your inquiry into certain transactions of the Life Insurance Corporation of India.² This was handed to me today soon after mid-day. We are anxious to publish this as soon as possible. The proper course is for it to be considered by the Cabinet and then laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha. Subsequently, an opportunity will be given to the House to discuss this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chagla wrote: "As the Commission was appointed by the Central Government, I thought it was constitutionally proper for me to submit the Report to the head of the Central Government, as it would be for you to decide when the Report should be published and what action should be taken on it."

6. Discussion on the Report¹

The Prime Minister gave a brief account of the proceedings in Parliament regarding the Chagla Report and said that he proposed to lay the Report on the Table of the House on Thursday, the 13th February 1958. A discussion on the Report was scheduled to take place on Tuesday, the 18th.

2. The Prime Minister then made a few general remarks on the procedure adopted during the inquiry and on the findings of the Commission and said that Government had to decide their line of action after careful consideration. He informed the Cabinet that the Finance Minister had tendered his resignation a few days before the Report was received, but he had not accepted it then. Now, however, though he regretted it, he had no option in the matter.

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 12 February 1958. JN Collection.

7. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
February 12, 1958

Dear Mr Speaker,

I stated in the Lok Sabha today that I hoped to place the Report of the Enquiry Commission on certain transactions by the Life Insurance Corporation on the Table of the House within a day or two. Further, I suggested that a discussion on this Report might take place in the House at the conclusion of the debate on the President's Address. Probably, this will be on Tuesday next.²

Thereupon, it was suggested by some Members that copies of the evidence given before the Commission should also be placed on the Table of the House. You were pleased to say that if this was possible, this might be done.

On enquiry, I understand that the evidence has not been sent to us, and we have not got it. I rather doubt if it is going to be sent to us. Mr Justice Chagla, in the course of the Enquiry, said that he was dissatisfied with the record of the evidence and that the reporting in the Press was much better.

In these circumstances, I regret I shall not be able to place the evidence on the Table of the House.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The Report of the Chagla Commission was placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 13 February 1958 and was debated upon from 19 to 21 February 1958.

8. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
February 12, 1958

My dear T.T.,

A week ago, on February 5th, you wrote to me and pressed me to accept your resignation.² Previous to that, on several occasions, you had mentioned this matter to me and asked me to allow you to resign. I told you then that I entirely appreciated your motives and what you had written. Nevertheless, I felt that this matter should be considered later after the report of the Commission had been received.

The report came yesterday and again you reminded me of your letter. In these circumstances, I have, regretfully, to accept your resignation.

Soon after this matter was first raised in Parliament, it was clear to me, as it was to you, that there should be an enquiry and, very rightly, you appointed a Commission consisting of a senior and eminent judge for this purpose.³ I knew nothing about the various matters connected with investments by the Life Insurance Corporation till I first heard of them after the question was raised in Parliament. Unfortunately, I was not in Delhi on that day. Later, when I endeavoured to find out what the facts were, and when I read the proceedings of the Commission, I was much surprised. It was clear to me that a great deal had been done in this matter which was not proper or in accordance with normal rules and conventions. In a matter of this kind, we have to maintain the

1. JN Collection. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Printed in leading newspapers on 14 February 1958.

2. Krishnamachari had written that following the events of the previous two weeks, he found it increasingly difficult to continue as Finance Minister and the timing of his resignation, just before the Budget presentation, should not create any difficulty as preparations for the Budget had already been done.

He added that he was not satisfied with the mechanism for the LIC investments but nothing in the nature of a policy decision was communicated until H.M. Patel, Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, suggested in May 1957 that the LIC might buy steel and cement shares to help the sagging market. He agreed that there were minor variations in his statements before the Commission and Parliament, but clarified that they were due to the fact that the latter were not matters of personal knowledge but were based on a brief submitted by the department after obtaining information from the LIC. He also expressed the fear that those who did not approve of Government's broad policies might use the LIC inquiry in their campaign, although the inquiry had nothing to do with any basic policy.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 321.

highest standards and conventions and it was only right that a public enquiry should be held, whatever the result of that might be.

As the enquiry proceeded, it struck me, as it struck many others, that this manner of approach to a complicated problem was hardly satisfactory. That was not the fault of any person but was rather due to the nature and method of any such enquiry. It was neither judicial nor capable otherwise of eliciting all the facts. Government was naturally interested in all the facts being brought out and the truth established. It was no party to the dispute. But curiously, Government policies were referred to in the course of the enquiry without Government having any chance to explain them. As you have mentioned in your letter to me, some facts were mentioned and insinuations made in the course of the evidence as well as in the addresses of counsel, which could not be explained or otherwise dealt with at any later stage. In effect, there was rather a one-sided presentation of facts. This was unfortunate in such an important matter in which the public was rightly interested. I am not mentioning this by way of complaint but merely to point out that such an approach did not appear to me to be satisfactory. I have still a feeling that all the relevant facts connected with this unhappy matter have not been brought out.

It is clear, however, that a number of steps taken in regard to these investments, were not taken in the proper manner or with due safeguards. Whoever might be responsible for this, you very rightly say that, according to our conventions, the Minister has to assume responsibility, even though he might have had little knowledge of what others did and was not directly responsible for any of these steps.

This whole episode has been a painful ordeal to me as it has been to you, and I have given much anxious thought to it. I have felt that the conventions which we endeavour to follow are basically right and we should adhere to them, even though this results in the innocent suffering thereby. So far as you are concerned, I am myself convinced that your part in this matter was of the smallest and that you did not even know much that was done.

At any time it would have been a matter of the deepest regret to me for our close association in the Government to be broken up. But, as you say, at this particular juncture, it is even more painful both on personal and public grounds. During the past years of our working in close companionship in matters of great consequence to our country, we have sometimes differed, we have argued with each other and on a few occasions we have even had rather sharp differences. There is nothing surprising about it because we were dealing with vital matters on which varying opinions are possible. But in the larger context, all this was of little consequence because we agreed on the major policies to be adopted, and had respect and, may I say, affection for each other. I admired

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your devotion to your work, your broad vision and keenness of intellect. Ever since you became Minister of Finance, you brought a new and vigorous outlook to your great task and took us out of certain grooves in which we were functioning. In a period of increasing difficulty, you did a signal service to our Second Five Year Plan, and to our country for whose progress this Plan is meant. I am deeply grateful to you for this and I am sure my gratitude is shared by a vast number of people in our Party and our country.

Although we part now insofar as Government is concerned, I do not look upon this as a real parting, for none of us can afford to run away from the great tasks we have undertaken. I have no doubt that in the future there will be many ways of our cooperating with each other in these tasks.

I am, therefore, recommending to the President to accept your resignation. I suggest that you relinquish your office day after tomorrow, that is Friday, February 14. It is my intention to take charge of the Finance Ministry myself for the present at least.⁴ I should like to come over to the Ministry of Finance at 3 p.m. on the 14th February to meet you and the senior officers there. I hope this will suit you.⁵

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The correspondence between Nehru and Krishnamachari was released to the press simultaneously with the presentation of the Chagla Commission's report in the Lok Sabha on 13 February 1958.
5. On 12 February, Haridas Mundhra wrote to Nehru that he wanted to place certain material facts before Nehru, without which "erroneous conclusions may be drawn on the basis of incomplete, imperfect and conflicting evidence laid before the Commission, and grave injustice may be done to the honourable Finance Minister and other public servants." He added that the enquiry was conducted in an atmosphere surcharged with venom, suspicion and prejudice where witnesses "grew overconscious and could not make correct disclosure of full facts out of their anxiety to avoid the brunt of the enquiry in which the public had evinced rather a keen interest." He further wrote that he had not secured any unfair or unlawful gain over the LIC by charging higher rates as alleged and claimed that "the shares in question could be sold even now at better rates to private parties..."

9. Answers to Short Notice Questions¹

Some Short Notice Questions have been sent to the Lok Sabha in regard to the Mundhra matter and the enquiry in Bombay.² I have not accepted these Short Notice Questions. But these might be raised in some other form later in the discussion or as ordinary questions. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you will kindly inform me, in so far as you know, what the answer should be to these questions:

1. Was Haridas Mundhra invited for consultation to a dinner by a senior Minister of the Cabinet before the debate initiated by Feroze Gandhi³ on the subject of the purchase of shares by the Life Insurance Corporation? Was he invited to a meal on any other day by a member of the Cabinet?
 2. Did any member of the Cabinet meet Haridas Mundhra at any time officially or otherwise?
 3. Was any Minister at any time connected with some of the Mundhra concerns as a Director? If so, what was his interest in it and does this interest subsist?
2. I shall be grateful if you could send me confidentially answers to these questions so that I am enabled to give an answer in the Lok Sabha, with knowledge and assurance.
1. Note to the Cabinet Members and the Minister of State for Law, Asoke Kumar Sen, New Delhi, 14 February 1958. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.
 2. Justice Chagla's observations about Mundhra were: "We are dealing with a statutory corporation set up by the Government of India which in its business transactions must maintain certain standards. It would be clearly wrong for the Corporation to utilize its funds to help an individual or the concerns of an individual. It would be even more wrong for the Corporation to deal with an individual who was suspected to be a lawbreaker and possess a doubtful financial reputation, and whose antecedents were of a most questionable character. Mundhra is a man who has a flamboyant personality and is a financial adventurer whose only ambition is to build up an industrial empire by dubious methods. He is not very particular about the means he employs so long as the end is achieved. Starting from scratch with no education and no means, he succeeded in acquiring control of several large concerns. He is not an industrialist in the real sense of the term. His interest does not lie in developing or enlarging the industrial output of the country but...in being a financial wizard who can swallow up concern after concern.... The record makes it perfectly clear that all that I have said about Mundhra, and more, was known to the Finance Ministry."
 3. Feroze Gandhi, Congress Member from Rae Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, initiated the debate in the Lok Sabha on 16 December 1957.

10. Clarifications to the Speaker¹

Mr Speaker should be informed that I am unable to accept any of these Short Notice Questions. There is going to be a debate in the Lok Sabha on the 19th February and presumably this will cover a good deal of ground.

2. One of the questions (No. 9) presumably refers to Cabinet discussions and is, therefore, anyhow inadmissible.

3. Although I am not prepared to answer these Short Notice Questions, I might state for the information of Mr Speaker that:

- (i) So far as I know, Shri Haridas Mundhra was not invited to any meal by any Cabinet Minister at any time. I cannot speak with certainty without enquiring from each one of them.
- (ii) So far as I know, no Cabinet Minister had been connected with the Mundhra concerns as a Director. The Law Minister² (who is not a Member of the Cabinet) was the legal adviser of some of the Mundhra concerns before he joined the Government and, I think, he was also a Director of some concern.
- (iii) It is not true that any Cabinet Minister wanted to shelve or delay the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry.
- (iv) So far as I know, Sachin Chaudhuri³ was in Delhi and he met two Cabinet Ministers and told them what was taking place in the inquiry. He was not briefed on behalf of Government or the Finance Minister. Nothing was paid to him.

1. Note, New Delhi, 14 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. Asoke Kumar Sen.

3. Sachindra Chaudhuri (1903-1992); advocate, Calcutta High Court, 1925; often assisted Government of India in many intricate cases; advocate, 1937 and senior advocate, Federal Court, 1943; appeared in most major industrial tribunals in West Bengal, 1948-57; delegate to United Nations Organization, 1949-51; senior advocate, Supreme Court, 1950; Counsel for LIC in Mundhra case, January-February, 1958; Member, Lok Sabha, 1962-67; Union Minister of Finance, 1966-67.

11. Approach to the Chagla Commission Report: Address to CPP Members¹

... We must consider this matter, if I may say so with all respect, consciously, seriously and pointedly, not vaguely and loosely.... We have met here to consider the report of the Commission, Justice Chagla Commission as it is called, and the attitude that we should take up in regard to this matter in the House day after tomorrow—that is the primary issue. Now, we must remember not only the facts of the situation but also the context of all this. It would not be proper for us to become a kind of appellate tribunal to the Chagla report, we are not that. We have to pay adequate attention in respect to what the Commission appointed by us has reported. That does not mean that we necessarily agree with what has been written or the conclusions arrived at but we must not allow ourselves to—shall I say, in perhaps our differences of opinion—not to pay adequate respect to what this tribunal has said and done, because if we do that, apart from other matters, we set a bad precedent for the future.

In fact, this whole matter, this whole question that has arisen, is one which involves all kinds of conventions and precedents, apart from facts. One convention, of course, is that we must pay due regard to our judiciary and judicial working even though we may not like its decisions occasionally, otherwise the future becomes rather difficult and complicated. The other convention, if you have sought to follow, is the resignation of the Finance Minister, which again, so far as I am concerned, has nothing to do with any personal reason or any of high magnitude on his part but rather the constructive approach to this question that a Minister is normally responsible. I said normally, because I do not admit that the Minister may be responsible always in all circumstances. I am not going into that question, but I say it because sometimes it is said that it should be. Now, thirdly, unfortunately, this question, important as it is, has become clouded by a good deal of prejudice and passion, and the atmosphere which should normally surround the consideration of such an important issue has been vitiated by these prejudices, passions and public excitement. It was completely right in a matter of this kind that the public should take deep interest, but deep interest is one thing and a state of emotional excitement and prejudice is another thing which does rather interfere with that calm and objective consideration which should prevail in Parliament or wherever it may be. Anyhow,

1. Extracts from the speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 17 February 1958. Tape No. M-30/c (i), NMML.

let us hope that in our considering this question in Parliament, we shall do so with dignity and calmly and objectively, without excitement, paying due regard to the respect that is due to the judiciary, paying due regard to the dignity of Parliament and paying due regard to the importance of the questions involved. Obviously, we as a Government or as a Parliament are always concerned with trying to find out the truth of any matter that may be enquired into even though the truth may be sometimes uncomfortable. There can be no other attitude, and among the many things that have distressed me during the past few weeks or months, since this matter came up, there has been at least one satisfactory feature, and that is that we have shown our country and the world at large that we do not hesitate to do something even though the consequences may be painful. So, I trust that in discussions in Parliament all of us will maintain this dignity and the other factors that I have said.

Coming to this particular report, one gets a certain account, a narrative, of what had happened. Then there are certain principles which the Commission has laid down to be observed in the future. Then there is the question of responsibility. Responsibility also may be split up into what is actual responsibility or factual responsibility or constructive responsibility, and finally there may be the question of mala fides or let us say some kind of corrupt practice. Now, the first fact to remember is that in the report there is no statement as such about mala fides. There are certain sentences or expressions of opinion which indicate that some things are not clearly explained, some things are rather odd, but nevertheless the fact remains that there is no question of mala fides. In regard to, well, almost any person concerned there, some doubts, no doubt, arise here and there. Now, if we consider this matter, I am speaking on behalf of Government, I may have doubts about certain matters. I have many doubts and in spite of this enquiry all those doubts have not been removed, about events, I mean what happened, what did not happen. But it would be highly improper of me, because some matter has not cleared up, to cast the blame, to decide in my mind that so and so is guilty—that would be a highly unjudicial and improper attitude. Or that it becomes my duty as a Government to try to find the truth, to pursue the story so far as we can, and then abide by the consequences of such knowledge as we obtain.

Now, I will not say much about the narrative part of the report except this that when I said this in my letter addressed to Mr T.T. Krishnamachari² that the method of the enquiry—I was not referring to the Commission or to Mr Justice Chagla—was such that many facts possibly did not come out which could

2. See *ante*, pp. 350-352.

have come out. This, the Act³ under which these commissions of enquiry are held, perhaps for a thing of this kind, might or might not be quite a satisfactory approach. I am merely casually mentioning this. Now, I feel, if you merely ask questions you will get some information but if you forget to ask some question you do not get an answer to that. No one has asked to say what is the story and it is difficult for a witness to volunteer stories because then it may be thought that he is going out of his way. Then something is said by number three or number four witness to which number one had a possible reply. But number one had no chance of saying it. So the result is that all the available facts do not come out properly—it may be so, it was so—and also, as you know, there was no counsel appearing except two, the Attorney General and the Counsel for the Life Insurance Corporation. The Attorney General was there to help the court; he was not appearing for anybody as we said right at the beginning, and therefore many facts which might perhaps have been brought out by some other person were not brought out. I mention this because what I said in my letter to Mr T.T. Krishnamachari about the course, the method adopted had nothing to do with the presiding officer. It was not a criticism of the Commission or Mr Justice Chagla, but the context in which this was done.

The very first thing, I think, with which we should be concerned is—is there any mala fides in this matter and if so to whom does it appertain? Well, surely, it can be said with confidence and with assurance that so far as Mr T.T. Krishnamachari is concerned there is no suggestion of it anywhere much less any connection or hint.⁴ So far as others are concerned, it is not there, even the Commission did not say so. The most you may say, some doubts arise; maybe future evidence may give us some more information this way or that way. Therefore, then we have to consider whether it was a case of gross negligence or merely an error of judgement, there are various grades and shapes.

Now I think anyone can say, at least I am prepared to say, that this whole story shows a method of working which is objectionable and undesirable; we admit that of course. And many of the suggestions that Justice Chagla has made are worthy of consideration. I cannot say offhand that every one of them should be adopted as it is. I may tell you, for instance, Mr Justice Chagla was

3. The Commissions of Inquiry Act was enacted in August 1952.

4. Chagla had stated in his report: "Shri Patel, who admittedly was acting as the Principal Secretary of the Minister, cannot be fastened with the responsibility of having effected this transaction in his own Secretarial capacity. The Minister must fully and squarely accept the responsibility for what Shri Patel did and if the transaction is improper and unjustified, although Shri Patel may be actually responsible for the transaction, constitutionally the responsibility is that of the Minister."

completely right in saying that it is not a good practice for a Secretary to Government to be a chairman of a Corporation.⁵ Unfortunately, we have sometimes done that although we did not want to do it, but the difficulty of finding a suitable man made us do that. But I entirely agree this is not a good practice. In this particular matter too it was a temporary appointment and then we gave place to somebody else.

Then Mr Justice Chagla said something about experienced men, the experienced businessmen being preferable to civil servants. Now that raises an interesting point. First of all, if I may say so, the person most responsible for this deal was a very experienced businessman, who was the Managing Director of the Life Insurance Corporation⁶ and he was especially in charge of investments which was his special job; so, that was his direct responsibility. So, the experienced businessman does not come well out of this business, whatever a civil servant may or may not have done, and merely to say that there should be experienced businessman does not adequately meet the situation. Also there is this difficulty that when you appoint a person to these corporations, we want, of course, a man of ability and experience but if even a man of ability and experience is, shall I say, mentally opposed to the whole idea, let us say of nationalization, then he does not wholly fit in. He is functioning in a context which he does not like. So, he may be a very good man and yet not fit in because he thinks it is not a right approach to the problem at all. Also, there is always a chance, much more than otherwise, of private interest being involved. I am merely pointing out these difficulties. I think only a thing that can be laid down is that good, experienced, competent people should be appointed, whether they are civil servants or whether they are businessmen. We should choose wherever we can find a good man. To make a rule that you should have only civil servants is not good, to make a rule that you must have only businessmen is not good. The fact of the matter is that it is very difficult to find adequate numbers of good people now for the various important State jobs. If you read the Second Five Year Plan report, you will find that much thought was given to this matter and many suggestions made for the special training of executives for State undertakings. That is the only way to approach it, that you give them special training; it takes time, of course.

5. H.M. Patel, Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, was the first chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation. He held the post from 1 September 1956 to 5 June 1957. During this period, the LIC purchased the shares of the Mundhra firms. He was succeeded by the Deputy Chairman, G.R. Kamat.
6. L.S. Vaidyanathan.

Then there are some other matters, I need not go into that because Justice Chagla has suggested about the general principles. I have no particular objection but, as I said, in some matters one may not quite agree with what he said, but, broadly speaking, in many matters we agree. We come then to the final part of this report. In the last, I think, five pages of the printed matter where he discusses the responsibility of individuals, as far as I remember, he says that Mr H.M. Patel, the Finance Secretary, was obviously responsible for all that had happened and in fact was some kind of a driving force.⁷ Further, that he had the approval of the Finance Minister and, therefore, the Finance Minister was responsible not only constructively but a little more because he gave his general approval. Oddly enough, he does not say very much about the gentleman of business experience who was especially in charge of investments.⁸

I wonder if you realize how much investment is done by the Life Insurance Corporation every year. It amounts to 35 crores of rupees, of which 70 per cent is in Government paper, Government securities, 30 per cent in private companies. In fact when this was nationalized, an assurance was given that a certain percentage of money will be put into private equity shares. So, roughly speaking, you might say about 10 crores a year are put in in private concerns which means almost a crore a month is put in. This is constantly happening. Therefore, if people think that something new was done, it is not quite correct; it is a continuing process, and there is the man, the principal man is the Managing Director in charge of investments, and then there is a committee which is to be consulted.

Now the thing that strikes one in the eye is these two or three factors. One is why the Investment Committee was not consulted and there is no doubt that

7. Commenting on H.M. Patel's statement that the true reason for the transaction was for averting a crisis in the Calcutta Stock Exchange, Chagla observed in his report: "... What required the transaction to be put through with such haste was neither a crisis in the Stock Exchange, nor the danger of the prices going up, nor the short stay of the Minister in Bombay, but the threatening financial difficulties of Mundhra himself and, as I have already pointed out, he had made no secret of his own extremely difficult financial situation."
8. About Vaidyanathan, Chagla wrote: "As far as Shri Vaidyanathan is concerned, his responsibility is greater. He had been dealing with day-to-day investments of the Corporation. He was familiar with the Stock Exchange. He had experience of the Oriental Insurance Company, one of the largest life insurance companies in India, with an extremely conservative investment policy and he allowed his judgement to be paralyzed by Shri Patel."

it was very improper not to do that.⁹ Although in the normal investments, previously, about which there is no dispute, the Investment Committee is sometimes consulted and sometimes it is not because I said it is a daily operation. Nevertheless, we had long thought that this was not a satisfactory arrangement and as the House knows there was actually a Bill to be brought before Parliament to separate the question of investment from the executives who manage the Life Insurance Corporation because we did not like this method and we wanted to take away the investments from the executive of the Life Insurance Corporation. That Bill is still pending, it may have to be changed now, whatever it may be.¹⁰ Anyhow, this was not done.

Speaking about the Finance Minister, the actual evidence on the record says at the most that he was asked that some proposal had been made and he did not have any objection or words to that effect. Now, there are various answers to this question given by the Finance Minister, by Mr H.M. Patel and by Mr Bhattacharya.¹¹ If you analyse them there is no obvious conflict between the answers, only slight variations. You know very well that if you and I, half a dozen of us, saw a murder before our eyes, our subsequent evidence will not be completely the same because each person sees a part of it or one side of it and is impressed by one factor. In fact, if in giving evidence in such a case all witnesses say the same thing, it is highly likely that they have been tutored because naturally people do not say the same thing. There really is no major difference. In fact, at the most, it is said that the Finance Minister was told that

9. Chagla had observed in his report: "If the funds have been utilized unsoundly and imprudently, the Corporation and its executive officers must be held responsible. In fact both Shri Vaidyanathan and Shri Kamat failed to exercise the responsibility. Shri Vaidyanathan completely surrendered his judgment to Shri Patel. Shri Kamat was overawed by his senior colleague in the service and failed to satisfy himself about the real nature of the transaction. He failed to consult the Investment Committee. He said he was not even aware of the regulation which made it incumbent that the Investment Committee should be consulted."
10. In fact, on 25 August 1958, Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, announced the new investment policy of the LIC, according to which its funds could be invested in private limited companies with prior approval of the Central Government and that the Corporation must also submit certain returns and statements of accounts to the Controller of Insurance to enable the latter to ensure that the interests of the policy-holders were safe and also point out any mistakes committed by the Corporation.
11. Pares Chandra Bhattacharya (1903-1969); joined Indian Audit and Accounts Service in 1928; worked in Railway Accounts Department till 1939; served in the Union Ministry of Finance in different capacities, 1939-52; Financial Commissioner, Railways, 1952-55; Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1955-57; Chairman, State Bank of India, 1957-62; Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1962-67.

INQUIRY INTO LIC INVESTMENTS: THE MUNDHRA AFFAIR

a big chunk of shares was offered; then he said you can look into it, be cautious, let the LIC consider it and he added, it is said, that there are some curious shares about, so be careful. Now, it seems to me a very legitimate thing to say, provided the LIC is functioning, provided the apparatus of checking, etc., of the LIC functions. If it does not function, of course, there is nothing. I am not going deeply into these questions and answers, that takes time, but I just do not see reading all that how even factually in regard to this particular transaction any responsibility attaches to the Finance Minister, constructively of course and also we may say that the Finance Minister knew previously that some shares might be purchased from the Mundhra concern, and everybody knew apparently that Mr Mundhra was not a shining character in these matters. Everybody had to be careful, that is true, but the purchase of shares, if they were good shares, was not necessarily affected by Mr Mundhra's character, provided they were good shares. Now, everybody also knows that Jessop and Co., and Richardson and Cruddas, and BIC are among the major construction and production companies in India, huge concerns. Between the three of them, I believe, they are doing work for the Government and for our Corporation worth about Rs 20 crores of rupees. The Five Year Plan will be affected if that work suffered apart from the other upsets that it might cause, and all these facts were before me.

Anyhow, the first point to remember is this that even in the report, no mala fides is stated with regard to the Finance Minister but regarding others there are some hints in it and we cannot naturally merely proceed on hints. There have been far too much hints and other things in the course of this enquiry, apart from the Commission, I mean, even in the Counsel's statement.¹² The Reserve Bank Governor was called and something was said about him which was not to his great credit.¹³ Now, the poor man had nothing to do with this matter, absolutely nothing, and it is not a personal question so far as Reserve Bank Governor is concerned, but he happens to be the head of our biggest institution of this kind dealing with the wide world. Anything, even to the

12. Sachin Chaudhuri, the Counsel for the LIC during the Chagla Commission Inquiry, deposed before the Commission on 3 and 4 February 1958. He argued that the driving force behind the LIC transaction was H.M. Patel whose "motive was nothing but honourable." Patel "with his vast and varied experience" came to the conclusion that the deal "was in the interest of the Corporation, the country and its five-year plans in relation to industry."
13. Chagla wrote in his report: "As far as Shri lengar, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, is concerned, his evidence is purely negative. He said that no conversation (about the Mundhra deal) took place between Shri Patel and the Minister within his hearing."

slightest degree, that may be said about him, affects our credit all over the world. These are things we have to be careful about in Parliament, in judicial enquiry, everywhere, and needlessly throwing about opinions and phrases like this which has far-reaching consequences is unfortunate. So, there is no mala fides. Then, according to my thinking, apart from the fact that the method was such, that all the facts did not come out or may not come out, actually all the evidence that has come out broadly supports the position that so far as the Finance Minister is concerned, he was constructively responsible, not otherwise. So far as the other people are concerned, their responsibility actually was greater factually and the greatest of all, I should imagine, was the Managing Director who was in charge of investments. Well, that is the position.

Now, what exactly do we have to do day after tomorrow when this matter comes up? I may tell you that we have to consider this report and its implications rather carefully because it has implications in the functioning of the Government. For the moment Mr T.T. Krishnamachari has resigned, to our great sorrow, and, I think, to our great loss which I have stated previously and elsewhere. He brought in the management of our finances a certain breadth of outlook and took them out of the old grooves. It is true that whenever you do such a thing you face certain risks; if you do not do it, you gradually fade away or decay away. You have to take those risks, you are completely right in taking those risks and so far as I am concerned, I am particularly responsible for encouraging him to take those risks. He took them and then in the past year we had to face a very grave situation because of various reasons. It is largely through his efforts that our situation is somewhat better today.

So now, this matter, this enquiry, has got tied up with all kinds of odd things. One is that a number of people who did not like the policy he pursued or we pursued have seized hold of this enquiry, as if it is an enquiry about that policy which has nothing to do with the policy of nationalization and general policy of taxation which we went in for. They are annoyed with that and they bring it in. On the other hand, oddly enough, we see some of our Opposition parties, because they are Opposition parties, trying to take advantage of this to throw mud right and left on everybody, on Government, and so we see the remarkable but not unusual phenomenon of some of our extreme leftists joining hands in this matter with our extreme rightists.

It should be made perfectly clear that our policies have nothing to do with this matter. It is up to Parliament to discuss our policies, to decide this way or that way, but not in this connection; it has nothing to do with it. As I said, there are other aspects, for example, the aspect of the conventions, etc.—it affects Government, it affects Ministers. How are we to function? If, as Mr Justice Chagla says, everything that a Secretary does or any official does, for that the

Minister is fully responsible, well, that carries the doctrine a little bit further than is practical. It is very difficult. Broadly speaking, of course, he is responsible. Secondly, it is worthy of your consideration, the effect of all this on our Services: what a particular civil servant, one, two, three, who had to deal with this matter, what their position is. But again we find a general condemnation of our Services, proceeding from our Opposition, from others and a general feeling of insecurity coming into our Services—if we do this, we would have an inquiry into our conduct. Now, the result will be that if this happens that will petrify all efforts. On the one hand we have been saying, and saying often enough, there should be greater devolution of powers of responsibility, things get tied up, this is bureaucracy, bureaucracy is tying things up, concentrating power, that is bureaucracy, and we are against bureaucracy, let people have greater power and all that. Now, when that kind of thing happens, mistakes are bound to occur. Then you hang the man. The fellow is not, therefore, prepared to take any responsibility or any risks and the result is work that will be hung up. So it is a serious matter, this whole approach to it. It is one thing to punish a guilty person, punish him of course, it is another thing to spread a feeling that nobody dares to take initiative because he will get into trouble, he might get into trouble, then nobody will take initiative, and all our big plans and schemes depend on initiative. There is the Parliament where every Member goes on telling us, we want our people to take initiative, we want to have greater devolution of authority, we want our corporations to have full autonomy subject to general policy matters. So, this is the broad approach.

One final word in dealing with this matter in our debate—as I have said, we shall deal with it with dignity and keep to the facts and not be led away by the possible approach of the Opposition, which of course is going to be probably just vituperative and cursing the Government, cursing our Services, cursing everybody and generally hinting at the fact that our Government and all our Services are bought over by a few big capitalists, which is perfectly ridiculous. So, I am not yet quite clear in mind as to what should be the attitude in regard to the resolution I am putting forward.¹⁴ My resolution is a simple one. Let this be taken into consideration and we shall consider this matter whether a positive resolution of some kind is better or this one and no doubt we shall let you know. But otherwise, broadly I have put to you the position as I see it.

14. See *post*, p. 374.

12. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

17th February, 1958

Nan dear,

I have received three letters from you dated February 13.

I agree with you entirely that it was not a happy decision to appoint a one-man Commission of Inquiry in the LIC affair.² The one man is a good man but rather hasty. The conditions created in Bombay at the time were so peculiar that this resembled in a sense somewhat the mass trials one hears of in communist countries. However, there it is and we have to face the consequences.

I saw the foreign report of the *Economist* about Krishna Menon. These people are always trying to say something sensational.³

I am glad you will be coming here. I did not know that you had decided to go to Kashmir. We have Sheikh Abdullah now on our hands in Kashmir and he is more than a handful.

I am informing Jayaprakash Narayan about what you have written.

Your letter about your name having figured in an enquiry in the South African Parliament.⁴ I attach no importance to this. Indeed I do not see why you should not have expressed your sympathy informally in this matter.

Love,

Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had written, among other things, that from the comments made by M.C. Chagla who conducted the inquiry in the LIC investments, it seemed as if he had made up his mind in the beginning itself. She also referred to Rosenthal's comment in the *New York Times* that this inquiry had revealed the enormous power enjoyed by the civil service in the past and the ability of the people and Parliament to call even the highest to account for their actions.

3. In the same letter Vijaya Lakshmi had mentioned about the report in *The Economist* entitled "Krishna Menon's Road to the Top".

4. In another letter Vijaya Lakshmi mentioned how her name had figured in an enquiry in the South African Parliament. She wrote that Mrs Louis Hooper, an American citizen who stayed in South Africa for some months for assisting the defence in treason trials and fighting against racial discrimination, had met her and later recorded in her diary that Vijaya Lakshmi had assured her of all possible help. Vijaya Lakshmi denied this, stating that she had only wished her luck. Hooper was later arrested and deported from South Africa.

13. Stand on the Chagla Commission Report: Address to CPP Members¹

Yesterday, I spoke about this matter,² about the report, and gave you very broadly some reactions, more particularly in what manner we should consider this question. Because it is very difficult in a matter of this kind, which has excited public interest greatly, for any of us not to be rather swept away and bring into the sweep of our judgement subjects which have not been considered. For instance, Mr Ansar Harvani³ came and said that this has shown that we are in the powerful grip of the Services and that they are misbehaving and the first thing to do is to remove that grip. Now, I do not see what this particular enquiry into this business has to do with that broad question. We may accept that it may lead you to think about it, because some people concerned with it are in the public service, I mean they are service men. I put to you this difficulty yesterday that as our public corporations grow, we have to choose between persons in the public service or persons whom you might broadly call businessmen—of course there are others too, maybe odd individuals, but broadly speaking, businessmen.

Mr Kamalnayan Bajaj⁴ gave a definition of a businessman, a man who can decide quickly. Well, that is a good definition of anybody anywhere. Well, unless he has that capacity, he cannot decide quickly, and because Mr Vaidyanathan could not decide quickly, therefore he is not a businessman, he said, although he functioned in one of the largest insurance companies of India for many years deciding these very matters. Of course, it may be said that he has lost his grip now because of age or because of whatever the circumstances may be. Anyhow, anyone choosing a person experienced in insurance business ought normally to have chosen Vaidyanathan who had managed that very

1. Extracts from the speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 18 February 1958. Tape No. 30/c (i), NMML.
2. See the preceding item.
3. (1916-1996); freedom fighter, journalist and Congressman from Bisauli, UP; worked for *National Herald* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*; founder General Secretary of All India Students' Federation, 1936-39; Member, National Executive of All India Forward Bloc, 1939-48; imprisoned in 1940 and 1942; Member, AICC, 1946-52; President, All India Youth League, 1946-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-67.
4. (1915-1972); industrialist and businessman; son of Jamnalal Bajaj; Congressman from Wardha, Maharashtra; imprisoned during the freedom movement; Trustee, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Delhi; Member, Khadi and Village Industries Board; Chairman, Jamnalal Bajaj Seva Trust; Treasurer of Reception Committee of the Jaipur Congress, 1948; Member, States' Sub-Committee of Congress, 1948; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-70.

business in one of the biggest companies for a number of years and with success. How else does one measure one's capacity and yet in this matter he appears to have failed, that is true, and probably in regard to certain vital matters concerning this deal he was more responsible than many, because he is the officer in charge of investments particularly. Now, suppose that in this deal, the price paid had been a proper price, that is, it was a good investment, nothing much would have been talked about it, naturally, it is a good investment. Even though you might have bought it from Mundhra, if it is a good investment in good companies at a proper price, well, you have got a good thing. The real thing that puts one on enquiry very much is two or three things. One, of course, is the haste in which this was done and secondly, the amazing thing, the price paid. Now for that, as far as one can see, the person, the man responsible, was the Managing Director whose function it was to see the price, etc., and to examine that other formalities were observed. He apparently lost grip completely or whether he had done it deliberately, I do not know.

So, the other questions about the purchase of shares from Mundhra's concerns are important naturally but all these questions are the ones which put you on enquiry. And there is no reason why they should not buy really sound shares from Mundhra if they can get them at a proper price, except political and other reasons, but from the investment point of view, are you getting a good thing at a proper price, that is the only thing. Now, it was really that particular investment point in which the Managing Director, Vaidyanathan, failed: it was his job to look at it. However, I am not going into this, I am merely mentioning this. But talking about Services—as I said yesterday, you have choose—we want more and more persons for these corporations. Naturally, we want men of ability and as far as possible men of experience, it is obvious. Well, we lack them. The fact of the matter is we lack them terribly. Whenever we have to choose, as we have to choose frequently, directors, I mean chairmen of the boards of steel plants, this, that, there are new things arriving—it is a very difficult job to find a suitable man as personnel is lacking, the trained personnel. And it is not an easy matter, I tell you, not in this country but in other countries, even in highly advanced countries I have often heard that it is very difficult there, and here naturally the difficulty is greater. That is why so much thought has been given in the last several years in the Planning Commission to this question and you can read about it in the Planning Commission report. How to produce these men, we do not rule out businessmen, but the fact is that there are not too many businessmen even of that calibre and it is not enough merely to come to a decision rapidly. Another difficulty is that, exceptions apart, their outlook may not fit in with that of a public corporation, and therefore in the Planning Commission, everybody has come to the conclusion that we

must train people for this work. Suppose we take them out of the administrative service and give them special training, first theoretical training, then practical training, step by step they go up; there is no other way. Till then you have to manage with what you have got. And I think, inevitably, these positions will have to be occupied by persons trained in this way who will gradually gain experience, that is, in the public service, but at the same time always leaving the door open for employing any individual of capacity; whether he is a businessman or whatever he may be, the door is open, but you cannot solely rely on that. There are private interests involved, and the person might have got private shares in that. There are a hundred and one things in it.

Then, about Services, I should like to say because of this case there is much criticism and much resentment about, as Mr Ansar Harvani stated. I cannot say anything about everybody in the Service, but I do want to say that our Services, specially in the higher ranks, are outstanding in their ability and integrity. I have naturally come across a large number of them. I cannot say that about everyone but they compare favourably with any such service in the wide world, in any country, and that is the view of all the outside people who have come here. Again, I repeat, I do not say that of everybody, but taking them, by and large, and mind you, large numbers of people come here from abroad in connection with our Plan—experts come here, representatives of England, America, Russia, France, Japan, Germany, crowds of people come here—they have to deal with our Services, also sometimes with Ministers but mainly with our Services, and every one of them has expressed high admiration for the calibre of our senior Services. They say, ‘you have got wonderful able men.’ They do not know about integrity, how can they? But those who have examined this matter from a technical point of view—as I said once Dr Appleby came; he was an experienced man and he gave his opinion;⁵ but all these other people who came also spoke like this. Now, they are not all doing just like that, they are only praising us when there is something in it. The fact is that we have fairly highly qualified Service men but the fact also is that they have to meet new situations for which necessarily they have not been trained. It is a new type of work. In spite of that many of them have succeeded in those situations; some have not, because they could not adapt themselves to it. And there is this difficulty before us whenever there is an important post—where to get a competent man and how to get him. It is frightfully difficult. Gradually, I

5. At the request from the Government of India, Paul H. Appleby, a noted American expert on public administration, had submitted two reports, one in 1953 and another in 1956, after making a survey of the Indian administrative system.

suppose, we are training them and we will get them. So factually, I think, what I say is correct.

Secondly, this kind of slanging of the Services merely demoralizes the persons who inevitably must carry out these works. There is no other way. Always of course if a man erred we punish him, that is a different matter, but that is an individual. Do not talk of Services as a whole; talk about the man who has erred and do what you like with him; that is the only approach. If you start, let us say, talking about the army that your army is a cowardly army, well, you may have the bravest men in the army, but if you are always slanging them and saying they are no good, the army may get fed up with you. So, leave out the Services. Well, all of us are in the political field. What is the quality we see in our elections, let us be frank with ourselves, in our elections, in our nominations, in all this, what do we see? It is not something to rejoice one's heart, it hurts one, there it is. It is no good blaming others. We all live in glass houses. But I do believe earnestly that our senior officials are a first-rate lot and men of integrity as a whole.

Now, there are a number of other points to be mentioned. I don't know if it is necessary for me to say anything. I am really quite unable to understand one thing. We are proceeding now on the record of the report and evidence behind it. I am really quite unable to understand why so much was made, as Thakurdasji⁶ made, of the difference or the discordance of evidence in regard to that particular point between the Finance Minister's statement, Patel's statement and Bhattacharya's statement. I just do not understand. I see no discordance in it. Just remember that after a three-hour meeting, heavy meeting, everybody is tired, people get up for lunch; while they are going to lunch, something is said by the Finance Secretary to the Finance Minister, just a sentence or two, and one says, well, he says he had no objection, another says, well, I thought he gave me his general approval, the third says something in between. There is no real difference, in fact a frightful thing if you suddenly try to remember what I said casually six months ago; it is frightfully difficult to remember the words. I am not trying to defend anybody but I want to be objective in this. I can quite understand that a certain phrase used, you see I have no objection but look into it, now that may be right or wrong, that phrase may well be understood by the other fellow to mean he is giving me his general approval, I can go ahead, and remember that what did Patel say in this. Patel

6. Thakur Das (1887-1960); advocate and Congressman from Banaras; President, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Banaras; connected with several educational institutions; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-58.

said, 'He had no objection'. Then Justice Chagla put him a number of questions and ultimately he said, well, I got the impression. I felt that he had given his general approval. I really do not see it; if you like you may say the slight emphasis one way or the other, which can always occur after months of evidence about a rather casual conversation at the end of a tiring session, I do not see it. People make different impressions of the same thing. So, there is no radical difference. I am not referring to the rest of the evidence; I am merely taking that because much has been made of that particular incident.

Then, of course, the other point is that whether it was justifiable or not, it is another matter. But if you approve of this thing in principle and the LIC had approved, right from the beginning, of dealing with Mundhra, what Mr Morarka⁷ said may be right or wrong about not dealing with Mundhra, that is a different matter. But they had been dealing with it for three or four months previously, on the basis of buying good shares, as they thought. If you once accept that, then the real question is of price and examination of it, whether it is good or not, which—again the Finance Minister had nothing to do with that; maybe he ought to have had to do with that, that is a different matter. Now remember also—I think I mentioned this yesterday—that it almost is a daily occurrence, this investment business there, and they invest, I am told, 35 crores a year, of which about 70 per cent is in Government security and 30 per cent private.

Now, somebody sent me a slip why do they invest in private equities? Well, when the Insurance Corporation was formed, it was one of the matters greatly stressed that they should and must invest in private equities. It was specially laid down, I forget the percentage, 10 per cent or something, whatever it was I do not know, or a little more; it has gone beyond that. So there is nothing wrong. It has to be done, provided always that they are relatively sound. They have to test, that is a different matter. Every investment corporation all over the world does so. Our investment corporation and most corporations indulge in housing, housing schemes, buildings, mortgaging, all that. As a matter of fact this Corporation has stopped doing that because their money got caught in it and they were cautious and they stopped it. I might tell you because Mr Kamalnayan Bajaj said something about Government making good the loss. What do you call the loss, I should like to know. Because market prices vary, immediately Government comes in, because somebody speculates in the market. You have got, presumably, shares in concerns which are well-known, enormous concerns, Jessop Engineering Works, the other, Richardson and Cruddas and

7. R.R. Morarka (1923-1995); Congress Member from Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan; Fellow, Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67.

BIC, which have an empire in the United Provinces. Now, whether they are badly run or not, that is another matter, but they are solid things, huge companies which are doing work for our Second Five Year Plan in a huge way and at present 20 crores of rupees worth of work for our various elements of the Plan. Now, the so-called loss is the fall in the value of the shares largely due to speculation. The shares may go up. It may go up; with better management, it may produce results. So it is not a sort of losing 30 lakhs or 40 lakhs. It is just a difference, the speculator's difference, which may remain or may not remain and it is true that, I think, it applies to some few shares, may be Osler's and one or two others. Yes, now that Mr Vaidyanathan is asked, he has no reply except to say that.

However, how are we to consider this matter? You heard today the Finance Minister's statement which was read out in accordance with the parliamentary procedure that a resigning minister has the opportunity to make a statement.⁸ Well, he has made a statement. He has resigned, his resignation has been accepted. From the parliamentary point of view that chapter is closed. Now, how else are we to deal with this? I have no doubt in my mind and, I take it, none of you have any doubt in your minds that this whole procedure adopted was full of impropriety. Leave out the question in what measure who is responsible; the procedure thing, the whole thing, was not proper, and Justice Chagla's analysis of this procedure, which really takes up 3/4th of his report, is of this. Well, I may not agree with Justice Chagla's sentences here or there or some minor findings here or there in regard to the procedure. The point is, his main decision is in regard to the impropriety of all this procedure. I accept that, that is his main decision about it. Now, other things arise. There are officers concerned. Obviously, under our rules, when any kind of enquiry or anything is instituted about their roles, Parliament does not take action; it is Government that takes action, enquires according to rules, regulations and institutes proceedings whatever it may be. It is for Government to do that.

Now the third part of Justice Chagla's Report; what is the Government's decision? Certain principles he lays down; some of those principles are obvious. For instance, as I told you yesterday, we have always felt that Secretary and others should not be chairmen or in that way we have also felt that unfortunately

8. In his statement, Krishnamachari said that had the Commission of Inquiry adopted a different procedure of re-examining him, the conclusions would have been different. He added that his quitting office was not due to any differences with his colleagues or Government policies and denied the charge of having kept the House in the dark about the issue. He further said that he was the first victim of a section that was working against the economic policies of the Government.

we did not quite follow that rule simply because of this extreme difficulty of finding a right man, it is all right for six months you can continue; after that something has to be done. Well, I am quite prepared to say that this should not be done, anyhow try to find someone and some other principle, many other things. I am not straightaway saying that every principle that Justice Chagla has laid down, I accept them completely, but I am prepared to say that everything that he has said requires full consideration by us.

So that, I think, should be our line of approach to this matter and we are considering this matter still but we are inclined to think that it is far better in such a matter for Government itself to put forward, well, something, if you like, in the form of a resolution in the House to approve or make a statement which the House approves which will broadly be on the line that I have spoken to you. And if Government puts it forward, as I think it will, then naturally we would expect all the members of our party to support that and not to put forward any amendments or anything else and in fact and also naturally to oppose any amendments that Opposition may bring about. This is our broad approach to this question which I would think reflects broadly the views of most members here who have spoken up. Now, people have referred repeatedly to further probes, further enquiries in this entire matter. Well, we are very much alive to this fact but we are not clear yet as to how we should do it, in what form. I did not like the idea at all, I might tell you, of another enquiry sitting on Justice Chagla; it will be absurd. It is neither good for him nor good for us. But it depends really because we can only decide when we know what material we have got. Mr Feroze Gandhi referred to a telegram yesterday.⁹ Well, of course, we have seen this telegram, we have seen some other papers too and the telegram is an important element to be considered, but by itself the telegram does not take you anywhere. It has only put you on a further enquiry, such investigations will naturally be carried on. In fact, if I may say so, one of the chief errors made by Government in appointing this Commission of Enquiry was that before it was appointed there should have been an investigation. Now that is not Justice Chagla's fault; it is Government's fault. Because we suddenly jumped into it without knowing anything and without eliciting facts of individuals. But in future if such things arise, we have to consider how to do that. Therefore, we shall naturally carry on investigations and as soon as we have got results

9. During the discussion, Feroze Gandhi, Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Rae Bareilly, UP, read out a telegram, alleged to have been sent from Delhi in June 1957 (see *post*, p. 414), in support of his contention that all the facts concerning the purchases had not been placed before the Commission. This, he said, showed that the objectionable deal had been struck in New Delhi long before it was officially negotiated in Bombay.

we will decide of the other steps to take.

We may have heard today, it has nothing to do with this matter, that Mr Mundhra was arrested today.¹⁰ It was not due to this particular matter, of course, but other matters which are somewhat linked to the other. So, this type of enquiry and other things will naturally proceed. Now, that is not a matter we can go into in this way. There may be differences of opinion, you may not have liked the particular approach but, unfortunately, we jumped into this without knowing what we were doing, and to some extent, not entirely, to some extent, it is the fault of you gentlemen. What I mean is this that an atmosphere was created, and we fell a victim to that atmosphere and we immediately appointed and that atmosphere in the country was bad too. I mean to say the atmosphere which was created in the course of the enquiry, it became not a calm enquiry but shouting, the audience misbehaving, clapping, laughing and the whole atmosphere was charged, an atmosphere which should not normally prevail in a judicial court of enquiry and which is very oppressive to everybody. I am sure that Mr Justice Chagla did not like it at all. In fact, he wrote to me that he did not like it but he got caught in it himself and it became difficult to extricate oneself from that. So, there it is.

Now, I would suggest, therefore, first of all, that, as I hope, something will be put forward on behalf of the Government and that the Party will support that fully in speech. And, of course, if it comes to voting no member of the Party should move any amendment and any amendment coming from the Opposition should be voted against, turned down. Now, what we intend putting forward is, broadly speaking, I have already told you that the nature of this deal, etc., as a whole was not proper; it was full of errors and all that; then probably some necessary steps to be taken in regard to the officers concerned, that is, something to be instituted in the proper form; and, thirdly, about the various principal suggestions being made and that Government will examine them carefully. That would be the broad line...

As I said, the Finance Minister has resigned, he has made a statement in the Parliament, but how are we to refer to him in a resolution, his resignation and all that, that is a closed chapter. First of all, I do not think it would be right for us to drag the Finance Minister in, of course I will speak about him in my speech, but apart from that I do not think we should drag him in that statement or part of the resolution.... He has made his statement, you have heard it and he

10. Haridas Mundhra was arrested in Delhi on 18 February 1958 on a complaint made by W.H.J. Christie, the Managing Director of British India Corporation Limited, Kanpur, for delivering fake shares worth Rs 9,50,000 in a business transaction. Mundhra was, however, released on bail on 20 February 1958.

is paying the penalty as much as he could do, of course, and there the matter ends. We can express our appreciation of his work, of course, in our speeches. I propose to do so. That is a different matter.

Now, somebody is asking about the Attorney General, was he briefed or not: I think I have told you when Mr Chagla was appointed the Chairman of the Commission it was suggested, I do not quite know who suggested, whether it was Mr Chagla or somebody else, anyhow it was suggested that the Attorney General might help him. Mr Chagla also expressed his wish and mind you the whole Commission was appointed by the Finance Minister himself. The Finance Minister gladly agreed. He said that the Attorney General will help you.¹¹ There is no further talk with the Attorney General, no briefing at all at any stage. The Attorney General is free to function as he likes and he did function as he liked. There the matter ended. As evidence came in, in all these developments, we felt that some aspects of the case were not being brought out as they might be. While the Attorney General could have brought them out, he did not bring them out. We did feel the lack of this but we just did not know what to do at that last stage and so there the matter ended.

It was suggested yesterday that we might select speakers on this and suggest to Mr Speaker, as is normally done, this time more precisely. My colleagues have written down the names of about a quarter of the members here. I will read out the names...

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11. See also *ante*, p. 344.

14. Resolution on Chagla Commission Report¹

The Cabinet considered the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee regarding the action to be taken on the Chagla Report and approved that the Prime Minister might move a resolution in the House as follows:

“This House, having considered the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, approves of the statement made on behalf of Government that

- 1) Government accept the Commission’s findings to the effect that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds;
- 2) Government propose to initiate appropriate proceedings, on the basis of the findings of the Commission, in respect of the officers responsible for putting through the transaction; and
- 3) Government propose to examine carefully the principles recommended by the Commission² for adoption by Government and the Corporation.”

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meetings, New Delhi, 18 February at 4.30 p.m. and 19 February 1958 at 9.30 a.m. JN Collection.

2. Nehru dwelt on these principles in detail in the course of a discussion in the Lok Sabha on 20 February 1958. See *post*, pp. 390-400.

15. Chagla Commission Report: Discussion in the Lok Sabha¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to move:

“That the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India be taken into consideration”.

Mr Speaker,² Sir, it is just about two months ago since this matter came into my ken when it was first raised in this House. I was not present in the House then or in Delhi. Since then naturally all of us have been much concerned and have followed developments from day to day. This has been a somewhat painful ordeal for some of us, and these two months have made us sadder, a little older and perhaps a little wiser. But that experience or a little bit of wisdom has been purchased at a fairly considerable cost, for it has cost us the services of an able and distinguished Finance Minister at a time when he was most needed.

Let me say, however, at the very outset that whatever the penalties that we or others have paid or may suffer, this inquiry has demonstrated to India and to the world the democratic way we function. It has established the dignity and majesty of this Parliament, and of the procedures we follow in maintaining high standards of public life and administration. That is a great gain and an example to be remembered by all of us in India.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure, this House heard yesterday a statement on the resignation of T.T. Krishnamachari. He has resigned and paid the penalty for what had happened and so far as this House is concerned, there is nothing more to be said about it.

In the course of this inquiry, much has been said about public ownership as opposed to private ownership, about nationalized Life Insurance Corporation as opposed to private insurance companies, about civil servants or businessmen in charge of large undertakings. Not only some witnesses but the public press has discussed this matter and some individuals have expressed their opinion about the failings of nationalization. This was not a question for enquiry before the Commission. However, it is good, I think, that these facts have come out before the public.

I do not remember any such criticisms being made of the serious failures of a number of well-known private insurance companies. Apparently, such failures of private concerns were almost taken for granted and required no

1. Extracts from a speech, 19 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XI, cols. 1494-1509, 1611-1613, 1616-1617 and 1631-1633.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

particular comment. It might be remembered that one of the principal reasons for nationalizing the life insurance was the fact of such failures and the gross mismanagement of such companies. They were not managed or controlled by civil servants, businessmen were in charge of them. I am mentioning this so that we might consider these matters in proper perspective, and not in any way to slur over or to try to minimize the events that took place in connection with the purchase of certain shares by the Life Insurance Corporation, which have been the subject of enquiry.

One thing I should like to mention here, and that is that the Life Insurance Corporation has been doing rather well in recent months and it is, I believe, transacting far greater business than it has ever done before. After the initial few months, which were taken up in problems of reorganization, when the quantum of business fell, it has made rapid progress. The amount of business done by the various life insurance companies, which have now been brought under the umbrella of the Corporation, in 1955 was Rs 258 crores. Then came the change and there was a great deal of disorganization due to the change. So, in 1956 this business went down to Rs 200 crores, that is, Rs 58 crores less. In 1957, that is last year, it jumped up to Rs 273 crores. That is to say, not only did it make up quickly the loss owing to disorganization, but went considerably ahead of the previous peak figure.

So, judging from this, one would say broadly that the Life Insurance Corporation has done remarkably well, and that the officers who run it deserve credit for the way they have done it. That does not mean, of course, that we should not pay adequate attention to any wrong thing done, or that this record of good work justifies any wrong. But it does help us to look at this matter in perspective and to judge any individual case as an individual case and not in large terms of generalization about nationalization or not.

Now, before I proceed very much further, I should like to say right now, on behalf of the Government, that we are of the opinion that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles. I am also opposed to its propriety on several grounds. We accept, therefore, the Commission's findings in regard to this transaction. A major part of the Commission's report deals with this matter.

Also, I should like to say, as the Chairman of the Commission remarked in the course of the inquiry, there are several facts in this for which I have no explanation, and even the inquiry has not elicited all the facts which would enable us to form a clear opinion in regard to a number of these factors. Why the normal precautions were not taken in buying the shares and in fixing the prices and why the Investment Committee was not consulted, and why the prices of the transactions raised no protest, I fail to understand all this. It has

still remained obscure. Whether it is possible to elicit further information now or in the future, we do not know. But an attempt would certainly be made and perhaps we may be in a better position to understand one of these strange developments then.

A number of officers of Government or of the Corporation, are concerned in some way or other with these transactions. We feel that insofar as the officers responsible for putting through these transactions are concerned, appropriate proceedings on the basis of the findings of the Commission should be initiated.

But I should like to remind the House that while that is necessary and should be done, it is not right for us to come to final conclusions in regard to people who are not here to answer or to defend themselves. There are procedures laid down for this purpose and they should be followed. It has been a convention of this House—and it is a right convention—that no decision should be arrived at and no one should be condemned, who is not given an opportunity to defend himself. That is specially so in regard to public servants.

It is even more necessary to remember that if an individual is held responsible, it does not follow that the whole group of persons are at fault or are to be condemned. It would be a bad day if we generalize from a particular case, more especially in regard to the body of civil servants.

I should like to say that I consider the great majority of senior civil officers serving in India as a body of men and women of high ability and integrity, who have served their country well. I have been connected with many of them personally since the responsibility of Government fell on our shoulders. I cannot say, of course, that every one of them is able or of high integrity, but as a group, I am sure, they can be compared to their advantage with any similar group in any part of the world, and I am grateful to them for the work they have done.

They had to face a new situation and new types of work. They have done their utmost, often with success, to adapt themselves to this new situation. Our work has grown enormously and our fields of activity have spread. More and more we have become a State, engaged in social and industrial undertakings. I cannot say that all is well everywhere; but we are constantly trying to bring about a greater efficiency and higher standards of work and of integrity.

I should like to say here that in the course of the inquiry, though not in the report itself, mention was made of some persons wholly unconnected with these transactions in a way that might be disadvantageous to them and to the positions they occupy. In this way, the Governor of the Reserve Bank was mentioned. He was entirely unconcerned with this purchase, and I regret that anything should have been said which reflects on a man of high integrity and

ability who occupies a position of great responsibilities.

In this inquiry a question has been raised about the employment of officials of the Civil Service in our nationalized undertakings and our big projects. It has been suggested that businessmen of experience would be more suitable. I would welcome businessmen or other non-officials, if they have the ability and integrity that is required for such responsible posts. But there is another consideration to be borne in mind. A person serving in a nationalized undertaking should agree with the objective of nationalization and of State control. A person who is opposed to it will find it difficult to fit in. It is interesting to remember also that quite a number of our senior civil servants, after retiring from service, or on reaching the age of retirement, have been offered and have accepted high posts in private business and are then supposed to be experienced businessmen. They are paid much more than, of course, what they were paid while in service.

Nath Pai:³ That is for services they rendered while they were in office.

JN: Honourable Members opposite have very special sources of information which have nothing to do with reality and fact. They live in a world of imagination and make statements without the slightest foundation. If there is anything, let them bring up the facts. It is no good making generalizations.

Nath Pai: They have been brought to the notice of the Government more than once.

JN: I am merely saying that generalizations of this type are no good. May I enquire why then senior officials who have been retired are in office in international organizations in India, in Europe, in America and all over the place? Because they were considered good enough for that.

J.B. Kripalani:⁴ Is not the Prime Minister himself guilty of generalization from a few cases?

Mr. Speaker: He was only answering what was said here by way of generalization.

Nath Pai: That was only with regard to the private employment. We accept they have integrity. We do not dispute that part of the statement.

3. Praja Socialist Party Member from Rajapur, Bombay State.

4. Praja Socialist Party Member from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Members will have an opportunity to speak. The debate is not closing now.

JN: I do not wish to enter into an argument because these are side issues. But, they have become important issues because unfortunately all kinds of charges and insinuations are flung about in the press, in the lobbies of Parliament.

Surendranath Dwivedy:⁵ Rightly sometimes so.

JN: The honourable member says, insinuations are rightly flung about. That is unfortunately the way of some Members of the Opposition, I hope, not of all. Because, I have high regard for many Members of the Opposition.

Jaipal Singh:⁶ May I ask, on a point of order, is it correct for the Leader of the House to tell us what happens in the lobbies?

JN: If I may say so, I myself do not frequent the lobby as much as many others. But reports do reach me and I am amazed at the kind of insinuations and charges made there which, I should say, I do not mind their being made publicly if they can be dealt with. It is unfortunate that this kind of thing is said outside and it spreads like bad gossip and scandal from mouth to mouth and ear to ear.

There is one rather interesting fact in regard to the Life Insurance Corporation that the person chiefly and most intimately concerned with the question of investment, the particular matter that arises here, was and is a person who is considered an old experienced businessman. He is not a civil servant. He has had experience over a generation, I do not know how long, in one of the biggest life insurance companies previously.

J.B. Kripalani: He was paralyzed.

JN: I know unfortunately businessmen get paralyzed when they have to function adequately.

This talk about public servants and businessmen in this connection requires much greater examination than has perhaps been accorded to it. The fact of the matter is that we should naturally search for and employ the best men for the job whether they are public servants, non-officials or businessmen, whatever

5. Praja Socialist Party Member from Kendrapara, Orissa.

6. Jharkhand Party Member from Ranchi West, Bihar.

they may be. As our work increases and the demand for highclass and trained men with experience grow greater and greater, we are finding it very difficult to find the right kind of men.

That is a matter which has been considered repeatedly by the Planning Commission. Honourable Members, if they read the Second Plan report, will find a good deal said about it, that is, how to train sufficient numbers of people to occupy these high posts if we could get them. In that, we have further stated that it is not merely training from the bottom up, but taking a young businessman, if he is good, into service and giving him special training or training our civil servants in a special way. In other words, we have left the door open to get people and give them training and experience and thus prepare them for the larger responsibilities that are coming our way.

Then, the question has arisen as to what part the Government should take in the working of an autonomous corporation. Obviously, this requires earnest consideration. The Commission has recommended certain principles. We shall certainly examine their recommendation in regard to these principles very carefully. Broadly speaking, we agree that autonomous corporations should have autonomy subject naturally to such limitations as may be prescribed.

Let us, however, look at the Act which gave birth to the Life Insurance Corporation.⁷ It should be remembered that the entire capital of the Corporation has been found by the Government. According to the Act, the Government has the right to appoint the entire Board, the right to lay down the rules, the right to approve the regulations that may be made by the Corporation itself and the right even to wind up the Corporation.

Thus, although the Corporation was meant to be independent and autonomous in its day-to-day functioning, machinery was provided for the Government to give guidance to the Corporation in various ways. Parliament in its wisdom imposed upon the Government the responsibility that this business should be properly conducted through a Corporation and authorized the Government to give directives when they found it necessary. C.D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister, stated in the Lok Sabha on the 18th May 1956 that there is a further safeguard that the Central Government has the right to give directions to the Corporation in the matter of investment. Investment does mean not only investment generally but specific investments. To lay down as a principle, therefore, that the Government must keep aloof from the Corporation completely would be to challenge the decision of Parliament.

7. The Life Insurance Corporation Act was enacted on 1 July 1956.

INQUIRY INTO LIC INVESTMENTS: THE MUNDHRA AFFAIR

Having made this point clear, I should like to add that we entirely agree that an autonomous corporation should not be generally interfered with. Indeed, it is our belief that there must be more and more devolution of power and authority subject to certain safeguards. No complicated system of Government can work if it is too centralized. Even in our other departments of Government, we are moving towards greater decentralization.

This inquiry has raised very novel questions. Indeed, it is not in India only, but also in the United Kingdom that similar questions have arisen in regard to a recent inquiry called the Bank Rate inquiry.⁸

After that inquiry was over, many doubts were expressed as to the proper mode of a public inquiry in such cases. It is, I believe, the practice in inquiries in England to hand over the case to the Treasury Solicitor and he is given the assistance of the Chief of Police to make investigations. Upon the investigations being completed, all the information is put before the Inquiry Commission. The Commission does not, as a rule, take part in the examination of witnesses, but leaves it to the Attorney General who is furnished with statements obtained by the Treasury Solicitor. The Attorney General conducts both the examination and the cross-examination and, in doing so and presenting the case, he acts only in the interest of bringing out facts.

It may interest the House if I quote from a leading article in regard to these matters which appeared in the *London Times*.⁹ I shall read some extracts from it only. There were, in fact, two or three articles on this because the matter exercised British opinion greatly, as indeed here in India this particular inquiry

8. In November 1957, a tribunal had been appointed by the UK Government under the chairmanship of Hubert Parker to investigate the allegation made by two Labour MPs, Harold Wilson and Leslie Plummer, that the information about the increase in the bank rate from 5 per cent to 7 per cent had been leaked out, resulting in considerable selling in the gilt-edged market. The tribunal, in its report published on 21 January 1958, found that the allegation was baseless. The bank rate was increased on 9 September 1957 to check inflation and maintain the value of the pound abroad.

9. Commenting on the proceedings of the tribunal, *The Times* of 28 January 1958 wrote that questions with a damaging innuendo against individuals were asked, and "many innocent people were put to great expense of time and money...some who were barely more than bystanders had to make public many intimate details of their private lives and conversations, men of high standing were treated like prisoners in the dock, and long statements putting the worst constructs on their simplest actions were allowed to stand unanswered, sometimes for an appreciable interval." It was suggested that Parliament should restrict the privilege of its members to make remarks detrimental to individuals and hence inquiries of the kind should not be instituted without sufficient cause and Parliament should show careful restraint in demanding such inquiries.

has exercised Indian opinion. Of course, the two inquiries are not of the same type, the matters involved are not the same. Nevertheless, there is a certain similarity, and the same questions have arisen.

I should like to say why I am explaining this, because it really is a matter for the future, not for the past. The other day, I stated elsewhere that the method of inquiry was not very satisfactory. Some people thought that I was criticizing the Chairman of the Commission. It was far from my thought. I was not criticizing the chairman at all, but rather the whole approach. The fault really and principally lay with us in not thinking this matter out beforehand. As a matter of fact, if I may say so with some hesitation and in all confidence, we were hustled by Parliament.

N.G. Goray:¹⁰ That is very obvious.

Nath Pai: We should do it more often.

JN: Parliament did not order us. What I mean to say is that it was Parliament's eagerness, a very legitimate eagerness—I am not denying that. We are asked—even now, I believe, there are questions in the Order Paper—did some Members of the Cabinet want to delay the inquiry? Did they want to postpone it? With this kind of atmosphere surrounding us, we must take action immediately, and of course, we were anxious. From the very first day, we were anxious to have a full inquiry to elicit all the facts and take steps. But we were not quite clear as to the best way of doing it, and because of our lack of prescience or lack of thought given to it, difficulties arose, as they arose in England in a different context.

Therefore, it was not in criticism, certainly not of the very eminent Judge who presided over this, that I said that. Rather it is for us to consider, for Parliament to consider at a later stage—and for Government to keep in mind—as to what type of procedure we should follow.

Now, quoting from this newspaper, it said that “the whole question of the propriety of the whole tribunal procedure from its first origins in Parliament has come up before us, and what happened in the method that is adopted, what happened from a certain date always has caused considerable misgivings”. Again another point—“The first doubts concerned the question asked about a

10. N.G. Goray was Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona, and General Secretary of the Socialist Party from 1957 to 1962.

certain gentleman. In view of the categorical statements made by Mr Wilson¹¹ and Sir Leslie Plummer,¹² that these questions were not intended to convey any allegation against him, it must certainly be wondered whether the way in which the questions were framed was proper, more especially.....”—Then it referred to some particular question whether Mr Thorneycroft¹³ did or did not do something—“should questions be asked in Parliament carrying innuendo of this kind.”

Then it goes on to say that “the question has even arisen whether there should be some kind of restriction on the privilege of Members of Parliament”, but comes to the conclusion that “this would be undesirable. Even though the privilege may be misused, it is important to keep that privilege intact”—something with which I entirely agree. “It is Parliament’s duty, however, to do what it can to discourage Members from abusing that freedom”. Then it goes on—“Possibly, the recent episode may tempt some Members on both sides in Parliament to indulge in exploratory innuendo as a harassing tactic”.

Then another difficult question arose, that “before referring the matter to a regular Inquiry Commission, is it to be inquired into in a smaller way? If so, will that smaller inquiry be public or private?” All kinds of questions are considered. “If a public inquiry is decided upon, is the tribunal, the child of the 1921 Act,¹⁴ the right body? Clearly, Parliament itself cannot conduct such an inquiry. The next alternative is the Select Committee. The last time a Select Committee was used for an inquiry comparable with this, the Members divided strictly on party lines, and this was only one of the many bad features which prompted the 1921 Act as a remedy. Though this Act was hasty, its principle of referring such matters to an independent judicial body with the powers of the High Court seems unquestionably right.”

11. James Harold Wilson (1916-1995); British Labour leader; elected to Parliament, 1945; Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Works, 1945-47; President, Board of Trade, 1947-51; spokesman for economic affairs, 1955-59, and for foreign affairs, 1961-63; Prime Minister, 1964-70 and 1974-76; works include *The Labour Government 1964-70: A Personal Record*; *The Governance of Britain*; and *Memoirs: The Making of a Prime Minister 1916-64*.

12. Leslie Arthur Plummer (1901-1963); Chairman, Overseas Food Corporation, 1948-50; General Manager of *New Leader*; Labour MP, 1951-63.

13. George Edward Peter Thorneycroft at this time was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the UK.

14. The Bank Rate Tribunal, appointed by the UK Government, was constituted under the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act of 1921.

"The 1921 Act, however, did not provide at all for the membership of a tribunal or their proceedings, and both have evolved by experiment.' 'After two Members of Parliament had taken opposite views as members of a Tribunal in 1928, the membership was thereafter confined to the legal world. This has worked much better."

"As regards the procedure, up to and including the Budget leak inquiry of 1936, the tribunal did their own inquiry.¹⁵ The Attorney General¹⁶ confined himself to summarizing evidence and to taking witnesses through their statements, while the cross-examination was done by the tribunal themselves." "However, the 1936 tribunal complained that the testing of the witnesses' stories by way of cross-examination or otherwise by the tribunal might have created the impression that they were from the start hostile to some of the witnesses who appeared before them. From that arose the practice of the Attorney General stating the case in more pointed terms and himself conducting the cross-examination. But this change may have undesirable consequences of its own. The Attorney General starts with a role which, to the laymen's eye, is one of hostility. Being himself a member of a Party Government, but acting in a non-party capacity, he must take special pains, so it is suggested, not to fall short in severity. In the exercise of this severity, although the luckless people to whom every sort of impropriety seems to be imputed are constantly reminded that nobody is accused of anything, he is apt to make a long connected statement of the case which somebody has explained away without a corresponding opening statement being made by that somebody's counsel. Further, the increased need for those involved to be represented by counsel imposes a huge expense which few private people can reasonably bear."

I need not read all. The first thing is that such an inquiry should not be instituted without sufficient cause and without adequate preliminary inquiry. I merely read this out to indicate how complicated questions arose in these matters, how they have arisen elsewhere—they have, in fact, arisen in different ways. It is not a question of criticizing any particular procedure. It is, of course, not necessary for us to follow the British practice in this or any other matter. But since in many ways we do follow the British practice in Parliament, we can learn much from what has been done elsewhere and I certainly think, subject to further consideration, that when such an occasion arises for the appointment

15. In England, a judicial tribunal, constituted in May 1936, held J.H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, responsible for leaking certain information relating to the Budget to Alfred Butt, MP, who used it for private gain. As a result, Thomas and Butt both resigned from the Parliament on 11 June 1936.

16. Sir Donald Somervell.

of a commission, some preliminary steps should be taken and some preliminary investigation should be made to be placed before the tribunal to help them.

There is another aspect of such inquiries. The inquiry, like any judicial procedure, must necessarily be conducted with great decorum and dignity and without public interference in it. Now, it is right and natural for the public to be greatly interested and, for my part, I think as a rule public inquiries are better than private inquiries. But if, as was stated in fact elsewhere too, the whole atmosphere of the court becomes surcharged by public excitement and public exclamation and interference, it is not the normal atmosphere which one wants to prevail in a judicial court or in a like inquiry. As a matter of fact, I know that the Chairman of this Commission, Mr Justice Chagla, was much distressed at what was happening in his court and protested many times about it, because it is embarrassing to the Judge or to the presiding officer of the tribunal. It is exceedingly embarrassing to the witnesses who appear there and every effort should be made to prevent this kind of public excitement from overflowing into a court room.

Then, there are questions relating to ministerial responsibility, and like questions. They are important. Of course, they are hardly within the purview of the Inquiry Commission; they are really for Parliament to determine and usually such questions are matters of convention. I do not propose to go into this matter here except to say that we accept the broad principle of ministerial responsibility. But to say that the Minister is always responsible for all the actions of the officers working under him may take this much too far. May I say that this inquiry had obviously nothing to do with the broad principles of the policy of the Government? It is not for such inquiries to criticize, comment or object to the broad principles of policies which Parliament has laid down. But there has been so much reference in the press and elsewhere about these broad policies and an attempt made to run down those broad policies, because of this, not only in regard to insurance, but even in regard generally to the public sector, that I feel it is necessary to state quite clearly and positively here that so far as Government's policies are concerned, in regard to the public sector, in regard to increasing the public sector, they hold completely; there is not a shadow of doubt in our minds that those policies are right and should be pursued and this particular matter has nothing to do with them.

Further, I have already stated that Government accept the Commission's findings to the effect that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds. Further, Government intend to initiate proper proceedings on the basis of the findings of the Commission in respect of the officers responsible for putting through the

transaction. Government also intend to examine carefully certain principles recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Government and the Corporation.

I am placed in a slightly difficult position, because I have got up to move a resolution which I have placed before the House that this report be taken into consideration. That, of course, is not a matter which can be voted upon, unless we stop consideration. With your permission, at a later stage I propose to put forward a substantive resolution for this House to consider and adopt. That resolution runs as follows:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:

“This House, having considered the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, approves of the statement made on behalf of Government that:

- (1) Government accept the Commission's findings to the effect that the transaction resulting in the purchase of shares of the six companies was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds;
- (2) Government propose to initiate appropriate proceedings, on the basis of the findings of the Commission, in respect of the officers responsible for putting through the transaction; and
- (3) Government propose to examine carefully the principles recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Government and the Corporation...”

16. Chagla Commission Report: Reply to Debate in the Lok Sabha¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, we have arrived almost at the end of this rather unique debate, or rather a debate on a rather unusual matter. I feel, and I think that perhaps most Members of this House will feel, that in spite of much that caused us pain in this connection, it is a good thing that we have had this debate, a full and frank debate in this House where many aspects of this question have been thrashed out. It is good for this House, of course, and good for the country.

We have heard many types of speeches. We have just heard a very eloquent one. I have neither the capacity nor the desire to be eloquent at this stage. So, I propose just to refer to certain aspects of this question which have arisen.²

To begin with, I think, it is rather confusing if, in considering this particular matter, as my colleague the Home Minister pointed out, we bring in Karl Marx or others. I almost expected some other member of the Opposition, not of course a member of Shri Dange's party but some other member, to bring in the *Bhrigu Samhita* and tell us what the *Bhrigu Samhita* thinks ought to be done on the occasion. I do not mean to say that both of them stand on a par, but the approach to this question in this way does mean that we are not considering this question at all, but that our minds are full of other ideas, good or not so good, and they have no room for any freshness of outlook.

Shri Dange referred to the power of finance capital and the rest.³ Of course, finance capital has power. What exactly in this context he was driving at was not

1. 20 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XI, cols. 1793-1814.
2. Asoka Mehta had observed: "I would like to pay my tribute to Mr Chagla and the Attorney General. They approached the inquiry with the feeling that the truth has to be discovered and the chips may fall where they may. It is only by such an approach that in a matter of this kind we can hope to reach the truth. I do not enjoy muckraking, though I believe there are occasions when muck has to be raked and removed, but I believe that this has to be done without gloating or glee."
3. Participating in the debate S.A. Dange, CPI Member from Central-South Bombay and General Secretary, AITUC, remarked on 19 February that the State machine had tremendous faith in private capital. He said: "Why could these ICS people be bamboozled?... It is not unnatural. If Mr J.R.D. Tata or Mr G.D. Birla or for that matter Mr H.D. Mundhra walks into the office of an ICS Secretary, he is overwhelmed by the power of the millions, by his ownership of the sugar mills, textile mills, iron mills, railways and so on. There are ten directors controlling hundreds of crores of rupees of capital, 20 or 30 companies despite the new Companies Act. When these mighty capitalists, owners of finance capital, walk into the office, what can the poor Secretary do? Even the Ministers collapse. What to talk of the ICS."

clear to me. Apart from considering this particular matter, were we considering some basic and radical change in our economic set-up? Or was he trying to hint that so long as this country has the misfortune not to accept his views entirely, everything will be wrong?

However, I do not propose to enter into this question, but, if I may say so, I entirely agree with what Shri Asoka Mehta just said about this House not being converted into a school for scandal,⁴ and insinuation being made not only about capitalists and others, but, as, I believe, was made by Shri Dange, about Ministers, officials and others carrying on *benami* transactions. I do not know what Shri Dange had in mind. If he had in mind any such thing, I shall be grateful if privately or publicly he will tell us to enquire into them, but it does not help much by throwing about these innuendoes and vague charges.

There are one or two matters I should like to deal with before I go into some specific points that have arisen. One is this. Many honourable Members have pointed out that Mundhra is a bad man and was known to be a bad man by members of the Government, by members of the Corporation, by other people and when they knew it, why this deal? I cannot answer that question fully, but I shall endeavour to answer it partly. I cannot answer it fully because, as I said in my opening remarks, so far as this particular matter is concerned, this Mundhra deal of the LIC, it contains so many factors which are totally incomprehensible to me. I just do not understand how some of the developments took place. So, I cannot answer it in that way. That is why I have ventured to put forward a resolution, the first part of which states very clearly that we agree with the finding of Mr Justice Chagla that this whole deal was highly improper, etc.

That apart, the question does arise about Mr Mundhra and some Ministers and others knowing about him. Mr Mundhra, I understand, has had some connection with a vast number of companies. Are we to avoid having deals in those companies, because Mr Mundhra has a share in them or a dominant share? That is a difficult proposition to take to. Shri Asoka Mehta just said—I am not sure of the figure—that the Life Insurance Corporation has investments in fifteen hundred companies. Maybe, it is a large number of companies for India especially. And I should be surprised if, quite apart from this deal, Mr Mundhra does not overlap with these fifteen hundred companies in many places.

4. Asoka Mehta had said: "The Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, that there are many in this House who would be very unhappy if this august body ever degenerates into a school for scandal. We are interested in discovering the weak spots in our administrative edifice but we shall not be guilty of tearing down the edifice that we are trying to build brick by brick."

So, my point is that the fact that Mr Mundhra was known to be an undesirable character cannot prevent us from dealing with companies in which he has shares, even these in which he has a dominant share, provided always that the fact of Mr Mundhra being there puts us in enquiry, cautions us, and makes us doubly careful. I admit, of course, that in this particular matter, these various elements are lacking. That is why the trouble has arisen. Suppose that in this particular case, two or three factors do not come in. There are others too, but I am mentioning two or three special ones. One was the price factor in regard to some of the shares—I forget which, perhaps of Osler's and others—which is amazing, for which I have found no explanation.

Suppose in fact that in Jessops, in Richardson and Cruddas, or even in the BIC, shares were taken by the Life Insurance Corporation at a suitable price. Well, some people may have liked the transaction or not, but there was nothing obviously wrong in doing that. The wrongness comes in because of other factors, and the wrongness comes in because when they were dealing with Mr Mundhra, they ought to have been much more careful in seeing to it.

Now, take these companies like Jessops, Richardson and Cruddas, the BIC. They are very well-known manufacturing concerns, some of the biggest in India. Shri S.A. Dange suggested that we should take over Jessops, and the State should control it. A very good suggestion. Whether we take it over now or later or what we do is another matter; I am not committing myself to taking it over, but it is a suggestion worthy of examination.

Now, I put it to you that it may occur to people that because Jessops, Richardson and Cruddas are very important manufacturing concerns in India, important in themselves, big and important because they are doing work for the Five Year Plan, for our iron and steel factories and all that, therefore, it is a good thing, first, negatively to see that they do not go to pieces, and secondly, positively, to get progressively more control over them. 'Nationalize them', you say. True, one can nationalize them. According to our policy, if we nationalize the whole thing, we have to pay compensation for it, and the compensation for these companies will be pretty heavy.

Another way of gradually getting that done is to acquire a majority control over the shares, and in this way achieve what you are aiming at. Therefore, the idea of buying shares in companies like Jessops is obviously attractive. Forget the Stock Exchange, and the market operations and all that. Here is a solid thing. There is no doubt about it. It is not in the air. It is a solid thing doing good work. It is something which is an asset to the country. Therefore, to get shares in such companies is obviously an attractive proposition, provided the price paid is right, and other things are examined.

Therefore, I should like this House not to mix up two things, the badness

or whatever may be considered in regard to Mr Mundhra that he is a totally unreliable person, a person to be suspected. True, let us admit that in dealing in companies which happen to be connected with him today, because he has bought up a large number of shares, speculated and all that—although we have to think of the companies, not of Mr Mundhra, yet in buying them, we have to think of Mr Mundhra and have to be doubly careful, I admit that.

Now, much has been said about policy or about the lack of a policy of investment. I agree very largely, but not entirely. I may say that there is no such absolute lack, as has been hinted at, although I should have liked that to be much more definite and precise. In fact, if I may say so, there was growing consideration of this problem, and gradually it was taking shape. People have said, some honourable Members have said, that Section 27A⁵ should have been applied, should be applied and all that.

In fact, there is an amendment on the part of Shri M.R. Masani,⁶ Shri Jaipal Singh and another Member about bodily lifting the principles enunciated in Mr Chagla's report and adopting them. We have said, as you will remember, that we propose to give earnest consideration to them. They said, why this waste of time, we do not trust you. Shri M.R. Masani said, we do not trust this Government, we must adopt them here and now. If this was the way in which Shri M.R. Masani used to carry on his businesses, he would have got into great trouble; and I do not know if this is the way he applies to his political business. That is why he goes wrong so often.

Look at those seven principles. Some are obviously right. Some may not be so obviously right. The first is:

“That Government should not interfere with the working of autonomous statutory corporations; that if they wish to interfere they should not shirk the responsibility of giving directions in writing.”

Well, perfectly correct. But as Shri Asoka Mehta said or somebody else said, what is Government's part in these autonomous corporations? Dr Krishnaswami⁷ dealt with this matter at some length yesterday and pointed

5. Section 27A of the Insurance Act of 1938 drew up a list of “approved investments”. This was mainly to prevent the management of life insurance companies from misusing the policy-holders' money to benefit themselves. This section was incorporated in the Life Insurance Corporation Act of 1956 as Section 43 (2).
6. Independent Member from Ranchi East, Bihar.
7. A. Krishnaswami, Independent Member from Chingleput, Madras.

out that while it is admitted by everybody obviously that investments must be made in good solid shares—admitted—one fact is completely left out of this approach, for instance, these principles that are laid down. And Dr Krishnaswami pointed out—although I have no doubt that other Members are fully aware of that—that the LIC becomes merely by virtue of its bigness of investment a market leader—I am using his phrase; I do not understand these words quite fully—and thereby can affect the market this way or that way.

You cannot ignore this fact that large chunks of money come from the LIC for investment, Rs 40 crores a year. Think of that. I do not know what the figure is, perhaps Rs 50 lakhs a week. You have to have a policy for that, not merely the policy of good shares; that, of course, is there. But whatever you do has an influence on the market. What are you going to do? You may encourage certain tendencies or discourage them.

Therefore, a certain policy is essential, and that policy cannot be laid down by any investment committee. Only Government and Parliament can lay it down. It is obvious. The investment committee will probably follow it.

I stated yesterday that the then Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, stated at that time that it would be Government's function to say what the policy was. This matter of the nature of investment came up and it was decided then. Now, Shri Masani would, no doubt, like that Government should have nothing to do with it. Full autonomy! So that certain eminent businessmen may have large funds, with no interference, at their disposal.

M.R. Masani: Will the honourable Prime Minister yield for a moment? May I point out that what I said was quite the reverse? I pointed out that, after Shri C.D. Deshmukh gave the assurance that policy would be laid down, Government had not, as of today, laid down a general policy of investment which I would welcome. The Prime Minister is wide of the mark.

JN: I read the first principle in this report, which I say is completely acceptable, that Government should not interfere, subject always, of course, to the whole basic policy and other things being put before Parliament whenever necessary.

Take the second item:

“That chairman of Corporations like the LIC, which has to deal with investments in a large way, should be appointed from persons who have business and financial experience and who are familiar with the ways of the Stock Exchange.”

N.G. Ranga:⁸ There is something about the tenure of office also.

JN: I regret I cannot immediately say that I agree with this. In fact, I have grave doubts about the chairman always being a gentleman of the Stock Exchange. How am I to be called upon immediately to agree to all this? I am pointing out—I am not saying ‘yes’ or ‘no’—that this deserves further consideration. I admit, of course, that the chairman of such an organization should be a man of ability, integrity and experience, if we can find him as much as we can. But to limit that to people from the Stock Exchange seems to me perhaps not a very proper way of looking at it.

Then again take the third:

“If the executive officers of the Corporation are to be appointed from the Civil Services, it should be impressed upon them that they owe a duty and loyalty to the Corporation that they should not permit themselves to be influenced by senior officials of Government or surrender their judgement to them. If they feel that they are bound to obey the orders of these officials, they must insist on these orders being in writing.”

I completely agree. In fact, if I may say so with all respect, it simply means that people should be told that they must behave properly and not badly. It comes to that, really. I accept it. But to say that officers who are appointed must behave with integrity of course and not be swept away by somebody else is quite different.

There is another question. I quite agree that if any instructions are given to them by Government, and if they are oral instructions, they should be put in writing. But I should like to point out one thing. Whether they are Ministers or Secretaries or anybody else dealing day to day with corporations and other things, they function not as a kind of rival parties instructing each other or quarrelling with each other. They discuss matters. Ideas are thrown out. The ideas are acceptable or not acceptable. One does not issue instructions.

Suppose a Secretary or even a Minister is discussing this with the chairman of the Corporation. He says: ‘What do you think of this? I think it will be a good idea.’ This is not a firm instruction. Now, the other person, if he has got any guts, if he thinks it is wrong, should say, ‘No, I do not think it is a good idea’, and advance arguments. Either something is decided between the two or, if the Minister wants to impose his will against the other, he must give it in

8. N.G. Ranga, Congress Member from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

writing, if it is a matter of policy. But the chairman or Managing Director, whoever it is, is certainly responsible and must be made responsible completely for doing something against his will, if he does it merely on some kind of oral indication which he does not approve of.

I think Shri Feroze Gandhi read out something from Mr Churchill's writings.⁹ It is very difficult in this complicated world of ours, with an enormous amount of work, always to insist on communicating with each other by notes and writings. In fact, we complain—this House complains—so much about this business of tremendous noting in our Secretariat. I have suggested to them—for heaven's sake, stop writing so much, meet together and discuss and settle it, instead of files going round and round and round.

If you do that—I think we should do it—there is a risk of misunderstanding. One takes that risk. One has to. Take an extreme example of war. Do you expect every Colonel or General to be writing long letters to particular officers? You have to take a risk. The risk may involve your defeat in war, but you certainly, without doubt, are going to be defeated if you carry on the war with long correspondence.

So, these matters are not capable of rigidity. The broad principle is there, and must be there. In our set-up, the Minister is responsible, constructively responsible, for any matter of policy. Even if he does not happen to have personal knowledge of it, he is responsible, except, maybe, in some very special case. If he knows about the principle, then of course he is also responsible. It does not make much difference. The difference comes in or may come in regard not to responsibility—that kind of constructive or other responsibility—but in regard to the bona fides or mala fides. That is a separate thing entirely which, of course, is a factual matter to be determined on the facts.

Then the fourth principle is:

“The funds of the Life Insurance Corporation should only be used for the benefit of the policyholders and not for any extraneous purpose. If they are to be used for any extraneous purpose, that purpose must be the larger interest of the country. The public is entitled to an assurance from Government to this effect.”

I could gladly and consciously give that assurance here and now. We can put it down on paper in black and white. It is obvious. The funds are always and

9. Feroze Gandhi had quoted the following from Churchill's *Second World War: Their Finest Hour* (Vol. II): “I am a strong believer in transacting official business by the written word.”

surely for the benefit of policyholders.

As regards the other thing, they say that if they are to be used, it must be in the national interest. There is no 'if' about it. It will always be used in the national interest. As I just now pointed out, you cannot help that. When you are dealing with such large sums of money, whatever you do affects the national interest, affects your Plan, affects your economy and this and that, so that you cannot ignore that.

The moment you come out of that relatively small private company and become this monolithic organization, inevitably all kinds of responsibilities come over you, which the private company did not have. Even in the case of the private company, which was tied hand and foot as to the methods of its investments, 50 per cent in government paper, 25 per cent in government-approved companies, they permitted, if I remember rightly, 15 per cent to speculate, and throw away if they liked—the words are mine, not in the Act. They were allowed to do what they liked with 15 per cent, and they did. They speculated 15 per cent in the hope of getting more or losing it.

I am prepared to accept this, but always laying stress that you cannot simply deal with a monolithic State organization like this in the same way.

Govind Malaviya:¹⁰ Even about that 15 per cent, there were very strict rules.

JN: Now, I just mentioned the word 'monolithic'. I am not expressing an opinion, but some honourable Members have said that it might have been desirable or might be desirable in the future for this huge organization to be split up to three or four. It is a matter which may be considered. If that is more advantageous, it should be done. We should not hesitate to do it.

The fifth point is that 'in a parliamentary form of government, Parliament must be taken into confidence by the Ministers at the earliest stage....' Perfectly of course.

The sixth is 'that the Minister must take full responsibility for the acts of his subordinates. He cannot be permitted to say his subordinates did not reflect his policy or acted contrary to his wishes or directions.' This, again, is broadly correct. But I am not quite clear in my mind whether it is 100 per cent correct. But, broadly it is correct, as I have said. So far as the present instance is concerned, the Minister did take the responsibility and he is no longer a Minister. It is a proposition which he can consider later.

And lastly.....

10. Congress Member from Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

Jaipal Singh: In view of the fact that there is an amendment which has been moved, may I request the Leader of the House to enlighten us as to what his own reactions are in regard not merely to the question of one Minister's responsibility, as he is not in office at the present moment, but about the entire Cabinet being responsible. I am not thinking of this instance as such but it arises out of what we are trying to appreciate.

JN: Surely, the answer to my honorable friend is very simple. It would always depend on the circumstances of the case. In each case the circumstances vary. I can imagine the whole Cabinet resigning. (Interruption) An honest Government should immediately move as circumstances require.

Now, that may be applied. I may inform the House that one of the first acts of this new Corporation when it met was to pass a resolution—I won't read the whole of it—it is five pages—which was really to apply Section 27A as modified here and there. There are pages and pages of it. I will just read the first paragraph:

“The Corporation shall invest out of its controlled funds at least 25 per cent in Government securities, a further sum equal to not less than 25 per cent in Government securities or other approved securities and the balance in any of the approved investments specified in sub-section (2) of Section 27A or subject to the limitations”, etc.

Then, there is a very long list of the type of securities so that, in fact, although Government did not apply Section 27A, the Corporation itself laid it down that it should apply with some modifications.

You will say, and very rightly say, what about this deal. That was our trouble. Their own rules were not applied in this matter, in this particular deal that we are discussing. But, apart from this, as a matter of fact, they did make those very rules. The whole thing cannot apply.

For instance, in Section 27A, it is laid down, I think, that they should not take shares in any company, equity shares, more than 15 per cent. I do not personally see why they should not. However, the idea was that no insurance company should attempt to control an undertaking.

Now, since all these companies were merged into one, the result was that that 15 per cent went by the board, because many insurance companies had shares in some other company so that the 15 per cent became 25 or 30 in the possession of the Life Insurance Corporation. Section 27A could not apply at the beginning because of this. Apart from that, I am not for a moment clear why our Life Insurance Corporation should be prevented from having more

than 15 per cent shares in a company, if it is a good company. For instance, if we want more shares in Jessops to control it, why should we not take more shares and control it? The whole policy does not apply so that to say that Section 27A, as it is, should be made to apply is not, I think, very logical. But, of course, Section 27A as modified properly can apply. It should be clearly laid down how it should apply. What that rule should be is a different matter.

We propose naturally—Members have suggested and we shall gladly carry out their wishes in this matter—to draw out a policy governing investments. It cannot be, naturally, a very rigid policy, because there must be some latitude left. We propose to draw it and place it before the House for them to know it. If the House so wishes, they can discuss it; they can take a little time on it. It is not necessary for the House to discuss the safety part of it. That is an admitted factor, but the other, the policy part of it is a matter which can be discussed.

May I just say one word which does not fit in with my argument, but I should like to make it clear. Just a little before I spoke and my colleague the Home Minister spoke, Shri Thanu Pillai¹¹ made a statement. That is all right. But, I was not aware of what he said yesterday; I did not hear that. When I saw a rough transcript of it, I was surprised and distressed—I may be permitted to say distressed because somehow or other my name was entangled in it without the least justification. And, I should like to say—I do not know how he has corrected it—that the original draft was, so far as I am concerned, not correct at all.¹²

In that connection, I should like to say that—though I previously expressed my approval of Mr Justice Chagla's services—I would regret very much saying anything directly or indirectly in criticism of Mr Justice Chagla.

K.C. Sharma:¹³ That should be expunged.

JN: Further, I would regret also in this House criticisms of the Attorney General, of what he said or what he did not. For various reasons it is not right for us to criticize people in their absence, people who are trying to do their duty competently and all that.

11. P.T. Thanu Pillai, Congress Member from Tirunelveli, Madras.

12. Thanu Pillai said on 19 February that the Prime Minister had made it clear that the whole approach had been vitiated and something was wrong. He stated on 20 February that his speech had been reported wrongly and apologized to the House and to Nehru "in case any wrong impression has been created."

13. Congress Member from Hapur, Uttar Pradesh.

Acharya Kripalani was very uncharitable to me in one matter. I am sorry he is not here. He referred, I am told, to the fact that the present Governor of the Reserve Bank was, at one time, my Principal Private Secretary and, therefore, I was showing favour to him. Many people in the Government today have been associated with me; most of the senior officials have been associated. I have been here a very long time, 10 ½ years now; and naturally, I form some opinion of them, when I come into intimate contact with them as colleagues, as persons one works with. But to suggest that I want to shelter or favour somebody because he was my Principal Private Secretary seven years ago is, I repeat, not very charitable to me.

I mentioned the name of the Governor of the Reserve Bank for a variety of reasons. There are many others. I can mention independently. I mentioned that name particularly because we were discussing Mr Justice Chagla's report.

Jaipal Singh: Another good Oxonian.

JN: That was his point, the honourable Member's point. I admit; I have never denied that people who have been to Oxford at some time also have some virtue.

P. Subbaroyan:¹⁴ What about the other place?

JN: Here is Mr Justice Chagla's report which we are discussing. There is no mention of him except in one place—in the narrative form that he was also present somewhere. No other mention, no criticism indeed. So far as this matter is concerned, there is nothing at any stage, so far as I am aware, involving him at all in it. As the matter has been mentioned, when Mr Iengar, thinking that, perhaps, his conduct might come into this inquiry, wanted some lawyer to be present there, Justice Chagla told him that he did not come into the picture at all and that he was not going to deal with that matter. It is unfortunate that his name is brought in simply without any reason; it is not quite fair. I cannot understand. I have said that those officials who have been intimately concerned with this come in the second part of the Resolution that I have ventured to place before this House. Even their conduct, I submit, should be enquired into in the proper way. We cannot enquire into it. We cannot go into that matter because it will not be fair and they will not be able to answer. We in Parliament make statements about others. This is not fair; this is not a very happy way of proceeding.

14. Congress Member from Tiruchengode, Madras State.

My friend Mr Masani referred to most of our corporations and said that the autonomy of corporations had introduced a myth. I do not know how far it is correct. It may be partly true in the sense that they have not got complete autonomy. I should like them to have as much autonomy as possible. I would like the House to remember that we are starting new corporations from day to day and frankly nobody in the Government, certainly not in the business world or in our services, has too much experience of this type of work. Good men can do good work wherever they are placed if they have the training for it. We are going in for huge industrial undertakings of all kinds of things. In the beginning we have sometimes felt that we should help the corporation. What might be called interference might also be looked upon as help to an infant organization.

Take this LIC itself. It has been in existence now for a year and a half. It is not a long time, it is a relatively short period. Huge and complicated things have come up. Are we to leave them completely at a loose end when these big problems come? We felt that we should not.

I entirely agree that it is a wrong policy for the same person to be the Secretary and also Chairman of the Corporation. I think every one of my colleagues in the Cabinet agrees with that. We have tried to avoid it. Yet, somehow under pressure of circumstances, we have agreed that for three or four or six months, let us have this arrangement. I accept that this is wrong in principle but the sheer difficulty of finding a suitable man immediately who could take charge had to be faced and we had to put a competent man there. I entirely agree that we should not do so in the future.

I need not say much about the amendment moved by Mr Jaipal Singh and Mr Masani because it deals with these principles which I have already referred to.¹⁵ I am surprised that they are not accepting what I have said. In fact, we agree that there should be these principles. We are going to examine them. It might be that there might be more than five or six; there may be other things also. Then, we shall place them before the House. We do not want to do anything without the knowledge of this House in this matter.

Prof Ranga referred to Industrial and Economic Service.¹⁶ I mentioned

15. Masani, Jaipal Singh and nominated Anglo-Indian Member A.E.T. Barrow, all belonging to the Independent Parliamentary Group, had, on 19 February 1958, moved an amendment seeking to substitute paragraph 3 in the resolution by the following: "But regrets that Government have failed to accept the principles recommended by the Commission for adoption by Government and the Corporation."
16. On 19 February 1958, Ranga had suggested that, as assured by the Government earlier, an "economic service" of the same status, integrity and stability as the Indian Civil Service be constituted to run the semi-government corporations and get "good results from the proposed devolution of power that the Prime Minister has talked about."

yesterday about this. The Planning Commission broached this matter about training up a specialized cadre of managers more or less. But apart from this, we have decided to have—not in this connection, but independently of this—two separate services. One is the service of economists and another—a separate one—of statisticians. This matter was delayed for many months because there was an argument whether there should be one joint statistical and economic service or two separate ones. Ultimately, we have come to the decision that we should have two separate ones. Otherwise statistics became rather ignored. Now, that has been decided.

This House has been indulgent to us normally, almost always. We are all very grateful to it. But I am sure the House realizes the enormous burden of work that falls on the Ministers. If I may mention a small matter, the other day during the course of this inquiry, I read in the newspaper a report. Suddenly, there was some reference to me and some note I had written and which was produced. I had forgotten and I had no recollection of any note. I said: “What is this? When did I write a note about Mr Mundhra? Mundhra has never come into my ken really.” Vaguely I have heard about him. What is this thing? I asked. I had it hunted for from the files of the officers and then it came. Of course it was my note.¹⁷ When I saw it I reckoned. But, if I had been suddenly asked whether I had written a note about Mr Mundhra, I would have said: ‘No’. I had completely forgotten about it. It came with hundreds of papers. I read it as I read a number of things and I forgot and I went on to something else. People perhaps do not consider how these things happen. If I were asked about this and if I had said: ‘I do not remember’, I am a liar! I think that people sometimes not only do not remember things but people try to forget things so that they are not cluttering up their minds with all kinds of petty details.

I think Prof Mukerjee¹⁸ complained of a speech that the Governor of the Reserve Bank delivered at San Francisco. I have not got the speech before me but I read it long ago when it came to me. I would rather say that my recollection is that I liked it. He complained because apparently the Governor speaking in San Francisco to a large number of American capitalists said something about the importance of the private sector in India.....

Renu Chakravartty: Dominant role.

JN: I do not know. I am told that he used a word....

17. For Nehru's note of 19 September 1957 to D.L. Mazumdar, Secretary, Company Law Administration, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 112-113.

18. H.N. Mukerjee, CPI Member from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

H.N. Mukerjee: May I interrupt him, Sir? The exact sentence is:

"In fact, the private sector is playing a dominant role in the Indian economy today and is bound to play a dominant role in future."

I am quoting the answer to unstarred question No. 2119 dated the 20th December, 1957.

JN: As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that quantitatively it is dominant even now. If you include all the land in India, it is terribly dominant. It is in the private sector—all the land, cottage industries, etc.

Even apart from that, this matter has been really dealt with by my colleague, the Home Minister. We must know exactly where we are. We have laid down a certain policy for ourselves, for the development, for the five-year plans, etc. It is on the basis of that policy that there is a public sector and the private sector—a public sector that is growing and that is meant to occupy progressively all the strategic points in our economy.

Now, we may err here and there. If we have a public sector and also a private sector it means not that we allow reluctantly the private sector to continue and try to harass it all the time. There is no point in it. It is far better to abolish it completely. But if we have it, we should encourage it and help it within the limitations laid down for it. It is pertinent not only for the Governor of the Reserve Bank or for me but for any one of us to say that we want to encourage and we will encourage the private sector, of course, subject to the limitations and the Plan that we have made. We want trade and commerce with other countries: the United States, England, the Soviet Union and so on. We want to increase our trade and commerce with these countries. We want to increase our trade and commerce with the Soviet Union but it is of a different type. It may be barter, because conditions are different. We are doing this with every country.

I submit, Sir, that the resolution I have put forward before this House covers the important points that have arisen, and I trust that the House will accept it...¹⁹

19. The Government's resolution on the Chagla Commission report was adopted unanimously.

17. Chagla Commission Report: Discussion in the Rajya Sabha¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Chairman,² I venture to intervene because my honourable friend, Dr Kunzru, has been pleased to refer to what I have said or written on another occasion and to express his disapproval of it.³ It is always unhappiness for me that Dr Kunzru should disapprove of me or anything that I do or that any other Member of this House should feel that way. But I confess that searching my mind and heart I do not think I have done anything that I myself think is worthy of Dr Kunzru's disapproval. But I shall deal with the various matters he said, among them apparently he disapproved of the fact that an Indian Air Force plane was provided to Mr T.T. Krishnamachari to go to Madras. I suppose that is a test of the standard we apply in these matters. I think it was not only right, but more than right for me to do so, and it amazes me that any person should be so little-minded as to object to our providing an Indian Air Force plane to a retiring Minister to go back to his home. If that is his approach to this question, I am not surprised that he has gone wrong all over the place. He starts from a prejudice. He starts with little-mindedness, he starts with a narrow outlook, he starts with a bias. Well, if you start with that how can you consider anything objectively?

Now, let us consider what particular objection he takes. I presume that he has read the report of some of the speeches delivered in the other House a little while ago, yesterday and the day before. I venture to deal with this particular matter about my having said something in my letter to Mr T.T. Krishnamachari on his resignation. I dealt with it there pretty fully and Dr Kunzru is a conscientious and careful reader of all these reports. I thought he must have read

1. 21 February 1958. Extracts from *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XX, cols. 1279-98.
2. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, Congress Party Member from Mysore, and Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha.
3. H.N. Kunzru, an Independent Member from Uttar Pradesh, found certain remarks made by Nehru in his letter of 12 February to T.T. Krishnamachari (see *ante*, pp.350-352) objectionable. He cited a comment by Nehru: "In effect, there was rather a one-sided presentation of facts." And also, "So far as you are concerned, I am myself convinced that your part in this matter was of the smallest and that you did not even know much that was done." Elaborating further Kunzru stated: "It is not the first time that the Prime Minister has allowed his feelings to get the better of him but it is a matter of great regret that the Prime Minister should, in this manner, reflect on the Report of a Commission presided over by one of the most eminent judges in the country. The Prime Minister has a right to differ from the Commission.... but then, it is his duty to state the reasons that make him differ from the Commission's view."

it. If, therefore, I have to repeat some of the things that I said there, I seek your forgiveness, but I have to, because in spite of having presumably read that, he repeats arguments which had been, I thought, met there rather adequately. When I said—as I did say in that letter—that the presentation of the case has been rather one-sided—and which I think is a perfectly true statement and I repeat it here now—it had nothing to do with the Judge. It had nothing even to do with the Attorney-General. I explained quite clearly that the way, the method, in which all these inquiries are held is not a very happy one and I did not even discuss this case. I quoted at some length from the criticisms of an inquiry in England. It has nothing to do with personalities or judges. There also an eminent judge tried it. And it was pointed out, and there was considerable argument there, in well-known newspapers like the *London Times* and elsewhere, as to whether this procedure is a satisfactory procedure or not. In fact, I quoted at some length from the *London Times*. It had nothing to do with this particular case, as to how, somehow inevitably only a one-sided presentation can take place—these are the words, I think, of the *London Times* in such cases, and I had this *London Times* article and other matters in my mind. So, the fault, as I said in the other House, was, if anybody's at all, this Government's for having not thought out these matters, the procedure, for instance, the normal practice which has developed in England. A great deal of reference has been made to what is the British practice and my friend, Mr Shiva Rao, thinks that nothing in the world can be better than what is done in England.⁴ I do not wholly hold with him, although broadly we follow the practice there. But I did not know frankly.

4. B. Shiva Rao, Congress Member from Mysore, spoke about studying and possibly following the British practice and conventions. He said that in British constitutional practice "a resigning Minister never throws his responsibility on his officials." He stated that the British Government and Parliament respected in practice the autonomous nature of the corporations. He said that "they exercise only a general supervision over their working and interest themselves only in matters of policy... They have set up a Committee in the House of Commons known as the Standing Select Committee of Parliament analogous to the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee and equal to them in status and powers. This Standing Committee scrutinizes the annual reports and the audited accounts of all the autonomous corporations.... and submits a report on the working of these corporations to Parliament with its own comments and criticisms, if any. And it is on the basis of the Committee's report or reports that questions can be asked or debates raised on the floor of the House of Commons." Shiva Rao thought that this was the only fair and practical arrangement for ensuring to autonomous corporations the autonomy to which they were entitled, and retaining in the hands of the Government and Parliament the right to intervene in regard to policies and general working.

If I had known that, we probably would have followed it, which is to have a preliminary investigation to help the Judge, to help the Attorney-General, to help anybody who goes there. And now the Treasury Solicitor is put in charge of an inquiry. He is helped by the head of the police. They collect facts, they get evidence, etc., and then they present all these to the Attorney-General who places it before the Inquiry Commission. Now, it was these matters that I referred to. In this matter—this type of inquiry, this method of inquiry is not the happiest way of doing it. I confess it was our fault, the Government's fault for having not made it easier for the inquiring Judge by a preliminary investigation.

I used a word there, which was not a very happy word. But I was frank enough to say so that we did not want to delay this inquiry at all, because we did not wish to feel—as some people apparently felt—that Government was trying to avoid the inquiry or to delay. In fact, I got questions in the other House: “Is Government or is some member of Government trying to delay this?” There was that feeling and we felt that we should do it. And I did not have all this in mind. Otherwise, it would have been far more helpful to the eminent Judge, to have this material after an investigation. Then, of course, the Judge would have dealt with it as he did and the Attorney General would have dealt with it also as he thought right and proper. My point is that what I wrote to Mr T.T. Krishnamachari in that letter had nothing to do with the ability of the Judge or the Attorney General. We have said a great deal about the ability of the Judge and the way he conducted this matter—this rather, as my colleague has said, an unpleasant task—with speed and ability and efficiency. But these questions raise all kinds of side issues. It is not such a simple thing. All kinds of Governmental policies come in.

H.D. Rajah:⁵ May I know from the honourable Prime Minister what would have prevented them from making this inquiry many-sided?

JN: Prevented whom?

Mr Deputy Chairman: What would have prevented the Government from making this inquiry many-sided?

Govind Ballabh Pant:⁶ That is what he has explained.

5. Republican Party of India Member of the Rajya Sabha from Madras State.

6. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

JN: That is what I was venturing to say—our ignorance of the subject. I am saying that we were in a hurry to have it and we really did not think out all the various aspects of it, which now we learn by experience. It is not so easy even if we had sat down. I do not know if these aspects at all would have been before us. But it is subsequent to this that we have naturally studied the cases in England where conditions are relatively similar and found that the same difficulties that we have experienced here now were experienced by them and they are considering what to do in future about these inquiries. Even so, as I said, their practice is to have a preliminary investigation and then go on to the inquiry which I think is better naturally because one knows—just like in any ordinary case—if you suddenly put it before a Judge without any inquiry, it is not fair to the Judge. That was the whole object of my saying that. There is no question of challenging anything.

Apart from that there is another aspect. A great deal is said about what I have said, my not accepting or my rejecting some finding of the Chairman of the Commission. I do not know which finding it refers to. Speaking from memory the main thing that the learned Chairman of the Commission says is in regard to the evidence given by Mr Krishnamachari, by Mr Patel and Mr Bhattacharya,⁷ about a certain incident which happened when there was a little talk. Now, I have avoided in the other House going into evidence and all that. It is a very difficult matter. There is a pile of evidence. We cannot easily consider all that. I do not propose to go into that. As Dr Kunzru has referred to that, I shall briefly say my own understanding of that. First of all a meeting takes place—not a fixed meeting—after a three-hour meeting of a certain committee which has nothing to do with this. People get up for lunch and as they are going for lunch a brief two-minute conversation takes place of people who are either standing or moving towards lunch. This takes place eight months ago. Now, to be asked to repeat your casual conversation eight months ago, only the gods can speak the precise words, not human beings like myself or people like myself, and then to say that a person must be accurate about it. I mentioned in the other House, I shall mention it here, in the course of this inquiry suddenly I read in the newspapers my name appearing, that I have made a note in a file about Mundhra. I was astonished because I had no recollection of it at all. I sent for the file. There was a note by me.⁸

Bhupesh Gupta:⁹ Anyway, it was a good note.

7. Pares Chandra Bhattacharya.

8. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 112-113.

9. CPI Member from West Bengal.

JN: It is very kind of him to say so. I do not know whether he knows much about it. He is perfectly entitled to express his opinion whether he knows anything about it or not. I am telling you this. Here was a file put up before me. It was not an important file, it had nothing to do with this affair of course, something else. Quite casually, Mr Mundhra's name came in it and I said in that file that this gentleman about whom I have heard vaguely—I have never seen him—this gentleman is not a person of high reputation. Something like that I said, about a six line note. My point is that I wrote that and completely forgot it. If I were asked to give evidence on it, if I were asked about it, "Have you written a note," probably I would say "No" because I have completely forgotten it. It was not important enough to hold on to my mind and remember it. But when I saw it was in my handwriting, I remembered it. You must look at these contexts. We here are examining with a microscope and a magnifying glass what the people have said in their evidence. We are considering everything important. But we forget that when those events happened they may not have been considered so important and people read them casually and did not attach much importance to them.

H.N. Kunzru: All these events were about six or seven months old when you appointed the Commission. Why did you not appoint the Commission then?

JN: My honourable friend, I am afraid, is not quite on the right lines. We appointed the Commission because it came to our knowledge that something had gone wrong. Therefore, we appointed the Commission to inquire into it. It was appointed because certain facts came to light, which facts made us feel that wrong things have been done which needed inquiry. That is why we have appointed the Commission. You ask why not appoint it before. If we had known before, we would have appointed it and taken other steps. For my part I did not know anything about the deal till this matter was brought up in the Lok Sabha. What I venture to submit is this that so far as all these facts are concerned, individuals apart, here was a deal which struck us when we heard about it before the Inquiry Commission as a questionable deal, it should be inquired into. We did not know much about it. We appointed the Commission, evidence has been given, the Commission has come to a finding, and we have no doubt, we entirely agree with the finding of the Commission in regard to this deal. It is wrong, it is full of impropriety, all that. That is what is said, I believe, in the Resolution put forward by my colleague, the Home Minister. So one can say much about it, one need not argue it. That is the basic thing.

The second point is about responsibility, etc. Important. And the third

point was certain principles that the Chairman of the Commission has laid down. Now, the first and the basic fact with which, I believe, about 80 per cent of the findings or the decisions of Mr Chagla are concerned—they are basic and narrative of what happened—and the decision of this thing was an act of great impropriety, etc. etc., which is accepted. Then the question arises about responsibility. Obviously, the responsibility—I am talking about him not myself—is of those who did it. I need not say who actually did it. If I may be given an instance, the officials of the Life Insurance Corporation. In what measure, I do not know, I am not a judge, because however much I may feel that way, I would rather not judge till I have given an opportunity for a person to explain it or defend the action that he took, and that is why without ourselves asking this honourable House to judge we say that inquiries should be made in regard to those officials who are concerned. They may be completely and absolutely innocent, some may not be, some may be mistaken, whatever it may be. I may add that reading through the whole of Mr Chagla's report, you may get an impression, and you must get an impression that all is not well obviously, but Mr Chagla, like the eminent Judge he is, has not attacked the persons' bona fides, has not definitely said anywhere "this is mala fide". He has said this is strange, this is odd, all kinds of questions arise, which do arise. He has not said definitely, there is no finding to that effect, naturally there could be none.

H.D. Rajah: He himself says that full facts are not placed before him, his inquiry is restricted, the framers have restricted the inquiry. That is the main point. Therefore, he says he cannot put mala fide intention on anybody.

JN: If Mr Rajah heard me, I have started by saying this, and in the nature of things it was difficult for a hurried inquiry like this without preliminary investigation and finding out. So far as we were concerned, the Government, I confess it that it was not right for us but we kept absolutely aloof from this inquiry in every way. We appointed no counsel, we had nobody, we prepared no brief, we simply left it in the hands of the Chairman of the Commission to function as he chose.

Bhupesh Gupta: But you sent the Attorney General there.

JN: Quite so. Mr Justice Chagla mentioned to Mr Krishnamachari—remember, it was Mr Krishnamachari who appointed Mr Justice Chagla as the Commission—I think Mr Chagla said that he would like the assistance of the Attorney General. Mr Krishnamachari said, "gladly you can have him". I do

not think that any member of Government, either Mr Krishnamachari or the Home Minister or anyone else or me, ever after that discussed the matter with the Attorney General because we have never thought that we were concerned in this way. Why should we interfere? We are not parties to it, the Attorney General would help—that was our approach, whether it was right or wrong. It is a fact, I agree with Mr Rajah—I agree very much so as Mr Justice Chagla is saying—that one feels in this that all the facts have not come out. All the facts cannot come out either because those who know do not say so or those who know are not produced. There are only two ways. Then again, there was this difficulty that because there was lack of that preliminary investigation, some facts which witnesses might very well have been prepared to say, if asked, they could not say because it is all a case of question and answer. That is the difficulty. It is not as if a witness is asked, “Will you please give us the whole of this story?”

Bhupesh Gupta: A witness is asked to say what he wants to say and then questions are asked.

JN: No, Sir. That was not like that. But so far as the whole transaction is concerned, we have accepted Mr Justice Chagla’s findings fully, and we propose to proceed on that basis. So far as the others are concerned, officials, etc., all we can say is that in the normal way, of course, we shall have inquiries and investigations made. We will take such steps as are laid down by rules and regulations and statutes.

Now, it is thought that we have been treading rather gently, rather softly, where Shri T.T. Krishnamachari is concerned. Exactly what is the charge against Shri T.T. Krishnamachari? The question is about basic responsibility. Now, responsibility can be constructive, or factual that he knew all that was happening—two kinds of responsibility. Thirdly, of course, comes the question of the bona fides of the Ministers or officials. Now, there is no reference anywhere of bona fides or motives being attacked, so that the question resolves itself into one of factual responsibility, because constructive responsibility is there—there is no doubt about it and in fact that is why he has resigned and gone. Factual responsibility. Let us examine that on the basis of what Mr Justice Chagla has said. Mr Justice Chagla has examined three witnesses, the evidence of the three witnesses to whom I referred just now. He says that Mr Krishnamachari’s evidence in regard to that particular matter is negative, that of Mr Bhattacharyya slightly positive and Mr Patel’s as positive also. Therefore, he thinks that positive evidence should have greater weight. That is the whole pith and substance of that so-called difference of opinion.

In regard to the matter as to whether Mr Krishnamachari gave his general approval to this transaction or not, there is a good deal of discussion as to whether he failed to object or whether he gave his general approval. These are fine distinctions. I might be asked as to what I said some six months ago in oral conversation, whether I gave my general approval or not. It is impossible for me to say; nobody can say, unless one is precise. But let us take it that he gave his general approval. It may have been presumed. Whether he gave it constructively or not does not matter. But to what did he give his approval? To a transaction being carried out, i.e., the purchase of some shares in regard to some set of companies which were under the control of Mundhra. Now, it is admitted that the actual companies mentioned were not all the companies which came into the picture afterwards. It is admitted that there was no talk of the price of the shares which is a vital matter, and it is admitted—whatever actual words Mr Krishnamachari used—that he said, “Be careful. Let the LIC go through it” so that.....

H.D. Rajah: If he had known about the whole thing, why should the Finance Minister say ‘Be careful’? What is the significance of that?

Bhupesh Gupta: If you had known what Mr Krishnamachari had known, would you have allowed it?

JN: I am really sorry that the obvious is not obvious to the honourable Member, because it is a well-known fact that everybody knew that Mundhra was not a safe person to deal with.

H.D. Rajah: That is true.

JN: It is not a matter for laughter. It is a point to be understood. The honourable Member would kindly understand it because the whole basis of this is that in spite of that knowledge, the matter was proceeded with. In another context, the Governor of the Reserve Bank was brought in. The Governor of the Reserve Bank in letter after letter had written about Mundhra, that he was carrying on dangerous activities, he was a speculator, etc. He was warning and everybody knew about. There is no difference there. But people seemed to think that because it was known that Mundhra was a shady type of person, therefore, one should not have bought them. We knew all about him, this knowledge was a common factor, but long before, even in April, shares were bought from Mundhra, shares of Jessops. The Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, after criticizing all this, said that Jessops was a gold mine, that Government

should acquire it.¹⁰ Now, observe that, Jessops is a gold mine; i.e., Jessops is a great manufacturing concern in India, one of the most important, one of the most vital, in which any Government is interested, and regardless of the share market speculations, it is a solid thing which you can see. It is producing crores and crores of rupees worth of goods for us. Jessops does not become less important because Jessops in the meanwhile becomes the property or semi-property of Mundhra. Jessops is Jessops even though shares may be bought this way or that way. There is no justification for this whole act, that is why we condemn it, but that is a different matter. We admit it for a variety of reasons, but the mere fact of buying shares from Mundhra is not wrong at all, provided—I repeat for the honourable Members' benefit—provided that you are not bamboozled in the process.

Bhupesh Gupta: The whole point is that the shares were bought to relieve Mundhra of his financial difficulties.

JN: That may be so or may not be so. I do not know. I am merely saying that the Life Insurance Corporation has to buy shares—perhaps the House knows—to the tune of Rs 35 to 40 crores, it has to invest that much. Most of this is in Government paper, Government securities, but Rs 10 to Rs 11 crores go into private equity shares. It is a fairly large sum. Lakhs and lakhs of rupees they are investing from day to day. We think it big because this matter has come up, but it is doing it from day to day, and in the course of these one and a half year's transactions there has been, so far as I know, nobody objecting to the Investment Committee doing them. They bought shares from Mundhra in Jessops previously. Even the Investment Committee agreed to it. It is a normal course. The only thing that we need to see is that the shares are good and are bought at a proper price. Now, I put it to honourable Members here that if this very transaction had been carried through and a proper price had been paid for it, not an inflated price, and the shares had been good shares like Jessops, nobody could have raised any objection; Mundhra or no Mundhra, because one would have got something which was money's worth. There is another aspect of it. Apart from getting good shares, we would have got interest in a good concern.

An argument has arisen as to what was the policy of the Life Insurance Corporation? Was it to buy good shares or was it to influence the stock market or what was it? I cannot precisely say or give a reply to that question but to say that it had no policy is not quite correct because the Investment Committee and

10. S.A. Dange said so on 20 February. See *ante*, p. 389.

the Life Insurance Corporation had passed a Resolution about their policy and they have actually adopted Section 27A of the Insurance Act¹¹ with some modifications because the whole thing could not be adopted—they did not apply to them—there were some matters which could not apply to them. They applied to a private concern but not to them—they don't. Please remember that in this present transaction which we had criticized, everything went wrong. That is why we object to it. They did not even follow their own principles. They did not even follow the rules they had laid down, but leave that out. Apart from this, they had been following a certain policy and that may not have been absolutely precise and clear, because that policy laid stress, rightly, on the goodness of the shares. That is, they should be good shares. That is obvious. They should be good shares. The Life Insurance Corporation has no business to buy bad shares. But other questions also arise. When you are investing crores and crores, well, whatever you do, it affects the share market. The Life Insurance Corporation does not go to speculate. It does not sell normally. It only buys. Rarely it may sell. It does not speculate but what it does affects the share market. When you buy certain shares, their value may go up. Crores and crores worth of shares come in. Therefore, the question of policy comes in and the policy cannot be decided by the Investment Committee or any Committee. It has to be decided on the highest level because it affects the economic policy of the Government.

It is no good saying, as Mr Shiva Rao said, about autonomy. A lot has been said about autonomy. A good deal is sense, a good deal is the reverse of sense, that is being said about it here. Autonomy—of course nobody wants to interfere. May I, with your permission, refer to a letter which I wrote both to the Speaker and to the Chairman of this House sometime ago—apart from this inquiry—pointing out certain things.¹² I did not know anything about this inquiry then. It is related to questions that are put to us. I said, "Questions are put to us about the day-to-day working of these State Corporations. It is difficult because, first of all, Government does not wish to interfere in the day-to-day working and to answer them in the Parliament." Of course, question in regard to policy is all right. I actually drew the attention of Mr Speaker and Mr Chairman to this fact because I was anxious to preserve the autonomy of these Corporations. But autonomy in day-to-day work is one thing but where it affects.....

Bhupesh Gupta: If we elicit information, how is autonomy affected?

JN: May I go on, Sir? Therefore, it is no good saying that there should be

11. The reference is to the Life Insurance Corporation Act of July 1956.

12. See *post*, pp. 552-553.

complete autonomy because that has no meaning in the circumstances of the case. It is right to say that there should be no interference by Government—no normal interference except in matters of policy—but in any event, Government has to keep a view, especially on this type of thing, where your whole economy depends upon it. You have to fit it in with your five-year plans, etc. One thing more that I would like to mention is, this. In the other place, that is, in connection with Jessops when Mr Dange said, “why not nationalize Jessops? It is a gold mine”, I said, “why should I nationalize Jessops or others and pay heavy compensation because that is presumed? Why should we do it? It is a simpler thing for me to acquire a majority holding in it and the Government can control it. It is a much simpler proposition.” Now it is said “Oh! This means some kind of backdoor method of nationalization.” There is nothing backdoor about it. I say that it was not our deliberate policy to nationalize corporations or companies by this way. I mean, our investments in the LIC were not meant to further this but I say it is worthy of consideration. Why should not we do this where necessity arises? Take the present position in regard to Mundhras and others. Here are these companies—Jessops, Richardson & Cruddas, and B.I.C. I am not going into their present financial position. Part of it has been injured very greatly by Mr Mundhra’s dealings but here are these three companies—the two companies and the third is a huge empire in the UP, that is, the B.I.C. These are very big concerns, manufacturing concerns, not paper concerns but manufacturing concerns. I think at the present moment they have orders worth Rs 20 crores from the Government. Rs 20 crores is a huge thing. We are interested in them. Let us say, if they break down, if they collapse, it affects our plans, it affects, of course, the credit structure of the country and all kinds of things happen which are not desirable, but it affects our Plan. So, Government is interested. Government is not merely interested in buying the shares because they are good but Government is interested further to see that by somebody’s trickery or speculations, they don’t collapse. So, all these factors have to be considered which cannot be done by any Investment Committee sitting there. They are not interested in the five-year plan, they are not interested in other things. They are only interested, at the most, in the safety of the investment. We are interested in the safety also of course, but in addition to that we are interested in other factors so that while I entirely agree about autonomy, one must always remember that in organizations of this kind, they cannot be left to themselves, whoever might run them whether they are businessmen or officials. So, I would like this House to consider this question.

There are all those principles at the end of Mr Chagla’s Report. *Prima facie* one reads them and they appear to be good and many of them are obviously good, but if you ask me to adopt them in toto, as they are, then I would say that

I should like to examine them more fully because I don't want to get caught in some decision which comes in my way or the Government's way or our policy. He says, for instance, that businessmen of stock exchange experience should be appointed as Chairmen of these Corporations. Now, with all respect to him, because I respect him greatly, that is not a judicial matter for decision by a high judicial authority. Other factors have also to be considered. Maybe, a businessman with stock exchange experience may be an excellent chairman but to confine myself to that really is to limit my choice and something that may not lead to happy results. There are some other matters. So, we have said that we want to examine carefully what he has said and then they lay down principles—not secretly—but when we have gone into it, we would inform this House as well as the other House, 'These are the principles'. If the House wants a discussion on them, they can have a discussion and nothing is going to be done but merely to say that we accept those principles may lead us to difficulties. That is meaning no disrespect to Justice Chagla because it is a question of principle. That has nothing to do directly with this affair. Indirectly, of course, it may arise and we are thankful to him for giving us a lead in the matter. We shall consider it. Thank you.

H.N. Kunzru: May I put a question to the Prime Minister with regard to the finding of the Commission regarding the responsibility....¹³

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JN: This controversy cannot go on in this way. The Commission has recorded no findings. I say the Commission has not. Read the whole Report and on this subject there is no finding. What the Commission has said on this matter is that the evidence leads one to the conclusion that he gave his approval or that he acquiesced. If that goes as the finding, well and good. I dealt with this question—

13. On the question of responsibility, Kunzru quoted from the Commission report which said: "...Government were going out of their way to ask the Corporation to invest a large amount which was done without consulting Investment Committee, and that too for the specific purpose of removing the drag on the Calcutta Stock Exchange, created by the Mundhra shares. Why should Mr Patel act on his own responsibility with regard to so unusual and doubtful a transaction? And if there was some conversation with regard to this transaction, as the Finance Minister admits that there was, why should Mr Patel have stopped at merely discussing the generalities and not getting the specific approval of the Minister? As a matter of fact, one of the reasons given by Mr Patel for the haste with which the transaction was put through was the necessity of availing himself of the presence of the Minister in Bombay."

perhaps Dr Kunzru did not hear me—a little while ago. So far as I am concerned, if you want my view, I say there is no discord between what Mr Patel said and what Mr Bhattacharya said and what Mr Krishnamachari said. None at all, but slight variations. It is about an event which happened long ago. And the question does not really arise, unless in some kind of an esoteric way you may consider it, it does not arise, because the responsibility of Mr Krishnamachari is admitted by him, by me and by everybody; unless you want to go on, trying to find out and then say, “Oh, we have tripped him, we want to rip him somehow.” If that is the approach to this question, not the approach to find out broad principles of policy, but just trip somebody, then of course, it is a different matter.

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I think Dr Kunzru is trying to trip Mr Krishnamachari up.

H.N. Kunzru: This is very untrue, totally untrue.

JN: I cannot help, that is my view.¹⁴

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14. At the end of the debate, the Government resolution on the Chagla Commission report was unanimously adopted.

18. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

February 25, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I spoke to you about police investigation in regard to Sodhani's² papers, etc. You said that, as far as you knew, nothing much had been discovered.

I do not know what has been done so far, but it seems to me clear that the police investigation not only in this, but in connected matters, should be pursued

1. JN Collection.
2. The house of M.L. Sodhani, a representative of Jessop and Company Limited in Delhi and a close associate of Mundhra, was raided on 14 February 1958 by the police team investigating the LIC deal.

and all clues followed up, so that we can have as much information as possible. Thus, in the papers found at Sodhani's office or home will be notes of meetings or interviews with some of our officers before the telegram of the 13th June, 1957, was sent.³ I take it that some kind of a statement had been taken from Sodhani about these papers. Also, the persons mentioned in those papers should also be asked about this matter. I am told that Vaidyanathan was in Delhi from 12th June to the 14th June. That is to say, he was in Delhi before the telegram of the 13th June was sent. This should lead to an enquiry from Vaidyanathan. Even from the point of view of our officers, it is desirable to clear up these matters and not leave vague suspicions hanging over their heads. In fact, one of our Finance Ministry officers begged me to have this enquiry carried through fully and completed, so that they might be cleared of any suspicions.

As we have agreed to, there will be a departmental or like enquiry in regard to the officers concerned. The police investigation is a somewhat different thing and might well be carried out separately.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The telegram sent by Sodhani from New Delhi to Mundhra in Calcutta on 13 June 1957 read: "Life Corporation prepared purchase Jessops and BIC ordinary at negotiated prices. Necessary instructions being issued from this end. Please phone."

19. To Purushottamdas Thakurdas¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1958

Dear Shri Purushottamdas,

Thank you for your letter of February 25 about Shri L.S. Vaidyanathan.² I am not acquainted with him and can, therefore, form no opinion except from the facts that have come out in his evidence before the Chagla Commission. That

1. JN Collection.
2. Purushottamdas Thakurdas, a distinguished industrialist of Bombay, referred to the high qualifications of Vaidyanathan and the services he rendered to promote Indian insurance for over 30 years and to make nationalization of insurance a success. He wrote that to characterize a person of such ability as "useless", "senile" and "at no time good", as done by Krishnamachari, was to do less than justice to him, and expressed the hope that Nehru would ensure that "handsome amends" were made to him.

INQUIRY INTO LIC INVESTMENTS: THE MUNDHRA AFFAIR

evidence was very damaging to him. Also, whatever the responsibilities or errors might have been committed by others, it seems fairly obvious that Shri Vaidyanathan was directly responsible for much that happened.

As for the description by the late Finance Minister of Shri Vaidyanathan's work, this was written in a private file. It is only by accident that this was made public. Whether the description was correct or not, it is not for me to say because I have no knowledge.

As you know, there has been a demand for a further investigation in regard to the conduct of several officers connected with the LIC transaction to which objection had been taken. Presumably Shri Vaidyanathan will be one such officer.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. Vivian Bose Enquiry Board¹

In view of the resolutions accepted by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha,² it is clear that there should be an enquiry. The three officers concerned are Shri H.M. Patel, Shri Kamat and Shri Vaidyanathan. I agree that a directive may be issued to the Life Insurance Corporation to frame and issue charges against Shri Vaidyanathan. Further, that the enquiry against Shri Vaidyanathan should be conducted by the same authority as the one dealing with the case of Shri H.M. Patel and Shri Kamat. It would be rather absurd to have two separate enquiries for the same set of facts. If necessary, a directive will have to be issued in regard to this matter also.

2. Both the Judges, namely Shri Justice Vivian Bose and Shri Justice Gajendragadkar are suitable.

3. I think that it will be desirable to have two other persons for the enquiry, apart from the Supreme Court Judge. One of these will be an ICS officer.³

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 28 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. The Government resolution on the Chagla Commission report was unanimously adopted by the Lok Sabha on 20 February and the Rajya Sabha on 21 February.

3. A Board of Inquiry was formally constituted on 5 May 1958 by the Government of India Order No. F-13(5)-INS.II/58, with Justice Vivian Bose of the Supreme Court as Chairman, and Sukumar Sen, Chief Election Commissioner, and W.R.S. Sathianathan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, as members.

4. When the charges are framed, Cabinet Secretary and Shri A.K. Roy⁴ should show them to the Home Minister. I should also like to see at that stage.

5. I agree that when charges have been framed, it will be desirable for Shri Kamat to take leave and for some other officer to be appointed in his place.

6. Although Finance Ministry will take formal action in this matter, it is desirable that the Cabinet Secretary, the Home Ministry and the Law Ministry should be consulted whenever necessary. I should be kept in touch with every development.

7. I suggest that the Cabinet Secretary and Shri A.K. Roy should see the Home Minister about any other matter that requires decision at this stage.

4. Secretary (Revenue), Ministry of Finance.

21. No Prior Knowledge of Feroze Gandhi's Speech¹

I do not think we need continue this correspondence, and I shall not be able to see him when he comes here.

2. There is one sentence in his letter² to you, however, which is odd. The sentence is:

“We were given to understand that the situation was very different. We knew that Feroze had sent copy of his Lok Sabha indictment to Mr Nehru a week before the speech was delivered,³ and we naturally concluded that it must have the Prime Minister's approval.”

3. This is not true. Feroze had given me no such paper, nor had he spoken to me about it. Indeed, I knew absolutely nothing about it till I read of it in the newspapers in Calcutta. It was, I think, a week or ten days after all this that Feroze gave me a copy of his speech from the records of Parliament.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Personal Secretary, 8 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. Correspondent unknown; letter not traceable.

3. Feroze Gandhi made a statement in the Lok Sabha on 16 December 1957.

22. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1958

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th March which is helpful.

In this letter you say what you have said before that you had not seen Kamat's letter of July. But in the very note attached to the file, which was read by you and noted on the margin, there is a big extract from this letter. Presumably, you must have read that extract. A page or two later the full letter by Kamat is also attached.² You may have missed this, although the normal presumption would be that you had looked through it. I take it that you did not, but in any event you saw the extract given in the note which you initialled.³

This point really has little to do with the original transaction or what you did. It only arises because you say definitely that you had not seen Kamat's letter till after the enquiry.

You refer to the amendment of Section 54 of the Income Tax Act.⁴ My own recollection is that we have accepted this. I am enquiring into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In his letter of July 16, 1957, to B.K. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, G.R. Kamat, Chairman, LIC, explained the circumstances that led to the purchase, by the LIC, of the shares in companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra and also furnished a list of such purchases. According to the letter, the LIC purchased shares to stabilize a declining capital market, to buy shares at a low price in anticipation of capital appreciation and also to help Haridas Mundhra, who had approached the LIC with such a request. But the real purpose was not to bail out Mundhra but to help bring stability in capital and financial markets without compromising the profitability and security of LIC's investments.
3. In his letter of 6 March 1958, Krishnamachari wrote that he was not aware of Kamat's letter till Chagla asked him about it, nor was he aware of the fact that the Investment Committee had not been consulted. He added that had he seen Kamat's letter, his answers in the Lok Sabha would not have been so categorical. He further wrote that the facts mentioned by Feroze Gandhi regarding the shares of BIC and Osler Electric Lamp Manufacturing Company had not been disclosed to him earlier.
4. Referring to Section 54 of the Income Tax Act of 1922 regarding the secrecy of tax assessment, Krishnamachari wrote that it had not been amended so far. It was, however, amended in 1961 when the Income Tax Act of 1922 was replaced by the Income Tax Act of 1961.

23. To M.K. Vellodi¹

New Delhi
March 12, 1958

My dear Vellodi,

I have received your note of the 12th March,² with which you have sent a letter from H.M. Patel to you dated 9th March.³

I agree that a public servant is entitled to look to Government for protection against his being made a target of attack in Parliament. I think in the two or three speeches I delivered in Parliament in connection with the Chagla report, I made it clear that I deprecated personal attacks on public servants involved.⁴ I think that what Shri U.C. Patnaik said was improper and deplorable, apart from being wholly incorrect.⁵

It is not quite clear to me how I can deal with this matter now. For Government to issue some kind of a public statement about Patnaik's remarks might not be appropriate at this stage. It is possible for me to say something on this subject in the course of my Budget speech early next week. But, I am not sure in my mind as to how to deal with this, and I shall have to think a little more about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, wrote that the statements of U.C. Patnaik, Independent Member from Ganjam, Orissa, in the Lok Sabha, about H.M. Patel's involvement in the defence transactions were regrettable. The Government, he added, had satisfied themselves with regard to this matter which had been enquired into by the Public Accounts Committee, of which Patnaik was a member, and it had been decided to treat the matter as closed.
3. Referring to Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha, Patel had written to Vellodi that he was grateful to Nehru for discouraging the Members from indulging in personal attacks on public servants and added that among those who did not follow this advice was U.C. Patnaik who made a venomous attack on him. He further wrote that Nehru should dismiss Patnaik's statements as "unfair, tendentious and misleading", as it was necessary to do so in order to ensure that the enquiry into the LIC deal was not prejudiced by a calculated campaign of misrepresentation of his character and past service.
4. See also *ante*, pp. 120-121.
5. Intervening during the debate in the Lok Sabha on the Chagla Commission Report, Patnaik referred to several defence deals, mentioned in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, involving hundreds of crores of rupees, and said: "...the officer concerned in those cases is the same officer who was instrumental in rushing through this transaction."

24. Giving H.M. Patel Access to Official Records¹

Finance Ministry has forwarded to me your letter of March 19th together with the letter from Shri H.M. Patel to you of the same date. In this letter Shri H.M. Patel had asked for certain facilities to enable him to submit his written explanation to the Board of Enquiry that is being constituted.

2. I have consulted the Home Minister on this subject. It seems to me proper that normal facilities should be given to Shri H.M. Patel to prepare his explanations for defence to the charges which may be framed. This is also laid down in the Notification of the 1st September, 1955, issued under the All India Services (Discipline and Appeal) Rules 1955, Rule 5, Clause (4). In accordance with this rule, the member of the Service is entitled to access to official records for the purpose of preparing a written statement provided that the Government may, for reasons to be recorded in writing, refuse him such access if in its opinion such records are not strictly relevant to the case or it is not desirable in the public interest to allow such access.

3. This rule should be followed. It is not clear to me which of the files or papers might not be considered strictly relevant to the case or not desirable to disclose in the public interest. You may consider this matter in regard to each of the files or papers which are mentioned in Shri H.M. Patel's letter.

4. Some of these files and papers belong to the Reserve Bank or the State Bank or the Life Insurance Corporation. These institutions should also follow Rule 5, Clause (4) and allow him access to the relevant papers unless there is some special reason to the contrary. The Finance Ministry should inform them of this.

5. It would not be desirable for Shri H.M. Patel to go to the Finance Ministry or to the offices of the Reserve Bank, State Bank or the Life Insurance Corporation for an examination of these papers. It will also be improper for any of these files, many of which are secret files, to be handed over to Shri H.M. Patel. I suggest, therefore, that any such examination should take place in the Cabinet Secretariat. You can make suitable arrangements for this purpose. It would be advisable for an officer of the Finance Ministry to be present when these files are examined by Shri H.M. Patel. His presence would be helpful in finding out any particular paper which may be considered necessary.

6. As many of these files are Top Secret or Secret or Confidential, it should be clearly understood that Shri H.M. Patel will treat them as such. He may use them for preparing his defence, but any copies made should not be

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.

ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

shown to anyone else. The enquiry being in camera, these copies of papers will, of course, be available to the Commission. But no other publicity should be permitted.

7. A copy of this note is being sent to Finance Ministry (Shri B.K. Nehru).

I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(i) General Administration

1. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
January 5, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

I enclose a note from Dinkar³ after his visit to China. There is a suggestion in this about self-criticism which might specially be applied to the Railway administration. I think this is a good idea if it could be tried. A beginning might be made in a small way. I should like it introduced in some form or other to our other Departments also.

The recent accident near Ambala⁴ has made us all think about the Railway administration. We have to tone it up and it will be a good thing if men in various cadres are made to think about it and criticize it and suggest what should be done.

Please return to me Dinkar's note after you have read it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Railways.
3. Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar' was an eminent Hindi poet and Member of Rajya Sabha.
4. About 30 persons were killed and 91 injured in a rail accident near Ambala on 1 January 1958.

2. Encouraging New Ideas¹

Will you please see these papers and write to the Director of Agriculture and Food Commissioner, Jaipur, enquiring from him why these warnings were issued to Parashar when he was trying to bring something to our notice?² We wish to encourage our people to bring their ideas to us and I am very much surprised that this kind of suppression of ideas should be exercised. I should like an explanation of this.³

1. Note, New Delhi, 9 January 1958. File No.31 (64)/58-PMS.
2. K.K. Parashar, Horticultural Assistant in the District Agricultural Office in Ajmer, Rajasthan, claimed to have devised an innovative scheme to augment agricultural production, but the District Agricultural Office found no merit in it and asked for an explanation from him as to why he had sent his scheme to the Central Government without their approval.
3. The Director of Agriculture and Food Commissioner of the Rajasthan Government explained that Parashar's scheme had been referred to a committee of experts who found it neither original nor practicable. He added that the Rajasthan Government did not intend to suppress Parashar's idea but wanted to discourage his tendency to contravene the official procedure.

3. Crime and Punishment¹

I was just discussing with Mr Mullik² the subject of crime. Everybody is interested these days in crime prevention. It is interesting to compare the crime statistics of various countries, especially some of the advanced countries like the USA and Sweden. I was surprised to find, when I went to Sweden last summer, that criminal offences had increased very considerably and this had worried the Government there. Mostly they were minor offences arising from alcoholism. In America there has been an increase in juvenile delinquency. Why do these crimes occur? It may be, there are some people, very few I think, who are born criminals. Criminals are created, normally speaking, by their environment, by their training or lack of training, and by other conditions and factors. To blame the criminal would not do much good. No doubt you have to punish him for his crime but

1. Speech at a conference of Inspectors-General of Police, New Delhi, 9 January 1958. JN Papers, NMML.

The conference was held from 6 to 10 January 1958.

2. B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau, 1950-64.

there has to be a search for the reasons that led him to commit offences. And there are various crimes, such as property crimes, crimes against persons including sex crimes, and crimes that are on the borderline of international finance or smuggling.

What are the reasons for these crimes? One reason is poverty and the bringing up of people in surroundings of poverty. In America, crime takes place among juveniles mainly for the sake of excitement. In countries like America and Sweden, which have a high standard of living, there is no question of a person being unprovided for. Everybody is looked after almost from birth to death. There is no apparent reason why a person should commit crime. Yet juvenile delinquency has been increasing and obviously for reasons other than poverty. When there is too much prosperity, life becomes dull. People want excitement and they take to drink, etc. This is an unhealthy outlook. People do not know how to utilize their leisure. It is very likely that within a reasonable time, ten years or fifteen years hence if there is no war, the period of work in America might be reduced to three days in a week and a big problem will arise as to what people should do for four days in the week. Unless people are occupied with hobbies or other interests, like television and cinema, they will indulge in mischief. This is a psychological problem which we may not have to face in this country for two or three generations at least. But the point is that crime should always be looked upon as arising from the environment rather than from the evil in the individual. Punishment should be intended more to isolate the criminal from society than as a reprisal against the crime. As you know, I spent many years in prison and came in touch with various kinds of criminals, mostly 'lifers'. By and large, I found them a good lot. I found the petty thieves much worse. The lifers were a superior type and had the makings of good citizens.

I remember reading a book on Sing Sing Prison³ by a man⁴ who later became a famous Governor of the prison and introduced all kinds of penal reforms. He did an extraordinary thing. He disguised himself as a convict and spent a month or two living the life in prison without anybody's knowledge. He thereby gained an intimate knowledge about their ways. His studies showed that

3. In 1932, the warden of Sing Sing Prison, one of the oldest prisons in the USA, wrote *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing*, which gave an account of prison reforms which he carried out as warden. It became a manual for prison reforms. Nehru mentioned about reading this book in his jail diary on 16 April 1943. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol.13, pp.110-111.
4. Lewis Lawes (1883-1947); prison guard, Clinton Prison at Dannemora, 1905; Superintendent, City Reformatory on Hart Island, New York City, 1915; warden of Sing Sing Prison, 1920-41.

only about 10 per cent to 15 per cent, I think, of the criminals were real criminals, and that 85 per cent were decent folk, who, with a little attention and sympathy, would have turned into good citizens. Somehow something went wrong and they were there. Having gone there, they became hardened criminals. I believe much is being done in India in prison reform and the like. That is good. In the ultimate analysis, we seek to make the human being better, and you cannot normally make a person better by punishment. Some punishment may do good but there is a limit to it after which it does harm. A few persons may improve in prison, but more often persons become confirmed criminals by association. Basically, I think, one should always remember that it is not much good bearing down heavily upon the criminal, except where harm is done to society.

Turning to police-public relations, a police officer cannot function successfully unless he has a certain measure of confidence and cooperation of the public. You cannot possibly place a policeman in front of every house. There has to be cooperation. Apart from this, there is this aspect that if the public do not believe in the bona fides of the police, then it is the criminal who wins public sympathy. Hence it is important not only that the police do their duty, but also that they make it appear to the public that this is the right thing to do. There are very few countries where the police force is liked by the public. The British policemen had a reputation for impartiality, though this seems to have waned. The French police have no such reputation.

This question arises not with crime alone. Let us take political demonstrations, which often begin in a small way, develop with extreme rapidity, and create dangerous situations. I think that almost always most of these situations can be controlled at an early stage, and they have been controlled where a really competent officer, civil or police, approached them, not with a big stick but in a relatively friendly way. The mentality of a crowd is much lower than that of an individual. Even in a crowd of relatively intelligent people, the general mentality is low. A crowd is composed of all types, good and bad, and once there is a turn in the thinking of the crowd in a wrong direction, the wrong people take charge of the crowd. The intelligent people, who are quiet, are swept away. One should try to prevent that crisis from arising and approach the crowd not in the magistrate's way or in the police way but in some other way. You could possibly make the crowd laugh. It is extraordinary how you can change the temper of a crowd by making them laugh. The tension is reduced immediately. I have a good deal of experience of crowds. To relieve the tension sometimes it is necessary to do something dramatic. Once when a seething crowd became restive following the failure of the loudspeakers, I jumped down from the high platform and rushed to the site of trouble, and this dramatic action led to sudden quiet. It was done on the spur of the moment and

involved taking some risk with a view to prevent greater risk ultimately.

The point is that one has always to think of how to deal with the temper of a crowd, to control it by good humour so that the tension is relieved. It is the tense crowd that will commit murder and arson on a large scale. It is not human, it is animal. No individual can be blamed for the acts of such a crowd. He becomes part of an insensate organism, i.e., the mass. Nobody knows how a person behaves when he is face to face with a crisis. About 50 years ago when the famous liner *Titanic* sank on its maiden voyage from Southampton to New York after hitting an iceberg, even some very brave persons behaved like cowards and pushed women and children into the sea.⁵ That is some measure of what happens to the crowd. Some subnormal subconscious impulses come up and take hold of a person and he behaves like an absolute brute. The real problem is of your providing a new impulse, i.e., another impulse to counteract the animal impulse. The action taken may have serious consequences. Firing, for instance, produces repercussions against the police. Political and other repercussions follow. Therefore, firing is the sort of action which should be almost ruled out. It produces reactions. If you fire at one place against an angry crowd, it goes on and there is no end to it. The situation in which the crowd impulse becomes a brute impulse should not arise. And this can be done by a timely diversion of attention. The training of a policeman should provide for psychological training in dealing with people.

Finally, I will say a few words about the international situation. It is a very curious and rather a dangerous situation. It is pretty bad, because it is governed almost 90 per cent by fear, and fear prevents clear thought and produces those very reactions which I said are crowd reactions. Why does an animal attack? Fear drives it to do so. In the same way in the crowd it is fear that makes them attack. Now when a whole nation develops fear, it develops a crowd psychology in the nation and they misbehave. Today the most dangerous thing is fear and it is an extraordinary spectacle that vast sums of money are spent on arms for mass slaughter. Everybody realizes that there can be no war without practical extermination of a great part of the world. There can be no victory in a war today. If you take the two groups—the Soviet and the American groups—they have both reached a saturation point, and even if one party is stronger, it will not help to save it as the other is strong enough to destroy it. At this stage the idea of war becomes ridiculous. It will be self-destruction and destruction of society. The most important thing really is how to break this fear and this cold war and one of the obvious things to be done is disarmament. Three or four

5. *Titanic*, the most luxurious British liner of the time, sank on the night of 14 April 1912 on its maiden journey to New York, which resulted in the loss of about 1,515 lives.

years ago, there was a summit conference in Geneva.⁶ Though nothing important happened at that conference, the fact that the heads of big nations met in a friendly way and talked to each other created a good impression all over the world. The psychological effect mattered and it lasted for a year. Then again other things happened.

The position is such in the world today that any attempt by any power to impose its will on another country in a big way is bound to fail. We saw last year the Anglo-French action with regard to Suez. They were much more powerful than Egypt, but they failed because of world repercussions. We saw what Russia did in Hungary.⁷ Russia shot down thousands, but the fact is that it was a basic failure of Russia in Hungary—basic failure in the sense that it showed that even after 11 years of communist domination, communist education and propaganda, Hungarian nationalism could not be suppressed. Even members of the Hungarian Communist Party turned against Russia. That is to say, nationalism was a stronger force than communism. Communism can grow in a country by itself if it has strength, but communism imposed by outside authority can only remain there so long as outside bayonets are there. In other words, any attempt now in the world to impose communism or imperialism over another country is very likely to fail. As I said, communism may grow internally, that is a different matter, but nationalism is a stronger force.

Therefore, in the present state of things in the world, some kind of peaceful solution will have to be found for the problems of the world, however long it may take. If America or any other power thinks that they can put an end to, let us say, the communist governments in Eastern Europe—in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania or Hungary—it is not possible for them to do this unless there is a war, and war will not help because they will be destroyed completely. The only solution is to relieve world tension and when this is lessened, then automatically pressure on these countries will be less. The Hungarian crisis might not have occurred if it had not synchronized with the Anglo-French attack on Suez. The Anglo-French attack on Suez made the Russians think that this was preliminary to a world war and that the UK and France had done this in consultation with America. It was not in a sense the protection of communism in Hungary but rather to prevent Hungary joining the enemy, becoming a hostile power, and the hostile frontier coming up to the Russian border.

Then you see the difference between what happened in Poland and Hungary. The riots in Poland⁸ took place before the Suez attack Russia did not intervene

6. On 7 May 1954.

7. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 389-449 and 450-485.

8. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 397-398.

with armed force in Poland to suppress the liberal tendencies there. Russia knew that, by doing so, the Polish uprising could have been suppressed, but it would have alienated the Polish people much more and given a big handle for propaganda to its opponents. The Polish leaders were also wiser and more restrained and could control their people. In Hungary they lost control completely and they did what was a very unwise thing. They openly appealed to the Westerners for help against their “enemy—Russia”. Russia could not tolerate that challenge, regardless of the merits of the dispute, and so this tragedy occurred. But in spite of the fact that the Hungarian uprising was suppressed, it was a tremendous moral defeat for Russia and the Russians know it. They feel unhappy about it. But, happy or unhappy, they are going to take no risks.

The relaxation of foreign pressure on countries, whether they are under the Soviet or under the colonial countries, is what is required. The only way to achieve this is by relaxation of international tension which will remove fear and allow growth.

4. To K. C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

January 13, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

For some months past Indira and I have been examining some plans made by our architects and engineers for a smaller house for the Prime Minister.³ This is to be situated right at the back of our present compound. Rana⁴ is the architect who has been dealing with this and he has shown me these plans which we have broadly approved. I think that this matter should go ahead now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 336-340.

4. Mansinh M. Rana (b. 1922); well-known architect who designed the Bal Bhawan, Buddha Jayanti Park, Nehru Memorial Library, Nehru Planetarium and Shanti Vana in Delhi; initiated the concept of river front development in India.

5. To Budh Singh¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

Dear Budh Singhji,²

I have received your letter of the 7th January, 1958. I must confess that I am surprised to read it as well as the memorandum which you have sent.

No group of persons has received greater consideration from the Central Government and the State Governments as well as the people of India as the members of the Azad Hind force who came back. We have gone all out to help them in all ways that were possible for us. Those who were fit enough were taken in the Army. Many others were taken in like services, like Home Guards, etc. Some of their officers are in our services, are our Ministers and Ambassadors. I really do not understand how this complaint is made to me now as if we had forgotten these people and you write to me that this matter should not be treated with an ivory-tower approach. Evidently, you do not know all that has been done for them.

We have done all this in spite of the tremendous demand upon us by millions of refugees from Pakistan and in spite of the fact that there are tens of thousands of families in India who have given their all in the freedom movement. It really is very odd to expect that we should enrol in the army now people after twelve years of their leaving it. Both from the point of view of age and fitness, this is not possible. All those who could be taken were taken in then. Nor can we go back on the decisions taken in regard to various payments to be made to them. Many payments were made to them except for certain periods.

Even now we are helping from day to day those individuals who appeal to us and, we think, deserve help. Such appeals are considered by a committee of all old INA men who make recommendations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A resident of Amritsar.

6. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Gauhati
January 19, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,²

In a recent report on the working of the Community Development Programme, I have read that progress in the Punjab has not been maintained. The Chief reason for this, given in the report, is that Development Commissioners are transferred with great frequency so that no one is allowed to get to grips of the subject. Recently, not only the Development Commissioner, but all the three Deputy Development Commissioners were transferred. The Additional Development Commissioner, apparently, is also likely to be transferred. This appears to be rather odd and it almost indicates that not too great a value is attached to developmental work. The officers there are fitted in or taken out for other reasons.

Normally we kept officers dealing with development continuously for some considerable time. I do hope that these transfers do not mean that the Punjab Government does not think too much of development work. The Punjab has done well in the past chiefly because the people there are full of vitality. But they have to be encouraged by having the best men as Development Commissioners and a certain continuity. You know what very great importance we attach to the work of community development.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.17(28)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

7. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Gauhati
January 19, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 19th January about the Delhi Corporation.

I agree with you that it would be desirable for the Congress Organization to choose some well-known and respected citizens of Delhi, who are considered

1. File No.7 (152)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

competent or who may be expert in some field but who may not be Congressmen, as candidates for the Corporation elections. The Delhi Corporation will not only have to deal with difficult problems, but will also have to function under greater publicity than perhaps most other places. We should not give the idea that we are such narrow partymen even in local matters as to exclude good men. You might discuss this matter with Jugal Kishore³ and others.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. President, ad hoc PCC, Delhi.

4. See also *ante*, p. 328.

8. Observing Silence on 30 January¹

For the last two years we have been observing a two-minute silence on the 30th January at, I think, 11 a.m. (though I am not sure of the time). The President goes to the Rajghat *Samadhi* and some others are invited there.

2. It seems to me that it would be desirable for people working in offices to gather in some room in the office concerned for this two-minute silence. There may be more than one gathering in an office if there are many workers. This would be more effective and impressive than to expect each person sitting in his own room to observe this silence.

3. I suggest therefore that this suggestion might be forwarded to all our Delhi offices.

4. I am sending a copy of this to the Home Secretary² and the Defence Secretary.³

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. A.V. Pai.

3. O. Pulla Reddi.

9. IAF Aircraft for VIP Use¹

I am sorry for the delay in dealing with this file. I have been away from Delhi twice for rather lengthy periods, but the real reason was that I did not think it an urgent one and I thought that it would take me some time to read through the necessary papers.

2. I have now seen these papers. I do not think it is at all necessary to change the present arrangements which were arrived at after fairly full consideration. No question now arises or should arise about the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, and no charges should be recoverable for the use of the VIP aircraft by them.

3. The three Service Chiefs also necessarily have to be included in this list. So far as other Cabinet Ministers of the Central Government are concerned, they are entitled to travel by VIP aircraft provided it is considered essential to do so and an aircraft is available.

4. Two Cabinet Ministers of the Central Government have, however, been treated rather specially in this respect, namely, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Home Affairs. These two are, next to the Prime Minister, the two senior members of Government. Also their physical health is such that sometimes special arrangements have to be made for them. I see no lack of uniformity about these rules, because of these provisions. Apart from this, the Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, hardly ever goes out of Delhi and very rarely uses VIP aircraft.

5. It should be clearly understood that it is much more necessary for these facilities to be provided for these two senior Ministers, namely, Maulana Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, than for the Deputy Ministers of Defence or for senior service or civilian officers connected with the Defence Organization. Normally speaking, these senior officers should only travel by VIP aircraft when it is essential to do so and an alternative method is not available.

6. There is no difficulty in keeping a record of the VIP flights made by any Minister or others. In fact, I understand this has been kept except in the case of the President. Information in regard to the President's flights can also be maintained.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 23 January 1958. JN Collection.

10. Improvement of Slum Areas¹

There has been a good deal of interest in the improvement of slum areas not only in Delhi but in some of the other major cities of India. Many investigations have been made and a good deal of material collected. Some good work has also been done.

2. In Delhi there is a big scheme of refashioning greater Delhi for the future and a high-level team from the Ford Foundation is working here for this purpose. With them is associated an Indian team. The idea is that the work done for Delhi should help in training up the Indian team to undertake any such big-scale work in other parts of India where it may be considered necessary.

3. The question of removing slums is intimately connected with housing, as people have sometimes to be removed from the slum areas to have open spaces, and fresh houses have to be constructed. Whenever this is done, this has to be viewed from the point of view of future planning. Merely to consider it from a narrow local point of view is not enough as this may come in the way of future planning.

4. Then there is the question of providing occupations. If people are removed from one place to another, they cannot be left isolated without work. There are also of course large numbers of people living in slums who have no regular work. Thus, the larger question of unemployment also comes into the picture, though it is limited to the slum areas in this connection.

5. Probably Calcutta is the worst affected city in India from the point of view of slums, overcrowding and unemployment. Then there are Bombay and Kanpur and other big cities. The task is an enormous one and is principally the responsibility of the State Governments concerned or the Corporations. The Centre would like to help and will no doubt do so to the best of its ability. The mere magnitude of this task is rather frightening and, because of this, it is difficult to begin tackling it. Yet beginnings have to be made and to some extent have been made in various cities.

6. I mention this just to indicate the nature of the problem. But what I am suggesting now is a much more limited approach to it. Even in Delhi, there are a number of authorities dealing with this problem in some way or other and are overlapping. Recently, there has been some coordination in Delhi under the Delhi Development Provisional Authority which works under the Health Ministry. Other Ministries concerned in Delhi are Works, Housing and Supply, and the Home Ministry. Finance naturally comes into the picture and, if small industries

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, 25 January 1958. JN Collection.

are to be considered in this connection, there is the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.

7. A suggestion has been made that it might be possible to start small industries with the help of small machines and tools. I understand that the Ford Foundation is interested in this matter and might be able to obtain a quantity of these small machines, etc., from the United States, which are outmoded there and therefore lying unused. They might well be of use in India.

8. I should like this problem to be considered by a committee which will be primarily an Advisory Committee and which can present a report or suggestion in regard to the various approaches to this problem. I do not expect such a committee to take up this huge problem in all its aspects. They might, first of all, gather materials as to what has been done in various principal cities in India where this problem has been tackled. They might take particular interest in Delhi and in Calcutta. In Delhi they will find out what has been done and what is proposed to be done. The Calcutta situation requires particular attention and the West Bengal Government as well as the Corporation of Calcutta will no doubt fully cooperate and supply the information as to what they are doing.

9. For this initial purpose, I am appointing a committee as follows: Shri Asoke Sen, Minister of Law, as Chairman, and representatives of the Ministries of Health, Works, Housing & Supply, Home, Finance, and Commerce & Industry.

10. These Ministries should nominate their representatives and inform the Chairman, Shri Asoke Sen. My Principal Private Secretary² should also be a member of this committee.

11. What I have said above is rather vague because I do not wish to make this advisory work at all rigid. I should like the Committee to meet and consider how to proceed about these matters and then we can discuss with them and perhaps lay down more precise lines of work.

Copies of this note are being sent to the Ministries concerned, as indicated above, and to Shri Asoke Sen and PPS.

11. Surprise Visit to Slums¹

As for visiting this and other slums, I have certainly said that I would like to do so. I propose to do so. But there are two conditions. The first is that I cannot undertake a big tour on one occasion. I may go to various places separately.

Secondly, and this is important, I do not want a fuss to be made of my visit. Therefore I shall go to a place without any previous intimation. In fact, I do not want a crowd of policemen either there. When I decide to go to any place, I shall only let very few persons know of it and go with them.

You may reply therefore that the Prime Minister remembers his promise and he will visit the place at some convenient time.

For the moment I cannot fix an interview.

1. Note, 29 January 1958. File No. 33(2)58/61H-PMS.

12. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi

February 17, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

Your letter of the 16th February about P.C. Mukerjee, Chairman of the Railway Board. I have a high opinion of P.C. Mukerjee and we are all very sorry to learn of his serious illness. I am glad the operation was successful and that he has recovered.

The question you raise however involves apparently a complete departure from our normal rules, and I am not quite sure how to deal with it. As you have seen, the case of Bhandari that you have cited was a State affair and the Government of India actually did not agree to meet the expenditure. If we accept this exception then there is no reason why we should not do so in other cases also. It will be difficult to discriminate.

We shall talk about this matter again and perhaps consult some of our colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Railways.

13. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

February 27, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for sending me with your letter of February 17, a copy of a letter from Damodar Swarup² to you. Prima facie, I do not see the point of the Bombay Government appealing against an order for acquittal. Normally, I am against appeals against acquittals. In this matter the case lasted seven years and was fully enquired into. One gets an impression of deliberate harassment and wastage of public funds.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Damodar Swarup Seth, a prominent Congressman from Uttar Pradesh, was one of the accused in the "Empire of India" fraud case, in which about Rs 80 lakhs were misappropriated from two insurance companies. It was taken up as a "criminal conspiracy" case, the "State vs the Accused". In due course, Damodar Swarup Seth was acquitted. The Special Prosecutor, Karl J. Khandalawalla, in a report submitted to the Government of Bombay, termed Seth's acquittal as "altogether perverse" and suggested an appeal to the High Court against the acquittal judgement.

14. Treatment at Customs Barriers¹

I enclose a letter from Shri Joachim Alva,² MP. I should like you to have an immediate enquiry made into the incident about which he has written. I have sometimes received complaints from foreigners about the treatment at our customs barriers. I have no doubt that we have to be cautious and even strict in these days of smuggling on a big scale. But strictness does not mean discourtesy.

The present case is not that of a foreigner but of a Member of Parliament who is visiting his own constituency and, as it happens, whose wife is a Deputy Minister of the Central Government.³ It is difficult to believe that this search was accidental or normal. It appears to have been specially done to harass him. I

1. Note to A.K. Roy, Secretary (Revenue), Ministry of Finance, New Delhi, 3 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanara, Mysore State.
3. Violet Alva was the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

want, therefore, a full enquiry to be made in this matter and an explanation asked for. Please report to me the result of this as we cannot allow such things to pass unnoticed.

You might write to Shri Joachim Alva and tell him that I have referred this matter to you for enquiry and that we regret the inconvenience caused to him.

15. Appeal against Acquittal of Damodar Swarup Seth¹

The Home Ministry referred to me, the other day, the case of Damodar Swarup Seth, who had been acquitted in, I think, an insurance case in Bombay after some years of trial. The question was whether an appeal should be filed against the order for acquittal. Normally, it is not our practice to appeal against acquittals, and I wrote to the Home Ministry to that effect. This was also the view of the Chief Minister² and the Law Minister³ of the Bombay Government.

Later, I found to my surprise that an appeal had been filed, without any further reference to the Chief Minister or the Law Minister of Bombay or the Home Ministry here. On further enquiry, I found that instructions had been sent to file the appeal by you, and that the Public Prosecutor Khandalawalla had sent a note to our Government on this subject.

I really do not understand all this bypassing of both the Bombay Government and the Home Ministry, and without any reference to me. Will you please explain.⁴

1. Note to B.K. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Finance Ministry, New Delhi, 7 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Y. B. Chavan.
3. Shantilal Shah.
4. B.K. Kaul wrote to Nehru on 10 March 1958, clarifying how the decision was taken. During the prosecution, the expenses were borne in equal proportions by the insurance company and the Government of India. Hence, "in view of the financial commitments involved" the Government of Bombay usually consulted the Government of India. The "ultimate decisions", however, were of the Government of Bombay. Khandalawalla, Kaul added, had termed the acquittal of Damodar Swarup Seth "a grave miscarriage of justice". The Secretary, Legal Department, Government of Bombay, in his letter dated the 2nd January 1958, agreed with the above view. Kaul wrote that he had also placed all the papers before the Secretary to the Ministry of Law for advice who too agreed that an appeal had to be filed. He added that a note was received from the Ministry of Home Affairs which stated that the matter of the appeal was entirely for the State Government to determine. The Bombay Government was fully in the picture and the appeal was filed only after the Law Secretary had approved of it, Kaul stated.

16. Cases against Baburao Patel¹

I enclose a letter I have received today from Baburao Patel.² I am sending it to you as it mentions your name.

2. I know very little about Baburao Patel and nothing at all about the Income Tax prosecutions that have been launched against him. I do not think I have ever met him. Some time back I saw some numbers of *Filmindia* which I considered exceedingly vulgar and objectionable from various points of view. No doubt I must have expressed my opinion about him to various people. This was entirely about his general vulgarity and *Filmindia*.

3. I do not remember anything sent to me about these cases launched against him.

1. Note to A.K. Roy, Secretary (Revenue), Ministry of Finance, 8 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. (1904-1982); writer, film director and producer; editor and publisher of India's first film trade magazine *Filmindia*; Founder and editor of a political magazine, *Mother India*; also wrote *Burning Words: A Critical History of Nine Years of Nehru's Rule from 1947-56*.

17. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
March 8, 1958

My dear Mr President,²

As you know, our Government has suffered two losses in recent weeks. The Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, resigned. A few days later, our respected colleague Maulana Abul Kalam Azad passed away. These losses have weakened our Government and have cast a heavy burden on those who are carrying on the work of Government, and more especially on me.

On Shri T.T. Krishnamachari's resignation, I took over charge of the Ministry of Finance, and presented the Budget. But, this was a temporary arrangement, and it is not possible for me to continue to hold charge of this very important Ministry. So far as the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research is concerned, the present Minister of State, Dr K.L. Shrimali, has been carrying on the work of the Ministry, which is a heavy charge.

1. File No. 8/58, pp. 13-15, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.
2. President of India.

I have discussed the question of filling in these vacancies and of making other changes in Government, with you, on several occasions. I am now writing to you to seek your approval of the changes I should like made. I regret that I have to trouble you on the eve of your eye operation. I have felt this necessary as you should have complete rest after the operation for a number of days, possibly ten or twelve days, and naturally I do not wish to trouble you at all during this period. My intention is to have an announcement made at the appropriate time, about the proposed changes. In regard to new appointments, no formal step can be taken till the swearing-in is over. This can only take place after you are well enough to be present at this ceremony. There is indeed no need for hurry in so far as that is concerned. But, to delay an announcement till then might not be desirable.

The proposals I am putting down below for the favour of your consideration and approval, cannot be considered quite final at this stage, as I have not been able to consult some of the people mentioned in them. I think, however, that there will be no difficulty about this matter. If I get the consent of these people concerned, and you are pleased to approve of these proposals, I propose to have an announcement made within four days or so. Such internal changes require no swearing-in and involve merely a change in the portfolio of a Minister, may be given effect to then. The other changes will have to wait for your convenience.

My proposals are that

- (1) Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, at present a Minister in the Uttar Pradesh Government, be appointed a Cabinet Minister in the Central Government;
- (2) Shri B. Gopala Reddi, at present a Minister in the Andhra State Government, be appointed a Minister of State in the Central Government;
- (3) Shri S.V. Ramaswamy, a Member of the Lok Sabha, be appointed a Deputy Minister;
- (4) Shri Purnendu Sekhar Naskar, a Member of the Lok Sabha and at present Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Rehabilitation, be appointed a Deputy Minister;
- (5) Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, a Member of the Lok Sabha, be appointed a Deputy Minister.

I recommend following changes in appointment in Government:

- (1) Shri Morarji Desai, Cabinet Minister, at present Minister of Commerce & Industry, to be in charge of the Ministry of Finance;
- (2) Shri B. Gopala Reddi to be Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance;
- (3) The present Ministry of Education & Scientific Research to be divided

into two Ministries:

- (i) Ministry of Education to be in charge of Minister of State Dr K.L. Shrimali, MP.
- (ii) Ministry of Scientific Research and Culture to be in charge of Minister of State Shri Humayun Kabir, MP. This Ministry will deal with scientific and technical institutes, national laboratories, three Academies, games, sports and athletics.
- (4) The Ministry of Commerce & Industry to be in charge of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Cabinet Minister.
- (5) The Ministry of Communications to be in charge of Shri S.K. Patil, Cabinet Minister.
- (6) The Ministry of Irrigation & Power to be in charge of Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim.

I trust you will approve of these proposals and permit me to make an announcement in regard to them at the appropriate moment. I trust you will also allow me to make minor changes in this announcement, should this become necessary.³ As I have stated above, the new members of the Government of India will not assume charge till you are well enough and it is convenient for you to swear them in. It does not much matter if this is delayed even for a fortnight or so.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Nehru on 9 March and gave his consent to the appointments in the Government as recommended by Nehru.
4. On March 13, 1958 Nehru wrote another letter to the President seeking his approval to the following recommendations: (1) Ahmed Mohiuddin, a Member of the Lok Sabha, be appointed a Deputy Minister, (2) The Department of Economic Affairs be separated from the Ministry of Finance and constituted into the Ministry of Economic Affairs. B. Gopala Reddi, Minister of State, to be put in charge of this Ministry.

18. To Raghunath Singh¹

New Delhi

9th March 1958

My dear Raghunath Singh,²

Your letter of March 8. I am glad to learn about the appointment of sub-committees by your Kashmir Study Group.

You mention a resolution which a member of your Group has tabled. This says that no religious place of worship or prayer should be utilized for political propaganda or speeches. I wish this was so but passing a resolution which we cannot give effect to is not helpful. The Sikhs, for instance, are constantly using their Gurdwaras for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection
2. (1910-1982); Congressman from Banaras; General Secretary, Banaras City Congress Committee, 1938-41, and its President, 1938-41 & 1946-48; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67; Convenor of Congress Party Study Group on Kashmir in Parliament.

19. Appeal against Acquittal-II¹

I have seen these papers. In the circumstances, you acted normally, and there is nothing more to be said about it. The case was primarily the responsibility of the Bombay Government. What surprised me was that the Chief Minister and another colleague of his, who was apparently dealing with this case, knew nothing about the steps taken and appeared not to be in agreement with them.

I am almost, in principle, opposed to appeals from acquittals unless the case is a very exceptional one. There is an element of persecution about it, which I do not like. To incur further governmental expenditure in such an appeal seems to me unjustified. Also, it seemed to me that the case having lasted a large number of years, it was not desirable to prolong it on Government's part. However, the matter must rest with the Bombay Government.

As for the counsel to be engaged in this case, this matter should also be decided by the Bombay Government. We need not take any initiative in this matter.

1. Note to B.K. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Finance Ministry, New Delhi, 10 March 1958. JN Collection.

20. To A.V. Pai¹

New Delhi

March 11, 1958

My dear Pai,²

As I have already told you, I am much disturbed at the leakage of information from the President's Office. The latest example of this is a letter I wrote to the President a few days ago containing some proposals for enlarging the Government and other associated matters.³ Very few persons knew about it, and not even some of the persons concerned had heard about these proposals. Nothing came out in the press previously. The moment I sent my letter to the President this leakage occurred. It seems clear, therefore, that the leakage was from the President's Office.

The President unfortunately was preparing for his eye operation and could not himself read the letter. It must have been read out to him. I do not know how many people in the President's Office, personal or public, saw this letter or heard about it. The leakage, I take it, must have been due to the action of one or more such persons.

I have asked you to enquire into this matter because it is of high importance. If I cannot trust my Secret correspondence with the President remaining Secret, then it will be difficult for me to write letters to him. I shall have to go personally on every occasion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary to the President of India.
3. See *ante*, pp. 439-441.

21. Reorganization of Finance Ministry¹

You must have seen the announcement made about certain new appointments in the Government and consequential changes. The new Minister of Finance² will probably take charge about the 25th of this month; so also the new Minister of Economic Affairs.³

2. The Department of Economic Affairs is being constituted into a separate Ministry in charge of the Minister of Economic Affairs. Thus there will be two Ministries, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Both will be intimately connected with each other. The Minister of Finance will be a Cabinet Minister. The Minister of Economic Affairs will be a Minister of State,³ that is, a Minister who attends Cabinet meetings whenever necessary but is not a Cabinet Minister.

3. The present Department of Economic Affairs appears to deal with a large number of subjects. It is not necessary to transfer all these subjects to the new Ministry of Economic Affairs. Some of these subjects indeed will necessarily remain with the Ministry of Finance.

4. I suggest that a proper division should be made of the subjects which should be allotted to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Cabinet Secretary should also be consulted and then the lists should be put up before me.

1. Note to the Secretaries in the Ministry of Finance, namely, M.V. Raghavachari, A.K. Roy, N.N. Wanchoo, and B.K. Nehru, New Delhi, 14 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Morarji Desai took over as Union Minister of Finance on 22 March 1958.
3. B. Gopala Reddi.

22. To Sadath Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
March 14, 1958

My dear Sadath,²

Late last night I received a letter from you³ and today I received your second letter.⁴ In any event your first letter had nothing to do with my decisions as they had been made previously and announced.

I think it would be very foolish of you to resign. You are completely wrong in thinking that I have felt disappointed with your work or have slighted you in any way. The appointment of Ahmed Mohiuddin⁵ has nothing to do with your being appointed or promoted or not. I have to consider all kinds of factors in making appointments. At the present moment, I was not even thinking of promoting people unless some particular variety of work demanded this. Also, you must realize that a person who is working with me suffers from a slight disadvantage, apart from any advantage that he might have. I hesitate to favour a person who is connected with me or whom I like. This is perhaps bending backwards a little. Of course it does not mean much because ultimately decisions have to be made on a variety of considerations. In the recent appointments I had to deal with some vacancies and fill them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Parliamentary Secretary to Nehru in the External Affairs Ministry.
3. Sadath Ali wrote on 13 March that several others who became Parliamentary Secretaries after him had been promoted. He added that if his case was overlooked once more, it would be difficult for him to face his colleagues in Parliament and to carry out his duties satisfactorily.
4. Sadath Ali wrote on 14 March 1958 that he felt "slighted and puzzled" at being ignored again as Nehru had never once expressed disappointment or dissatisfaction with his work; on the contrary he had shown appreciation by appointing him to assignments abroad and India. He offered to resign from the post of Parliamentary Secretary.
5. Ahmed Mohiuddin (1898-1966); Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-66; Union Deputy Minister, Civil Aviation, 2 April 1958-April 1962, Transport and Communications, 16 April 1962-1 September 1963, and Transport, 1 September 1963-9 June 1964 and 15 June 1964-5 January 1966.

23. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I received a memorandum some time ago about the development of the hill regions. This memorandum contains a lot of unnecessary stuff. But the fact remains that we have not given adequate help to this neglected region. Something no doubt has been done, but it is very little.

I think that the whole region should be looked at as one economic group and surveyed from this point of view. The different States which deal with parts of this region do not have a full picture before them. I would, therefore, suggest the appointment of a committee, which could have a full survey made of this region.

I imagine that the very first thing to be done there is the making of roads. This has made some progress in Himachal Pradesh and elsewhere, but even this is slow. For the last year or two I have been pressing for a road from Chakrata to Tuni, which will be very helpful to that region, but neither the UP Government nor our Ministry of Transport feel inclined that way.

You may be interested to know that the Chinese Government has made 4,000 miles of roads in Tibet during the last four years. These roads are mostly *kutchas* but many of them pass over great mountain ranges.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

24. Audit of the Indian Statistical Institute¹

This question of audit of the Indian Statistical Institute came up before us repeatedly during the long discussions about the draft Bill² and it was after much trouble that some decision was arrived at. In your note it is said that Clause 5 of the Bill was agreed to by the Auditor General only as an interim arrangement. I do not understand this. Either that arrangement was a proper one and not an infringement of any rule or convention or it was not so. It cannot become improper now if it was proper then.

I have no strong views on this subject either way. But I remember that in another connection this question of audit of statutory corporations and the like was considered by the Cabinet and we decided then that we might leave this audit to be done by non-official agencies. I suppose the Auditor-General has always an inherent right to enquire.

I think there is a great deal of truth in the extract from the letter of the Institute which you have given. We are very anxious to have audits of expenditure, but no one seems to take any trouble about an audit of achievement which is the real thing. The fact of expenditure does not necessarily indicate the quality of the work done. Where the work is of a highly scientific character, it is difficult for me to understand how that quality can be even understood by the layman.

I should like of course full care to be taken about contributions by Government. But I am anxious to avoid the routines of the Government way of working which have not been known to speed up any work and which probably are sometimes irritating. In the normal process of Government work, this does not matter. But in a field of expanding science, it may well matter a great deal.

I am prepared to accept anything that is agreed to. But I am somewhat alarmed at the prospect of delaying this matter still further for an indefinite time. Already it has taken years to reach the stage where it is. I remember discussing this question of audit with the then Finance Minister, Shri C.D. Deshmukh.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 23 March 1958. File No. 17 (45)/58-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The reference is to the draft of the Indian Statistical Institute Bill, 1959, which was passed by the Lok Sabha on 14 December 1959, and the Rajya Sabha on 17 December 1959. It received the President's assent on 24 December 1959.

25. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi

26th March 1958

My dear Morarji,²

Your letter of the 25th March.³

I entirely agree with you that we must take some steps to prevent the exploitation of Gandhiji's name and, indeed, of other names also as far as possible. While agreeing fully with your proposal I would be inclined to take it much further. Thus, why should commercial firms exploit the names of political or religious leaders of the past like Tilak, Gokhale or Vivekananda, etc.? Will it be possible to have some rule making a clause in your Bill to enable Government to make rules on this subject whenever occasion arises?

I do not at all like pictorial representations of gods and goddesses used for commercial purposes. I wish you will do something about that also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/31/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

3. Desai wrote that he had received complaints against the use of names and pictorial representation of gods and goddesses and prominent national leaders for commercial purposes and sought Nehru's advice in the matter. He, however, felt that no action should be taken at the Governmental level so far as gods and goddesses were concerned, but steps must be taken to prevent commercial exploitation of the prestige of national leaders of acknowledged eminence such as Gandhiji.

26. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1958

My dear S.K.,

Now that you are in charge of your new Ministry,² I am writing to you about civil aviation and, more particularly, about Viscounts in the service of civil aviation.

Last year I was much concerned about the state of civil aviation here. The training given to our pilots and others was not adequate. There was a shortage of them, there appeared to be little discipline, and generally things were done in a happy way. I wrote several notes at the time³ and I believe an effort was made for improvement and this partly succeeded.

One thing I laid great stress on was that they should have a competent technical man at the head as General Manager. We gave them one of our best men in the Air Force, Air Commodore Lal,⁴ who, I believe, is General Manager now.

All this by way of preamble. A day or two ago, I heard a pilot of one of the Civil Aviation Viscounts rather casually saying that the servicing of the Viscounts was not good enough. The oil gauge in his aircraft was not working properly, etc. These are minor points perhaps and I do not know if the pilot's complaint was justified. But I thought I might pass this on to you. It is of course essential for aircraft to be carefully serviced, more particularly the Viscount which has a very delicate engine and requires careful looking after.

I suggest that you might have a talk with Air Commodore Lal and discuss this question of servicing, etc., with him. It might also be worthwhile for Lal or someone else to make surprise inspections. I might mention that many of the small defects that might arise would probably be put right by our National Physical Laboratory in Delhi, especially those dealing with electronic matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. On 29 March 1958, Patil took over as Union Minister for Transport and Communications.

3. Nehru also wrote, in April 1957, to Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Union Minister of Transport and Communications, with regard to this matter. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 311-314.

4. P. C. Lal was the General Manager of Indian Airlines Corporation and also Member of the Board of Directors of Indian Airlines and Air-India.

27. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear Sri Sinha,

Your letter of March 28th about Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra.² I entirely agree with you that he has done his work well and there can be no objection to his being made a Deputy Minister. The only difficulty is that we have such a large number of Ministers at present and there has been so much criticism of adding to their number that I feel I should not do so at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Lalit Narayan Mishra (1923-1975); Congressman from Bihar; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62 and 1971-75; Parliamentary Secretary to the Union Minister of Planning, Labour and Employment, 1957-60; Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Planning, 1960-62, of Home Affairs, 1964-66, of Finance, 1966-67; Union Minister of State for Labour and Rehabilitation, March 1967-November 1967, for Defence Production, 1967-70, for Foreign Trade, 1970-73, and for Railways, 1973-75.

28. The Yamuna Hydel Scheme¹

In a recent discussion in the Lok Sabha on the demands for the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Shri Mahavir Tyagi² spoke. This was on the 26th March. He drew attention to a certain scheme called Yamuna Hydel Scheme³ of which I had laid the foundation stone about ten years ago in 1948. The UP Government was interested in it. After much money was spent on this scheme, for some odd reason it suddenly stopped. Much later another scheme was proposed which is a very expensive one estimated at rupees eighty crores and which will submerge numerous villages as well as 13,000 acres of rich agricultural land in UP plus 19,000 acres of rich land in Himachal Pradesh. It is said that about

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 30 March 1958. File No. 17 (295)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.
3. The first phase of Yamuna Hydroelectric Project at Dakpathar, near Dehradun, on Yamuna river was completed in 1965 and had the capacity to produce 32 crores unit electric power.

27,000 people will be dispossessed. Further Shri Mahavir Tyagi pointed out that the famous Sikh shrine called Paonta Sahib will be submerged.

2. I should like you to find out both from the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the Planning Commission about this proposal which Shri Mahavir Tyagi has criticized strongly. Why should we undertake any scheme which has these drawbacks and which in any event will give rise to strong feelings?

(ii) Services and Appointments

1. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
January 23, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

Your letter of January 20 about the pay scales of employees of State Governments.³ You know that this subject was discussed by Chief Ministers at Gauhati. What you have said in your letter is fully realized. At the same time it is not much good saying that the Finance Ministry at the Centre must find money for the purpose, when there is no such money. We are trying hard to think of a way out which may very well consist of adding a certain percentage to taxation for this very purpose. The employees and the public will realize that any increase in salaries means higher taxation.

There is no particular point in calling a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council or of the full Council just to consider this matter. Practically we had an informal meeting of this kind in Gauhati, although unfortunately you were not there.

1. File No. 37 (68)/58-PMS.

2. Chief Minister of UP.

3. Sampurnanand drew Nehru's attention to the differences in the pay scales of Central and State Government servants. He argued: "People doing absolutely the same kind of work, possessing the same qualifications, drawn from the same strata of society and living in the same economic conditions, have been drawing widely different emoluments merely because of the accident that one class was borne on the Central and the other on the State cadre."

As you have already sent a copy of your letter to me to the Finance Minister, I have no doubt that he will give it attention. I am also writing to him about his matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To G.L. Mehta¹

New Delhi
9th February 1958

My dear Gaganvihari,²

Your letter of January 22 reached me a few days ago. I did not answer it immediately as I thought I should consult my colleagues in the Ministry as well as the Finance Minister.

As you know, we appreciate highly the work you have done and if you could have continued longer we would have been happy. But we realize that it is perhaps not fair for us to go on pressing you repeatedly to extend your stay in Washington. As you say, you have been there for over five years which is a little more than a normal term of an Ambassador and you have domestic reasons also for a change.

I am, therefore, agreeable to your handing over charge by the end of April. With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in Washington.

3. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

February 9, 1958

My dear T.T.,

Your letter of January 30th about Gaganvihari Mehta. I have written to him today saying that as he is anxious to leave his post by the end of April, I have no choice but to agree. You suggest that he might be appointed Chairman of the Hindustan Steel Corporation and the National Coal Corporation. I think he will make a good Chairman.

I have already met Jacobsson² and had a long and interesting talk with him. As for John J. McCloy,³ I shall certainly meet him when he comes here. I do not know when he is coming.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. T.T.Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Per Jacobsson (1894-1963); Swedish economist; member, Economic and Financial Section of Secretariat of League of Nations, 1920-28; Secretary-General to Economic Defence Council, Stockholm, 1929-30; Economic Adviser and Head of Economic Department of Bank for International Settlements in Basle, 1931-56; Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, 1956-63; author of *Postwar Economic Problems; Some Monetary Problems, National and International* among other books.
3. John Jay McCloy (1895-1989); American lawyer, banker and administrator; Assistant Secretary of War, 1941-45; President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1947-49; US Military Governor and US High Commissioner for Germany, 1949-52; Chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank, 1952-60; Adviser to President Kennedy on Disarmament, 1961; Chairman, Coordinating Committee of the US on Cuban Crisis, 1962-63; Principal Negotiator on the President's Disarmament Committee, 1961-74, Member, President's Commission on the assassination of President Kennedy; author of *The Challenge to American Foreign Policy*.

4. Extension of Service after Retirement¹

This matter should certainly be considered by the Cabinet.

2. Two or three months ago I sent you a note on this subject in which I had pointed out that it seemed odd to me that a person whose employment we seek to continue should first be made to retire and then be re-employed. It seemed a much simpler process to give a simple extension.

3. Further, in so far as technical and expert personnel are concerned, the Cabinet decided long ago that they should be given extension, where considered necessary.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 4 March 1958. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

5. The Case of Najoo Bilimoria¹

I wonder if you know the case of Miss Najoo Bilimoria. I have been much troubled by this matter and I think she has been very badly treated by our Government. I shall not mention her history. She had been selected by the UPSC and was working in the I & B Ministry. A report from the Bombay Police then came about some letter she had written to a friend. On the basis of this, she was discharged. She was not told the reason for it. I interested myself in her case and wrote repeatedly to the Home Ministry and the Bombay Government. I saw this letter. I saw nothing very bad in it and certainly nothing which should have induced us to discharge her summarily.

2. But, the wheels of Government move slowly, and the most that could be done then was that any bar against her re-employment should be removed. This was done, but it took a long time.

3. I understand that some other post was recently advertised by the UPSC, and she applied for it. This was probably a post of Information Officer in the EA Ministry. Apparently, she has not been selected, though I am not sure. I do not know whether this lack of selection affects her in any way.

4. From all I have heard, she is a very competent woman, and there is nothing against her. I should very much like to help her, as this case weighs on

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary. New Delhi, 6 March 1958. JN Collection.

my conscience. I do not personally know her at all, except for an interview I had with her about a year or more ago.

5. Naturally, I would not like to bypass in any way the UPSC. I would like you, however, to consider this matter and suggest what might possibly be done.

6. If you want to have more facts about her, my PPS will be able to supply them.

6. Representation by Central Government Employees¹

You wrote to me the other day that there was likely to be a demonstration in front of my house on behalf of the Confederation of Central Government Employees. What happened this morning, however, was something different. Three or four members of this Confederation, accompanied by two MPs, came to my room and handed to me a letter and some attached papers. They also put down a large bundle containing a representation signed by, it is said, about five hundred thousand Central Government employees. They were with me only for about five minutes.²

2. As I wrote to you previously, we should enforce any Rules which we frame. But I should like to look at the Rules which have been framed. For the present, I am sending these papers to you for your comments and advice in the matter.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 11 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. Nath Pai, MP and President of the Confederation of Central Government Employees' Union, led a deputation to the Prime Minister, demanding cancellation of the amended Service Conduct Rules 4-A and 4-B which made it an offence for government employees to take out big deputations. The deputationists presented to Nehru a big bundle of papers containing an estimated 300,000 signatures from government employees throughout the country in support of their demand. The deputation also urged that government employees should be given adequate interim relief.

7. To G. L. Mehta¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1958

My dear Gaganvihari,

You will be coming here soon and, when you come here, we shall no doubt discuss many things. There is much that you can do here.

Previously, I have indicated to you the possibility of your joining the Planning Commission, and then T.T. Krishnamachari suggested your becoming Chairman of the Hindustan Steel Corporation which is in charge of our three new steel works which are being built.

I am writing to you, however, to tell you that my own inclination would be for you to join the Planning Commission. That I think is more important and would suit you better. I have discussed this matter with V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, and he also is of the same opinion.

I thought I should write to you and let you know how my mind was working in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

8. Need for Vetting Government Servants¹

I have read these papers and I feel a little confused about the various types of checks that are referred to. There is, I take it, some kind of an enquiry on an applicant for Government service. This need not be very detailed, but just an indication that there is nothing outstanding against him.

Then there is the need for a more detailed enquiry in regard to a person who is supposed to deal with especially confidential matters. If such a person has been in service for some time, his service record and the opinion of his superior officers will be a very important factor.

In the External Affairs Ministry, it is probably more important than in any other ministry to assure ourselves of the reliability of a person working for us. Again and more especially, if that person is sent abroad, this becomes necessary.

1. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, MEA, 13 March 1958. JN Collection.

Such a person's record should be carefully considered and some kind of a check kept on it.

Any general method of enquiry applicable to all may perhaps serve some purpose, but I am sure this does not help much. In fact and inevitably the enquiry is on the low level. It is hardly worthwhile. Usually it consists of something concerning the person's school or college days which normally have little relevance or with association with some organization which we do not approve of like the Peace Front.

Therefore, in particular cases of persons dealing with confidential work in External Affairs or in our foreign Missions, some kind of special check seems to me necessary. This kind of check, which apparently is called "field check" (why it is called this, I do not know), should be reserved for special cases where they (1) deal with particularly secret work and (2) where there is an element of suspicion. The field for this work therefore will be rather limited and, as Special Secretary says, it can be undertaken by the DIB himself with a very small additional staff. This cannot be left to the State CIDs.

Therefore, I agree with the proposal of the Special Secretary in the above note. It is not clear to me if the Home Minister has expressed any opinion against this or whether this aspect was brought before him. Perhaps he will be good enough to see this note.

(iii) All India Institute of Medical Sciences

1. To D. P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi

2nd January 1958

My dear Karmarkar,²

I spoke to you today about a letter I had received from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. With this letter was enclosed a copy of a letter she had addressed to you a few days ago. I enclose this for reference.

If we had agreed to extra allowance being paid to the Professors of Biochemistry, then no question should arise of our going back on this. You told me that the Finance Ministry had taken the view that only practising doctors

1. File No.40 (134)/57-58/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Health.

should be given an extra allowance. I do not understand this argument, as I told you. Generally speaking, I do not want practising doctors to be engaged in hospitals. The basic staff at a hospital or a medical college should not be allowed to practise. But apart from this, the question of paying a special allowance to practising doctors and not to a person who had devoted himself to teaching and research does not seem to me logical or reasonable. Anyhow, this is a matter for the Health Ministry and the All India Medical Institute to consider and I do not think the Finance Ministry is the right authority to judge.

I hope, therefore, that you will look into this and other pending matters and come to quick decisions.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 207-211.

2. To D. P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
January 11, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I have received two letters from you about the All India Medical Institute, one dated 25th December and the other 5th January. I also received some time ago a letter from Jivraj Mehta,² which I am sending you.

About the Indian Medical Council, some way to preserve harmony between it and the All India Medical Institute has to be evolved. It is obvious that if they obstruct each other, then neither will prosper. Perhaps what you suggest might be helpful, that is, the Indian Medical Council could have authority to visit the Institute once a year to make suggestions. You might discuss this matter with and write to Dr Jivraj Mehta and see what his reaction is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.40 (134)/57-58/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A leading doctor and Congressman of Gujarat; Minister in Bombay Government at this time and a member of the Governing Body of AIIMS.

3. To D. P. Karmarkar¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I am much worried about the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and the constant friction in regard to it. This is bad for the Institute and for us. Broadly speaking, I think we should give a free hand to the Governing Body of the Institute; otherwise no one is responsible for it. The Governing Body will say they are not responsible, and obviously the Health Ministry is not wholly responsible either. The result will be bad for all concerned.

Rajkumari has mentioned that you told her that you were perfectly prepared to cooperate but were overruled by others. I do not quite know what this refers to.

I understand that the Governing Body has passed some resolution, rather reluctantly, about Col. Rao's appointment for a period of two years in an honorary capacity. How does this matter stand? Some early decision should be taken about these matters so that work may go on. There is also something about the furniture, etc., which should be expedited.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (134)/57-58/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

4. Finances for AIIMS¹

The Cabinet generally approved the scheme of allocation proposed in the Finance Ministry's summary dated 30th January 1958.

2. While examining the capital budget of the Ministry of Health, the Prime Minister enquired what provision had been made for a hospital to be attached to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. The urgency of making this provision had been more than once brought to his notice by Dr Jivraj Mehta, who had suggested that a beginning might be made on a relatively small scale. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission² undertook to look into the matter.

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 5 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. V.T. Krishnamachari.

5. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I have your three letters of 27th February.

Two of these deal with the All India Institute of Medical Sciences.² Some evil fate seems to pursue this Institute and we do not seem to get over our initial difficulties. I am afraid that whatever we may decide there is bound to be some kind of continuing conflict between the Medical Council and the Institute. It is clear that the Institute people do not like any intervention from the Council. In the circumstances, any such intervention will be not very friendly or cooperative.

I do not know why you object to any help being given by the Rockefeller Foundation for our Institute. As a matter of fact, a great part of the Institute has been built up, I think, by a grant from the New Zealand Government. But, of course, asking for small sums is not worthwhile.

Your third letter is about the panchayats. I do not know how you can separate various functions of the panchayats into developmental and other. Will that not produce confusion and diffusion of responsibility, which is not good? In fact, the panchayats' main functions should now be for developmental work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (134)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In these two letters, Karmarkar had written that the Planning Commission was reluctant to increase the sum allocated to the All India Medical Institute during the Second Five Year Plan. He also did not approve of the idea of approaching foreign organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation for the expansion of the building of the Institute, and wanted the Indian Medical Council to inspect the Institute once in a year and submit a report to the Government.

6. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
March 9, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I gave an interview to the Governing Body of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences today. They discussed various matters with me. I have asked them to send me a note in regard to them so that we can deal with each one of them adequately.

From their talk it appeared that there were many matters pending or held up. One of these was in regard to some compensatory allowance of three persons they have engaged in the Department of Biochemistry. There is Wardekker,² Professor of Biochemistry, G.P. Talwar,³ Assistant Professor of Biochemistry, and another Assistant Professor of Biochemistry.⁴ I understand that these people were all recruited in the proper way by selection committees and one of them, Wardekker, was a tutor in America. The question now is about some allowance being not passed by the Finance Ministry. This matter should be settled immediately and I do not understand why there should be any delay. Will you please let me know where it is, with your Ministry or with Finance? If you have already sent it to the Finance Ministry, send me a copy of what you have written to them.

As soon as I get a note from these people, I shall discuss each point with you and with others concerned and decide them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Dr Willem Wardekker had a short stint at the AIIMS during its formative years.
3. (b.1926); Professor and Head of Department of Biochemistry, AIIMS, 1965-83; Founder-Director, National Institute of Immunology, 1983-91; Senior Consultant, International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, 1994-95; President, International Society for Immunology of Reproduction, 1995; Director, Talwar Research Foundation, since 2000; author of more than 300 research papers and honoured with several awards and medals.
4. Dr Soma Kumar served in the AIIMS from 1956 to 1958.

7. To K. Atchamamba¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1958

Dear Dr Atchamamba,²

I had your letter of the 11th February some time ago. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

It is difficult for me to judge of these proposed amendments that you suggest. Broadly speaking, we should not bring about amendments so soon after the Act is passed. So far as the regulations, etc., are concerned, you should forward your viewpoint to the Institute itself. We have made the Institute an autonomous body and it is not desirable for the Health Ministry to intervene in small matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A gynaecologist from Andhra Pradesh and Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Vijaywada, 1957-62.

8. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

As you know, the Governing Body of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences saw me a few days ago and we had a talk about various matters. I asked them to send me a note. They have done this and I enclose this note in original.

2. Hospital: They have put forward a new proposal which you can consider and the Planning Commission might also look into it.

3. I suggested that there should be frequent joint meetings between the Ministry of Health and the Institute, more especially in regard to construction and like matters.

4. In regard to the appointment of selection committees, I gather that different committees are appointed for different purposes and it would involve delay if every time the Health Ministry has to be consulted. I think that the appointment of most of their officers and teaching staff should be left to them.

1. File No. 40 (134)/57-58-PMS.

The important posts of Director and Professors and Associate Professors should be appointed in consultation with the Health Ministry. For the junior staff this should not be necessary.

5. So far as the age of superannuation is concerned, I think the age of 55 is totally unsuitable for scientific and technical subjects. In fact, it is a Cabinet decision that this age should not apply to such people.

6. The question of Professor and Assistant Professors of Biochemistry has already been decided.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
18th March 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

Today Lady Mountbatten showed me a letter she had received from the British architects attached to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences.² As this letter might interest you, I am sending you a copy.

From this letter it appears that the British architects have been told to terminate their work. Has this been done by the All India Institute people or the Health Ministry and what exactly is the position now?

It so happens that the Prime Minister of New Zealand is here and he is particularly interested in this Institute.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The British architects, R.J.G. Forestier-Walker, H.J. Brown and L.C. Moulin, had written to Edwina Mountbatten that the original estimate of Rs 172 lakhs as the cost of construction of the building of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences had risen to Rs 302 lakhs due to the increase in the floor area by one-third on the suggestion of the Committee of Doctors, and the dual control by the architects and the Central Public Works Department. They also informed her that they had received a notice of termination of their contract, and expressed the hope that the building would be completed in its entirety after they had left.
3. Amrit Kaur informed Nehru on 22 March that the New Zealand Prime Minister, Walter Nash, was willing to give help to the Institute by providing money in the form of a gift rather than as a loan and sought Nehru's permission to accept the same.

10. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
18th March 1958

My dear Reddy,²

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed to Lady Mountbatten by the British architects connected with the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. I do not quite know what the position is about the hospital, etc., and the Institute. I am enquiring about it.

One thing, however, struck me. Why do we follow this ancient out-of-date practice of the architects not being given responsibility for the project? In all modern countries it is the architect who is given charge and not the so-called practical engineers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

11. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
March 19, 1958

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of the 18th March about Dr Wig.² Normally we do not apply the fifty-five year rule to scientists, experts and the like. I presume, therefore, that there should be no difficulty in Dr Wig continuing after fifty-five, subject always

1. File No. 40 (134)/57-58-PMS.
2. K.L. Wig (b. 1904); Professor of Medicine, Medical College, Amritsar, 1947-58; Principal of Medical College & Dean of Medical Faculty, Punjab University, 1953-58; Professor of Medicine, AIIMS, New Delhi, 1958-69, Dean of Medical Faculty, 1962 and Director, AIIMS, 1964-69; Honorary Physician to the President of India, 1962-77; Fellow, National Academy of Medical Sciences, 1969-70; Emeritus Fellow, American College of Chest Physicians; Emeritus Professor, AIIMS; President, All-India Tuberculosis Workers' Conference, 1953; Associations for Chest Diseases, 1961; Physicians of India, 1964; Chairman, Pharmacopocia Committee of Government of India, 1972-77; National Association of Indian Doctors for the Prevention of Nuclear War; awarded, Padma Bhushan, 1964; recipient of B.C. Roy Award, 1981.

to fitness and good health. But I do not know if it is usual for undertakings to be given previously. All I can do is to assure Dr Wig that if this question arises, I shall recommend his continuance after fifty-five, presuming his physical fitness. I cannot myself see any difficulty about this.

I have also received your other letter of the 18th March, with which you have sent me a copy of a letter addressed to Karmarkar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) Citizenship and Visa

1. Liberal Visa Norms¹

Please see the attached letter. If the facts stated in the letter are correct, then we need not be so strict with this young German. Apparently he is a person of good intentions and is attracted to Indian philosophy, etc. I presume that there is no report against him by the police. The mere fact that he came here on a short visa, travelling on a bicycle, and his visa has expired is not enough reason for us to send him out of the country immediately. I think we should be more hospitable to foreigners unless they are suspected of mischief or interference in any way with our work here.

I suggest that his visa should be extended, for the present, for some months, say, six months.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Overstaying Pakistanis¹

Please see the letter attached from the Chief Minister of UP.²

2. There is the question of women who have overstayed their visas being arrested.³ He says that it is difficult to make exceptions for them unless the Government of India so orders. You might consult the Home Ministry on this subject. My own suggestion is that, to begin with, women should not be arrested at all. Some kind of a notice should be served on them without arrest. If the question of arrest arises, then this should not automatically take place, but the matter should be referred to the State Government, so that each case might be considered separately.

3. In regard to the case of Mohammed Ilyas,⁴ so far as I remember, the facts were rather complicated and his family lives in Lucknow or somewhere in the

1. Note to M.J Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, Gauhati, 18 January 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 20/82/57-F.III, MHA.
2. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of UP, had written on 15 January 1958 regarding complaints received by Nehru about hardship suffered by Pakistani citizens in connection with the implementation of the Foreigners Act. He suggested that a directive from the Government of India might be issued to the effect that women under no circumstances should be prosecuted for overstaying the period of their visas. He expressed fear that interested parties might make use of clever women agents if this was permitted. He wrote that he had issued specific orders for the policemen to behave with courtesy and forbearance.
3. N. Sahgal, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, explained in a note on 23 January 1958 that though overstaying the period of one's visa was a cognizable offence under Section 3 of the Foreigners Order, 1948 and punishable under Section 14 of the Foreigners Act providing for arrest without a warrant, but according to a circular letter of 12 March 1957 from the MEA, a notice would be served on a Pakistani national overstaying his visa without giving any valid reason. If the Pakistani national deliberately ignored the notices, he was to be arrested and prosecuted. This applied to Pakistani women also. The Joint Secretary also stated that there were about 250,000 Pakistani nationals in India without passports.
4. Sampurnanand provided the following facts regarding Mohammed Ilyas: he came to India with his wife in February 1955 and stayed till June 1955 on an extended visa when he went to Calcutta for medical treatment and surrendered his passport to Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta. He ignored the advice to get back the passport and apply for extension of visa and an exit endorsement, and continued to stay in India for two years. According to the Government of India, surrendering his passport did not secure a Pakistani citizen any right to Indian citizenship. Sampurnanand wrote that the State Government was examining the case of Mohammad Ilyas with a view to recommending to the Government of India and the grant of permanent resettlement facilities. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 232-333.

UP. He has no passport left now, and he cannot therefore go to Pakistan. The Home Ministry might be asked to look into this matter also.

4. Jamal Mian has now formally become a citizen of Pakistan.⁵

5. For Jamal Mian's case, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 332.

3. Meeting of the World Peace Council in Delhi¹

Shri Sunder Lal² came to see me today and spoke to me about the desire of the World Peace Council to hold an executive meeting in Delhi next month, that is, about the 22nd to the 24th March, 1958. This was the special wish, he told me, of the present President of the Peace Council, Professor Joliot-Curie.³ The actual meeting would be strictly a business one and would be attended by about sixty or seventy persons. The Council consists of fifty and there would be ten to fifteen interpreters and official staff.

2. There is no difficulty about accommodation or about a small hall for these people to meet. The only question put to us was how far we agreed to this idea. The people who come from abroad for this Council meeting would not stay long here. Probably they would like to go to Agra and Bhakra. Their total stay is not likely to exceed ten days or so. Some may go back even earlier. Visas for two weeks would cover nearly all cases.

3. This World Peace Council has met in various capitals in Europe and elsewhere during the last few years. It met in Colombo a year and a half ago.

4. Shri Sunder Lal assured me that there was no desire to do anything which might embarrass us in the slightest and they were progressively moving away from the old rather narrow approach. They had avoided even joining in the condemnation of America or other Western countries.

5. I told Shri Sunder Lal that we would consider this matter and let him know soon. I should like to find out what our broad policy was about such

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 11 February 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 15/18/58-F-I, pp. 1-2, MHA.

2. Follower of Mahatma Gandhi; editor of the monthly magazine *Naya Hind* in Hindi and Persian from Allahabad.

3. Jean Frederic Joliot-Curie received Nobel Prize jointly with his wife in 1935 for discovering artificial radioactivity. He was also member of the French Communist Party.

conferences. But apart from this policy, it was well known that the World Peace Council was a Communist sponsored organization. I did not mean that all members of it were Communists, but that it did not appear on the world stage as neutral. Therefore, whatever it said was suspect in the minds of many people who did not like the Communist countries. It was one of those front organizations which carried on Communist propaganda directly or indirectly.

6. But, this apart, I had often felt that the cause of peace was not well served by the Peace Council. Even if this Council said the right thing, this was treated with suspicion because of the source. Today, what was required was a quiet approach and not too much shouting. Thus we could take advantage of changing atmosphere in the international field. If, however, there was again much shouting, people would go back into their shells.

7. I told Shri Sunder Lal that I would have this matter examined and let him have our answer soon.

8. The question is what we should say about this. Normally speaking, people can come to India and meet here in committee or council.⁴ A big conference raises other issues, but a committee meeting cannot usually be objected to. The question of individuals might arise as to whether we should issue visas to any particular person or not. But even in regard to that we have become more generous.

4. This meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council took place in Delhi and Nehru addressed it on 22 March, 1958. See *post*, pp. 754-755.

4. Liberal Treatment towards Pakistani Women¹

I agree. So far as the Joint Secretary's note is concerned, it lays down the procedure in theory. In practice, I fear, the local policeman functions and much depends on the individual and his moods. I am anxious that women should not be arrested except in serious cases and for cause shown.²

1. Note to B.N. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 19 February 1958. File No. 20/82/57-F-III, MHA.
2. N. Sahgal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, issued a note on 24 February 1958 that all State Governments should be directed to ensure that Pakistani women were not to be arrested for overstaying their residential permits and that proceedings should not be launched against them without prior sanction of State Government. A series of notices should be issued before taking any action.

5. Visa for Delegates to Political Conferences¹

For some years past, we have been trying to evolve some broad rules to govern the issue of visas to people coming here for conferences and the like. The other categories of people who come here are tourists, businessmen and international conferences on special subjects. There is no difficulty about these three categories, the general rule being that, normally, visas are issued but always subject to our right to consider any individual case. On the whole, we have relaxed our rules considerably in regard to these categories.

2. Then, there is the type of conference which may be convened by some international trade unions organization (not by the national trade unions). Here also, we have generally given visas, though individual cases may have to be examined. Our own delegates go to international trade unions conferences outside, and we cannot very well object to others coming to a meeting of an international conference here.

3. Recently, there was a meeting of the Council of the World Peace Conference.² This was rather a borderline case. In effect, it was largely a Communist conference and its objectives tend to be political. However, we stretched our rule and allowed them to meet here.

4. A national conference of a political party in India stands on a different footing entirely. For outsiders to come here to attend such a conference, would encourage the outsiders to participate in our internal politics; hence, we have made a rule not to issue visas for this specific purpose. This may apply to the National Congress, to the PSP and to the Communist Party or similar organizations. Of course, if a person comes here from abroad for some other purpose and is actually in India at the time of the national political conference, there is nothing to prevent him from attending it, but we do not propose to issue visas specifically for the attendance of a foreigner at such a national political party conference in India. As a matter of fact, quite a number of Communists who came to the meeting of the Peace Council will probably be attending the Communist Party's conference,³ but they came to India for another purpose and were given visas for a particular period. Within that period, it is

1. Note to Lakshmi N. Menon, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 28 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Bureau of World Peace Council met in New Delhi from 22 to 24 March 1958.
3. The Party Congress of CPI was held at Amritsar from 6 to 13 April 1958.

open to them to attend any meeting, whether we like it or not.⁴

5. In accordance with this rule, we rejected the application of some members of the Communist Party of Indonesia to attend the forthcoming Indian Communist Party's conference. We are trying to apply this rule as impartially as possible. If we had permitted the Indonesian Communists to come here, we could not very well have refused it to others.

4. In a note (not printed) to Foreign Secretary on 25 March 1958, Nehru observed that if people "wish to come for the Communist Party conference here, then visas should not be issued... We have no objection to Communists or others coming for international functions. For this reason, many came for the meeting of the Peace Council here. But, in regard to internal political conferences, we do not encourage outsiders to come. This applies to all parties and organizations and [not] to the Communists only. If we make an exception in favour of one group or one country, this will be discrimination and we shall have to change our rule completely."

6. Grant of Indian Citizenship to William Broome¹

I am sending you these papers about Shri William Broome,² ICS, who is now the seniormost District Judge in Uttar Pradesh. Possibly you know him. I have known him for the last twenty years or so. I have seldom known any Englishman who has so Indianized himself in various ways as he has. He is, I believe, a good linguist in Indian languages. He has married an Indian wife. In fact, he is as much an Indian as anybody can be who is not born in India and indeed probably more so than many people born in India.

The question arises about his nationality. Apparently, the urgency of it is because Shri Broome feels that unless he is an Indian national, he cannot be made a High Court Judge. I did not know of this qualification because there have been English Judges of our High Courts.

But apart from this matter, it does seem very odd to me that while any foreigner can become an Indian national by fulfilling certain conditions, a citizen of the UK or any other Commonwealth country cannot do so. This is patently wrong.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Finance Secretary, New Delhi, 30 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. William Broome (b. 1910); joined ICS, 1932; served in Uttar Pradesh as Assistant Magistrate, Joint Magistrate and Collector; became District and Session Judge in 1941; appointed Registrar of Allahabad High Court in December, 1943, and Additional Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1958; Permanent Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1959-72.

There is a legal opinion attached to these papers. This is by Shri S.S. Dhawan³ of the Allahabad High Court. There are also some other papers and correspondence. I think there are three copies of almost all these papers.

The legal opinion says that under the existing law, Shri Broome, being a UK national, cannot become an Indian national unless the law is changed or something else happens. Presumably, the Home Ministry thinks so too. I should have liked this matter to be examined again by the Law Ministry.

If the Law Ministry is of the same opinion, then we must consider the question of amending the law. Whether we can do so by rules, I do not know. If it can be done by rules, then it is relatively easy. Otherwise we should even have an amending piece of legislation. The present situation seems to me absurd and anomalous, and the sooner we change it, the better.

As there are three sets of most of these papers, you might send one set to the Law Ministry straight away, together with a copy of my note. I do not think we need refer it to the Home Ministry at this stage. We should do so after the Law Ministry has had a look at it. Perhaps you might even consult the Attorney General, as the matter is an important one.

3. Earlier, lecturer in Law, Allahabad University. 1940-54.

(v) Administrative Reforms

1. To Union Ministers¹

New Delhi
February 5, 1958

My dear Minister,

As you know, some time ago, the Organization and Methods Division was started as a part of the Cabinet Secretariat to improve the speed and efficiency of government machinery. Later, at a Cabinet meeting held in June last, reference was made to this O & M Division and the attention of each Minister and Secretary was drawn to the importance of this work. They were "enjoined to devote urgent and continuous attention to the maintenance of efficiency, integrity and economy in the administration."

1. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. It was clear from the outset that though the O & M Division could give the lead in this matter and coordinate activities, the main effort would have to come from within each Ministry and Department. The increasing scope and tempo of our commitments under the Second Five Year Plan call for even greater attention to the problems of efficiency and economy.

3. There has undoubtedly been some improvement in all Ministries and Departments since this O & M Division was started. But one still comes across too many instances of avoidable delay, neglect and faulty planning and execution, especially in matters which require joint or coordinated action by several Ministries and Departments. I am, therefore, venturing to address you on this subject to invite your special attention to it. Delay is probably one of the chief reasons for lack of efficiency as well as lack of integrity. Delay also leads to waste and needless expenditure. One of the reasons for delay in execution has sometimes been delay in according sanctions. The Cabinet decided some time ago to have greater decentralization in this respect so that each Ministry would be made much more responsible for carrying out any project than it had been in the past.

4. In 1955 a special Administrative Vigilance Division was created for the maintenance of integrity in public administration. This Division has a good record of work to its credit. It has fourteen branches spread out all over India located at Shillong, Calcutta, Cuttack, Patna, Lucknow, Delhi, Ambala, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Jabalpur, Hyderabad, Madras and Bangalore. The Director of the Organization and Methods Division is also the Director of the Administrative Vigilance Division. Shri S.B. Bapat² has been in charge of this work as Director. During the year 1956, 435 fresh preliminary enquiries were taken up and 384 regular cases registered for formal investigation. 196 cases were sent up for trial and 31 reported for departmental action. Convictions were secured in that year in 114 cases involving 149 persons.

5. In the year 1957, 578 preliminary enquiries and 483 regular cases were registered. These involved 180 gazetted officers and 694 non-gazetted personnel. Convictions were secured against 84 government servants and 247 other government servants were punished departmentally. The officers against whom action was successfully taken include one Secretary to Government, one Joint Secretary and several Heads of Departments, senior officers of Railways, Supplies, CPWD and other departments.

2. Shriram Balkrishna Bapat (b. 1906); ICS; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; Establishment Officer to the Government of India; Principal, Indian Administrative Service Training School, New Delhi, 1952; Director, Administrative Vigilance Division, and Organization and Methods Division.

6. This Special Department deals with Central Government servants and cases involving breaches of Central laws and regulatory orders. Cases have been brought to my notice when a recommendation has been made by the Special Department for action to be taken against an officer, but the Ministry has taken a long time to come to a decision. This should be avoided. If after a full enquiry it has been decided by the Special Department that action should be taken, it is not necessary for further enquiry or delay to take place.

7. I have recently been looking into the progress of the general drive to improve the speed and efficiency of the government machinery, that is, into the work of the Organization and Methods Division. I should like to keep in closer touch with these matters than I have done hitherto. I am, therefore, asking Shri S.B. Bapat to keep me posted both as regards the sectors where particularly good results have been achieved and also as regards those in which progress has not been made and things do not appear to be going as well as they should. For this purpose it will be necessary for him, from time to time, to ascertain facts personally from the various Ministries and Departments and occasionally to look into papers. It would be helpful if Ministers would themselves keep in touch with the work of the Organization and Methods Division in their Ministry or Department and personally discuss the matter with Shri S.B. Bapat, and secretaries and other senior officers should of course keep in touch with him and give him their fullest cooperation.

8. I am sure that I can count on your fullest cooperation in this matter which is so vital to our work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Streamline Procedures for Sanctioning Schemes¹

I have read this note and other papers and charts explaining the reasons for the delay in dealing with some of the schemes submitted by the Education Ministry. It is clear that a great deal of this delay was avoidable. Obviously, a scheme should not take over a year for sanction in the Finance Ministry. Two major reasons are given for the delay. One is that incomplete papers or facts were supplied by the Education Ministry and it took some time to get this additional information. The other reason is that the matter was dealt with at lower levels in the Ministries and no decision could be taken there.

1. Note to the Finance Ministry, New Delhi, 5 March 1958. File No. 37 (75)/58-67-PMS.

2. So far as the second matter is concerned, it is patent that this procedure is wrong. Once the administrative Ministry sends a scheme, there is no point in the lower levels of the Finance Ministry examining the details. In fact the point they should look into is the finances involved in the scheme, not the educational aspect of it which it is for the administrative Ministry to consider.

3. As for unprepared schemes being sent, this is the fault of the administrative Ministry, and all Ministries should be informed that they should not send up schemes which are not properly documented and prepared, otherwise they will have to be sent back and delay will occur. I think that a record should be kept of all schemes which are held up in Finance so that the reasons for this holding up may come up before us and may be dealt with. This is a matter in which we can take the assistance of the O & M Division.

4. I understand that of the two schemes which are mentioned by the Education Ministry, one, namely, Agricultural courses, has been approved. Thus only one more remains. This deals with the improvement and development of educational institutions at collegiate level. I remember this matter being discussed either in Cabinet or a Committee of the Cabinet. The then Finance Minister pointed out his objections to the scheme. So far as the educational side of it was concerned, I think, we must accept the decision of the Education Ministry, which was based on the recommendation of the Committee presided over by Shri C.D. Deshmukh and was approved by the Planning Commission. Personally, I think that was a right proposal and I said so at the meeting of the Cabinet or the Cabinet Committee. The question, however, of additional expenditure does arise. The Finance Ministry is obviously concerned with it. But I have been unable to understand why this proposal should lead to any substantial additional expenditure. I raised this point in the Cabinet and got no adequate answer. I suggest that this particular aspect of this question might be examined soon. It is also to be found out that if any additional expenditure was involved, what part of it will fall on the State Governments and what burden will have to be borne by the Centre. The Education Ministry should also be so informed, so that they can give their own estimates of possible additional expenditure.

5. The note also deals with the question of delegation of powers to administrative Ministries in regard to expenditure after provision has been made in the Budget. The decision of the Cabinet was made quite some time ago and a Committee had been appointed with the Cabinet Secretary as Chairman. No doubt this involves full consideration about procedure. But the main point referred to in the note is about schemes which are included in the Budget but have not been fully considered previously.

6. I think, we should divide these questions into two parts. Thus schemes

which have been included in the Budget after full consideration should require no further scrutiny in the Finance Ministry when reference is made to them. Those which were included in the Budget but which had not been scrutinized previously, naturally have to be scrutinized at some stage or other.

7. In any event this matter should be decided as soon as possible by the Cabinet Committee.

(vi) Refugees and Rehabilitation

1. Refugees from East Pakistan¹

I agree with Commonwealth Secretary's note. But, as Shri Neogy² desires, this matter together with his note should be put up at the next meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet.

2. I do not know what steps have so far been taken on the decision taken by that Committee some little time ago. Has it been formally published? I presume that in any event, our officers in East Pakistan have been informed of it and, to some extent, the public know about it because of the various statements made. The other day, at Shillong, in a talk with pressmen, I also referred to this, and I suppose this has been published in the press, certainly in Calcutta.

3. How, then, are we to keep this matter in abeyance? Are we to issue public instructions that we have kept it in abeyance? That would be bad. What we can do is not to give any additional publicity to this and thus allow our present policies to continue. Migration has been strictly limited, chiefly to cases involving human grounds. That restricted form will continue. The question is of our liability to rehabilitate those who come. Again, those who come on what might be called human grounds, such as widows, orphans and the like, will anyhow have to be looked after by us. If any others come, we can at the most consider their cases on individual grounds. Large numbers will not come now. If they come over without these migration certificates, then we should certainly tell them that we are not responsible for their rehabilitation.

4. I do not think that the apprehensions of Shri Neogy are likely to be justified. If East Pakistan forcibly thrusts a considerable number of people into India, that will certainly create a new and difficult situation. While this might

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 3 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. K.C. Neogy; Union Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation, September 1947-April 1948, and Member, Planning Commission, 1953-57.

embarrass us, it will embarrass Pakistan far more. It will certainly put an end to their argument that they do not wish to send people out of East Pakistan and it was India that is inducing and inciting them to come over. If and when such a situation arises, we shall have to consider it.

5. When we find great difficulty in rehabilitating the large numbers who have already come over here and, in fact, nothing adequate has been done for a very large number who are more or less on the waiting list, to say that we will go on rehabilitating all who come has little to do with reality and means raising false hopes which we may not be able to fulfil, at any rate, for a very long time.

6. After dictating the above, I have just seen the draft press note at flag 'P'. I gather from this that this is the first time to make a public announcement on this subject formally. I think that, in deference to Shri Neogy's wishes, we should not issue any press note at present. In a sense, we have given enough public indication of our policy. But, our High Commission in Dacca³ should be informed that this is our decision and they may, without making any public announcement, inform members of the minority community of it.

3. S.N. Maitra was the Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca.

2. To Algu Rai Shastri¹

New Delhi
March 4, 1958

My dear Algu Rai,²

Your letter of February 28. You can certainly put up the question of the Kashmir refugees before the Executive Committee and invite Shri Mehr Chand Khanna to that meeting. It will be difficult to have this meeting for a full week. I think the best date would be Thursday, 13th March, at 10 a.m.

I am glad that some of our Party members have met the Congress President³ and had a talk with him. These informal meetings are good and we should have them from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection

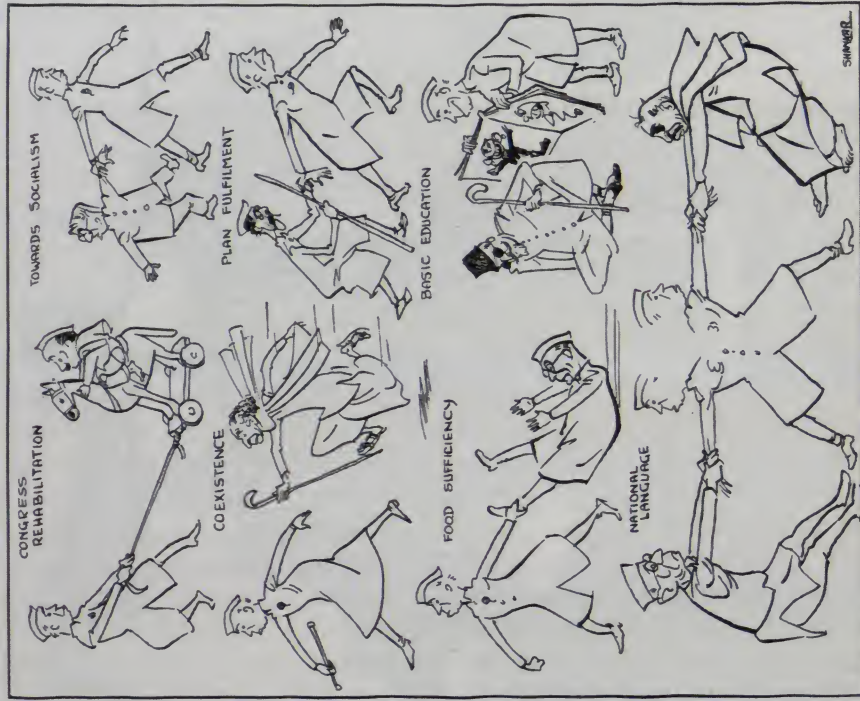
2. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament and Rajya Sabha Member from Uttar Pradesh.

3. U.N. Dhebar.



AT THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING, GAUHATI SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, JANUARY 1958

JACK OF ALL TRADES



The Prime Minister spoke on all the important resolutions before the Subjects Committee and open sessions of the 63rd Congress.

Always willing to lend a hand to a colleague in distress. From top to bottom: Congress President U.N. Dhebar, Finance Minister Krishnamachari, Defence Minister Krishna Menon, Minister for Planning Gulzari Lal Nanda, Food Minister Ajit Prasad Jain, Education Minister Maulana Azad, Industry Minister Morarji Desai and Madras Chief Minister Kamaraj Nadar.

3. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
March 12, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,²

Reports reach me that even now there are thousands of refugees on Sealdah Station Platform. In fact one figure mentioned to me was 10,000. Is this correct? For some months past, the refugee influx has gone down very much and I suppose now we are only receiving 300 or 400 a month. Is this so? Why then is this huge crowd encamped on the platforms of Sealdah?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

4. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Thank you for your letter of March 13 about the people squatting at Sealdah station platform. I am glad you wrote to me and gave me particulars about them. I see your difficulty and I would be inclined to agree with you that these people should not be removed as this would be encouraging a repetition of this process.

You say that fifty-six per cent of them are not displaced persons at all. I do not see how we could possibly offer any benefits to them. Others would take their place. I wonder if it is possible to distinguish and separate the displaced persons from the non-displaced persons. Anyhow, the best course seems to be the one you have suggested, that is, having a talk with Dr Roy. But you should make sure not to start a kind of continuous process of clearance and filling up.

I suppose you have given publicity to these facts. Still, it is worthwhile to do so, so that people may know what we are up against.

If you like, you can see me tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

5. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

This morning, again, a crowd of these Kashmir refugees came to see me and gave me the attached memorandum, which I have not fully read. Not knowing what to do with it, I am sending it to you.

I told them that I was not prepared to discuss two matters with them: one was the question of compensation, and the other was an assurance to them of an indefinite period of stay without paying rent. We were prepared to look into the hard cases.

They told me that out of thousands of Kashmir refugees, only about three hundred or so had been given quarters to live in, and about another three hundred were on the list. Therefore, the question was a very limited one, and they should not be treated roughly and pushed out into the street. They showed me a number of notices they had got for immediate eviction.

I told them that I would have this matter considered. I think it would not be desirable to push these people out suddenly. As the number is limited, you might give consideration to it as to how to proceed with this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

6. To Sucheta Kripalani¹

New Delhi
23rd March 1958

My dear Sucheta,²

Your letter of the 8th March about the Jammu and Kashmir refugees. This question has been considered repeatedly and with considerable care. It has been discussed in a committee of the Cabinet and only recently it was discussed in the Executive Council of our Party.

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from New Delhi.

Some points are quite clear. They cannot in law or in fact be treated as people coming under the Act governing refugees. There can be no question also of their making any claim for the properties left by them.

Short of this, we should naturally like to help them and in fact they have been helped.

I have met these Mirpur displaced persons repeatedly at my house and elsewhere and discussed these matters with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
23rd March 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have been informed that the Ganga Khadar Kisan Sangh has organized a march on my house reaching there on the 25th March. This is for the purpose of complaining of their hardships. According to them this Ganga Khadar Scheme has failed completely. The case of one man having died of starvation is mentioned. His name is Dhola who, it is said, supplied his entire sugar-cane crop to the sugar factory, but the amount which he ought to have received was adjusted by the *Amin* towards some money which he owed. Dhola's wife and four children are also said to be on the verge of starvation because of this. In fact, the two thousand families were in great distress because of the failure of the Ganga Khadar scheme.

I should be grateful if you would let me know what the facts are and advise me as to how to deal with these people when they come to my house.

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have just received.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The letter dated 20 March 1958 from Pruja Pal Gupta of Bhagerthi Farm (Khadar), District Meerut, to Nehru stated: "Pray examine the miserable plight of the settlers in Ganga Khadar Colonization Scheme. The gravity of the situation demands your personal attention and paternal care for these uprooted soil tillers."

8. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter about Ganga Khadar. I also received information from the district authorities of Meerut.

The big procession consisting of nearly a thousand persons, or perhaps more, from Ganga Khadar, came to my house today. At first, I asked my PPS to have a talk with them or rather three of their representatives. Later, I also had a talk with them, and I spent some time with the crowd also.²

The people, who came here, were well behaved and seemed quite a decent lot. In fact, I was struck rather favourably by them. It so happened that, quite accidentally, I met a number of office-bearers of the Meerut District Congress Committee today. I had fixed this appointment with them long ago, not knowing that the Ganga Khadar procession will reach here on this day. I discussed the question of Ganga Khadar with the Meerut Congress people and they knew a good deal about it as they had themselves gone there to enquire.

The Meerut Congress office-bearers told me that there could be no doubt that these people from Ganga Khadar had suffered considerably. When they came some years ago, they were strong and energetic men looking forward to settling down comfortably on these new lands which had been given to them. Gradually, they had deteriorated, and the last two years of floods had broken them up. Now they were frightened and despairing people, in bad physical condition.

They also told me about Hastinapur, the model town, which had good houses, lighting, etc., but no work for the people. So, most of those who had come there, had departed to seek work elsewhere, and many of the houses were lying vacant.

In your letter, you have written that this Ganga Khadar scheme was hastily conceived and put through without much investigation. It was a bad choice, and it appears that most of the people settled there cannot really carry on. They have thus to be removed to some other land, and you have indicated in your

1. JN Collection.

2. About 1,500 kisans of the Ganga Khadar colony in Meerut district, along with displaced persons from West Punjab and Sind, ex-servicemen and political sufferers settled there, submitted a memorandum to Nehru on 25 March stating that the land allotted to them was not good enough for cultivation and that floods led to soil erosion every year, and requested him to pay personal attention to it.

letter that you are giving thought to this matter and hope to remove some of them at least in about three months' time.

It seemed clear to me that these people deserve sympathy and help. I told them that a mistake had been made about settling them there, and all we could do was to try to rectify it to the extent we could. I also indicated that we hoped that some of them at least would be removed to better lands and that the UP Government was considering this matter.

One thing seemed to bear down upon them rather heavily and frighten them. This was the Government's attempt to recover what was due from them. The Meerut Congress people also told me that if an attempt was made to recover these dues, that would break these people up completely. It may be, of course, that a few of the people can pay up, probably the great majority cannot. In the circumstances, it would be advisable to postpone this recovery for the present altogether. Later, you could enquire as to who can pay and who cannot. Any present attempt to recover even from a few of them would probably lead to an upset of all of them.

I received from Meerut an account of the death of the man Dholi (I am not sure of the name). That account said that plenty of foodgrains were found in his house and also some money. When I questioned some of the men from Ganga Khadar about Dholi, they said they were surprised to hear this. It might be that this grain was brought to the house after the man's death, because they knew for a fact that this man was in a very bad condition, and the others in the village were constantly being approached to help him. He might not have died of starvation, because people do not easily die of starvation, but it is quite possible that he was very badly off.

One of the leaders of the group was Debi Saran. It is said about him that he owes a lot of money to the government or to the Cooperative. He admitted that but had various explanations. I asked the Meerut Congress people about him. They said that so far as they knew, he was a very energetic and enthusiastic person who was helping others there a great deal. In fact, he was rather extravagant in this way, and had always plenty of people, political ex-prisoners and the like, staying with him. I discovered for myself that he was exceedingly popular with the crowd. In fact, he was almost worshipped by them.

The people, who had come from Ganga Khadar, begged me to visit them. I said I could not do so for a considerable time, but I promised to send my PPS there just to have a look around. I did so merely as a gesture to soothe them. I do not expect any further useful information. I propose, therefore, to send my PPS in about ten days' time for a visit to Ganga Khadar and Hastinapur. This gesture might be helpful in creating a better atmosphere.

It is now for your Government to take some steps as soon as possible

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

because these people certainly deserve help. Probably, some of them, on the relatively better lands at Ganga Khadar, could stay on there. Some others would have to be moved. But, in any event, it would be desirable not to press for Government dues from them at present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have your letter of March 27th. Reading it, I have had a creeping feeling of depression. To spend ten crores of rupees per annum on annual maintenance of camps, homes, etc., seems to me monstrous. We spend all this money and are where we were, that is, no permanent solution has been found. Meanwhile, the people in these camps and homes have become less and less capable of doing anything. Surely this is the worst possible way of treating this problem. It would be simpler, cheaper and more effective to try to settle these people permanently and stop this annual drain.

Also, from the figures you have given, it would appear that there is a great deal of room for economy.

I hope your talks in Calcutta will bear result. In any event, I think this whole picture should be placed before the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

II. STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

(i) Andaman and Nicobar Islands

1. Condition in the Islands¹

I am sending the copy of a telegram received.² Previously I had referred a memorandum to the Home Ministry in regard to the Andaman & Nicobar Islands. I should be glad to know what was done in regard to that memorandum.

2. Recently I received a report from Shrimati Savitri Nigam,³ MP, about her visit to the Andamans.⁴ I presume this report has been received by the Home Ministry. I should be glad to know what steps, if any, are being taken on the basis of the recommendations in that report.

1. Note to Home Ministry, New Delhi, 4 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. In a telegram sent on 3 March 1958, Rani Lachmi of Nancowry had stated that old conditions were being restored in the islands exposing them to exploitation and causing discontent among the people. She added that despite Nehru's assurances to her regarding the demands made in her memorandum to the Union Home Ministry, no directive had been received by the local administration till then in this matter.
3. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.
4. Savitri Nigam had stated in her report that several sanctioned schemes for these areas were held up.

(ii) Andhra Pradesh

1. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
March 24, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,²

A few days ago, I received a letter from one of the Andhra MPs here.³ He forwarded to me the report of the Committee on Estimates of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. This was First Report (1957-58).

1. File No. 17 (294)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
3. V. V. Ramana, a Member of Rajya Sabha, wrote to Nehru on 15 March 1958, complaining about the corruption and misappropriation of funds in the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal works and requested a probe into the matter.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In his letter, he drew my attention to the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal works and said that it was common talk that there was corruption and bad quality of work. Who was responsible for this corruption and bad work might not be easy to find out, but, according to him, it was clear that there was corruption, embezzlement of funds and bad quality of work. This was supported by the findings of the Estimates Committee. I shall not quote the findings here.

I had this report examined by my Principal Private Secretary who has submitted a long note on it. The substance of this note is that allegations made in the MP's letter are supported by the report. Among the more serious allegations are about Item No. 2—construction of distributaries and repairs of sub-channels. It is astonishing that as against the anticipated figures of three lakh acres, only three hundred acres could be brought under irrigation after spending Rs 3.9 crores.

Then there is Item 5 about cement. The Estimates Committee has stated that, at certain places, the proportion of cement and sand, instead of 1:4, was 1:8 or 1:10. No satisfactory explanation has been given.

Item 6—Nepa Slabs: These slabs were not laid according to specifications and were not of uniform size and the work was found poor and unsatisfactory. Even the Special Chief Engineer admitted this.

Item 7—Deviation from the original programme and estimates without sanction. Explanations given are wholly unsatisfactory and it appears that no proper thought was given to the advisability of changing the entire programme.

I am only giving you some brief extracts from the note I have received based on the Estimates Committee's report. I should like to know what steps your Government has taken in this very serious matter. Meanwhile, I am referring this to our Irrigation and Power Ministry to have the charges properly examined by technical experts in the Central Water and Power Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Bihar**1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹**

New Delhi

March 21, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,²

I am writing to you about the proposal of the Thai Government to construct a monastery at Bodh Gaya. This matter has apparently been pending for a year and a half. The Bihar Government agreed to the lease of a plot in September 1956. Fifteen months later, they cancelled it. They then offered an alternative plot and gave details regarding the terms of the lease, which the Thai Ambassador accepted. They did not at that stage raise any question of additional payment for the value of Bihar Government buildings on the plot to be released. This question has now been raised.

The Thai Government is much agitated over this matter. First of all, they are worried about the great delay. In fact, they had given out contracts for the construction of the monastery and the cancellation of the lease has not only delayed execution of the project but also involved the Thai Government in a claim for damages put in by the contractor. The terms of the second lease agreed to two months ago are now sought to be modified and further delay and complications have arisen.

We are ourselves greatly embarrassed by all these developments, we do not know what adequate explanation we can give to the Thai Government. I can hardly go on telling them that it is the fault of the Bihar Government.

I am, therefore, writing to you to request you to give your immediate attention to this matter. I do not want any further delay. Further, that this subsequent demand for compensation for some buildings, amounting to Rs 33,000 seems hardly justifiable at this late stage. I do not know the nature of the buildings, nor do I understand why this matter was not raised to begin with. We do not wish our relations with the Thai Government to suffer because of these petty matters. I think on the whole, therefore, that you should give up this claim for Rs 33,000.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

There is another matter in which I am interested, and that is the type of building that the Thai Government wish to put up. We must see to it that this does not conflict with the other structures there.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In Bodhgaya, Bihar, apart from three Tibetan monasteries, several other monasteries have come up over the years maintained by Japanese, Thai, Sri Lankan, Bhutanese, Chinese, Vietnamese and Nepalese monks, built in distinctively ethnic architecture retaining their national identity.

(iv) Delhi

1. Problems of Tenants¹

I have written a separate note to you about the Delhi Pradesh Kiraydar Federation.² I have now seen these papers which have been sent to me by them.

You should tell them that I have seen these papers and I regret that they propose to have a hunger strike. This will not help them at all. As I have often stated, I am entirely opposed to hunger strikes and no action can be taken as a result of a strike. My advice to them is not to do so. If they do so, they should not expect me to meet them.

We shall of course go on with our proposals as rapidly as possible.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, 23 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 23 January, Nehru had conveyed to the Delhi Pradesh Kiraydar Federation through K. Ram that the matter would come up before the Cabinet leading to, soon hopefully, satisfactory decisions. The question was being considered with them and others concerned. Nehru's advice to them was to wait for the results and not organize demonstrations. For Nehru's earlier interventions on this issue, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 373-74.

(v) Kerala**1. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹**

New Delhi
January 3, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,²

As I was absent from Delhi for many days, I have only just seen a letter you wrote to the Ministry of External Affairs with which you enclosed an invitation to the Prime Minister of Ceylon to attend the centenary of the Trivandrum museum and zoo. While the occasion is no doubt an important one from the point of view of the Kerala State, I rather doubt if it would be appropriate to invite the Prime Minister of another country to participate in the centenary celebrations.³ Apart from this, as you know, Ceylon has had to face a great disaster very recently and we have had to send more than half a dozen aircraft of various types to help them.⁴ These aircraft are still there. No doubt the immediate crisis of disaster will gradually get less, but the problems will remain. To invite him now would be particularly inappropriate. As a matter of fact, all railway travel has been upset and large numbers of Indian students and tourists have been stranded in Ceylon. We have had to make special arrangements to rescue them by air and bring them to India.

Should you so wish, our High Commissioner in Ceylon⁵ could give publicity there to this centenary celebration. If you desire this, some printed material for the purpose could be sent to us or to our High Commissioner. Those interested in the centenary in Ceylon thus will get to know of it and might attend it.

I might mention also that Ceylon is celebrating the tenth anniversary of her Independence from the 2nd February onwards and this will keep the Prime Minister and others there busy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Kerala.
3. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, visited India from 30 November to 7 December 1957 but did not go to Kerala.
4. Heavy floods swept Northern, North-Central and Eastern provinces of Ceylon in the last week of December 1957. The floods also caused bursting of banks of Parakrama Samudra, an artificial reservoir irrigating 80,000 acres of land in the North-Central province of Ceylon, killing more than 50 people and rendering many people homeless.
5. Y.D. Gundevia.

2. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

Gauhati

January 15, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Two days ago, I saw in the newspapers a report that the Kerala Communist Party had criticized the President's reference of the State Education Bill to the Supreme Court.² The report in *The Times of India* of January 12th says that, according to the Kerala Communist Party, the President's reference of the State Education Bill to the Supreme Court was intended to "misuse the Constitution and fulfil the selfish interests of vested interests and of his own party." There is much more along these lines.³

I was greatly surprised to read this condemnation of our President. I think that this is the first time that this kind of thing has been done in India ever since the Republic was established. You should know and the Kerala Communist Party should know that the President is the constitutional Head of the State and acts according to the advice of his Ministers. The President is, therefore, never brought into the arena of controversy and it is a grave breach of established conventions for anyone to criticize or condemn the President in this way.

I believe you have been informed previously by the Home Minister⁴ that your State's Education Bill was sent by us to the Attorney General⁵ for his advice as to whether there was anything in this Bill contrary to our Constitution.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Kerala Education Bill, 1957, passed by the State Assembly on 2 September 1957, was sent by the Governor, B. Ramakrishna Rao, for consideration of the President who referred it to the Supreme Court to examine whether the Bill violated the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the educational institutions run by minority communities. The Bill recognized the authority of the State Government to appoint teachers of privately-owned and corporately-managed schools run by the Church and the Nair Service Society, fix their salary and determine conditions of service. It also curtailed powers of the governing bodies of these schools. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 75.

3. According to a report in *The Times of India*, the CPI in Kerala had said that the decision of the President amounted to abridgement of the constitutional powers guaranteed to the States and that such a move was undemocratic and dangerous. The CPI had alleged that "the President's action was prompted not by any desire to prevent individuals from questioning the validity of the bill... it was merely to... appease a small minority in Kerala which was opposed to the Bill."

4. Govind Ballabh Pant.

5. M.C. Setalvad.

The President had rightly referred the Bill to his Ministers. We considered it and, quite apart from the merits of the Bill, we were concerned about the constitutional character of some provisions. Therefore, we asked the Attorney General for his advice. He advised us to make a reference to the Supreme Court.

I am quite unable to understand why this strictly constitutional procedure should have led to an outburst from the Kerala Communist Party and, more especially, why they should have attacked our President.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Bill after being returned by the President was again passed by the Kerala State Assembly on 28 November 1958. The President gave his assent to this Bill in February 1959.

3. To V.R. Krishna Iyer¹

Gauhati
January 17, 1958

Dear Krishna Iyer,²

I received your letter of the 5th January some little time ago. As I was very busy moving about, I could not answer it earlier.

I should like to make it clear, as indeed I have done previously, that I am entirely opposed to any individual or organization indulging in any kind of violence. I dislike intensely people coming in line before cars or otherwise offering physical obstruction, as well as shouting vulgar and indecent slogans.

You refer to the Christophers.³ I do not like the idea of private armies being built up. I do not know whether the Christophers can be styled as such. It is open to any group to carry on any normal agitation peacefully. But any attempt to organize people for violence is naturally objectionable.

While I agree with much that you say in your letter, it seems to me that this state of tension and conflict in Kerala is largely due to the attitude and activities

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Legislation, Law and Order, and Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in Kerala Government, 1957-59.
3. The Christophers were the volunteer groups organized by the Catholic Church in Kerala and trained for self-defence against the Government during the agitation against the Education Bill.

of the Kerala Communist Party. They set a bad example which apparently is being followed by others. For the last several months, we have received from time to time reports of violence committed by local Communist groups. Even if violence is committed by them, my advice to Congressmen has been that they must behave.

In your letter, you seem to indicate that your chief grievance is against the PSP or others. I fear I cannot influence them much though my advice to them is the same as to any others.

I shall be happy if this constant atmosphere of violence is changed in Kerala and normal and peaceful political life takes its place there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
January 23, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st January. I am glad that the resolution of the Kerala Communist Party did not directly bring in the President. *The Times of India* version, you will have noticed, actually gave parts in quotations.

So far as the question of reference of the Education Bill to the Supreme Court is concerned, I am afraid we differ. Obviously, it is completely constitutional. There can be no doubt about it. You may say that while constitutional, it was not necessary or desirable. That becomes a question of judgement. When an issue becomes highly controversial in the public, then it has to be judged from that point of view. A similar issue which is not controversial in that way does not receive the same attention even from that point of view. Your Education Bill was obviously a highly controversial matter in Kerala and the President has received a very large number of representations against it. Therefore we had to get the matter examined by the Attorney General. The Attorney General thereupon gave us some advice which we could not ignore.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

5. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi,
February 8, 1958

My dear Morarji,²

I received a letter from the Chief Minister of Kerala about a certain plant they have got for hydrogenation, which is not being used. I referred this matter to the Defence Minister³ who sent me a note. I am sending all these papers to you, in case you have some idea as to what might be done with this plant which is supposed to be a good one and is not in use.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.
3. V.K. Krishna Menon.

6. To V.R. Krishna Iyer¹

New Delhi
28 February 1958

My dear Krishna Iyer,

Your letter of the 25th February.² As I wrote to you previously, I am entirely opposed to violence and vulgarity in our public life or indeed in any other activity. I am very sorry to learn that the effigies of one of your Ministers and his wife and other effigies were carried in public procession. I consider this highly improper. I am drawing the attention of the Congress President³ to this matter. He will no doubt take such action as he thinks proper.

So far as the 'Christophers' are concerned, they appear to be a communal body of volunteers. I do not approve of communal organizations.

I am glad to know from your letter that the position in regard to vulgar

1. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Iyer had written that the political happenings in Kerala were becoming violent and vulgar and that the Christophers were involved in them. He added that following the introduction of the Land Reform Bill in the State Legislative Assembly, the landlords were trying to throw out the tenants from these lands with the help of the Christophers.
3. U.N. Dhebar.

violent trends is somewhat better than it was. Just as you have written to me about some objectionable matters, I get complaints about vulgarity and violence on the part of members of the Communist Party and a sense of insecurity that this produces. I am not quite sure if the Kerala Government can always control these tendencies. Anyhow, any such growth is bad. Violence breeds violence and unless the whole idea of approach to political questions through violent means is given up and other methods adopted, these tendencies will grow.

You refer to Christophers driving out tenants from their holdings. If there is any breach of the law, surely this can be dealt with in the proper way. You will remember that there were many complaints previously of members of the Communist Party taking the law into their own hands and driving out people from their property.

When you come here, I shall gladly meet you. On the 7th and 8th March we shall be having the Prime Minister of Romania⁴ here and a number of functions for him and for other eminent visitors.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Chivu Stoica.

7. To D. P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
March 2, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,²

You must have received a copy of a telegram received by me from A.K. Gopalan³ about the breaking out of a small pox epidemic in virulent form in Kerala. What steps are you taking about it?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Health.

3. A.K. Gopalan, CPI Member of Lok Sabha from Cannanore, Kerala, informed Nehru on 1 March 1958 about the breaking out of a "virulent new form" of small pox in Kerala especially in North Malabar. He asked for immediate action for quick preventive steps.

8. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

You have several times invited me to go to Kerala and I have been unable to give you a definite reply. This did not mean that I was not thinking of it, but I have been rather overwhelmed with work and responsibilities and, more especially, the last two or three months have been heavy indeed.

Having got over the Budget discussion here and our latest VIPs having gone this morning, I am again beginning to look around a little. At present I feel exhausted and tired, but I suppose I shall recover.

I have made odd engagements in April which rather come in the way of my leaving Delhi. But perhaps I could adjust them. I am thinking now of the possibility of visiting Kerala in the last week of April. I cannot indicate the exact dates yet and I am not quite sure that I shall be able to go even then. I am merely writing to you now to find out if that time will be suitable. I suppose May would be rather late and monsoon will descend upon us. Also our Parliament will go on till the second week of May and I want to be here during the last ten days or so.

For the present, I think that I shall not be able to spare more than four days for the trip. This will have to cover a weekend so that I do not miss Parliament too much.

You may remember that I gave a half-promise once to visit the Mahatma Gandhi College at Trivandrum. I should like to keep that promise.²

Please let me have your reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru also wrote to B. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala, on 26 March 1958 that he would like to go to Trivandrum first and move northwards to Cochin. Nehru wanted his programme to be drawn up by Namboodiripad, in consultation with the Governor, B. Ramakrishna Rao, and K.A. Damodara Menon, the Kerala PCC President.

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

1. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

Gauhati
January 18, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,²

I am sorry you could not come here owing to ill health. I hope you have recovered now.

Rani Padmavati Devi³ came to see me this evening. I was very busy and could only give her about five minutes. She told me that she was much distressed to learn that I was angry with her and that you had told her so, and in fact asked her not to go to Bhilai when I went there because I was angry with her. I told her that there was no question of my being angry with her personally and she could see me when she wanted to. But it was a fact that I did not like the arrangement made about the forest which was given to her. She said that she was not to blame for that and this had been sanctioned by the Central Government and the State Government, etc.⁴

I replied that I was not blaming her particularly, but I did not like that arrangement as far as I know about it. She said that she was prepared to do anything that we told her to do and that you had asked her, apparently, to transfer the forest within a month. She was really anxious to make some provision for her children.

I told her that this matter should be further enquired into and then decisions taken, but there was no immediate hurry.

I am sending this on to you so that you may know the kind of conversation I had with her.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.
3. Former Rani of Khairagarh State; Minister in the Madhya Pradesh Government, 1956-62.
4. The reference is to the grant of Dongargarh Government Forests in Madhya Pradesh to Rani Padmavati Devi and the mismanagement of the forest area. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 378 and Vol. 40, p. 323.

2. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

Gauhati

January 18, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of January 9th was received by me a few days ago. This deals with the allotment made by the Planning Commission to Madhya Pradesh. I sympathise with you fully in your difficulties. Madhya Pradesh is a vast state and a coming together of other states, which produces new problems. Then there are the large number of Adivasis and tribals.

All I could do is to send your letter on to Shri V.T. Krishnamachari.² It is difficult to consider the problem of one state independently of the rest of the picture. Naturally you are concerned with your state and I should like to help you. But more or less similar problems arise in other states and the poor Planning Commission has somehow to make ends meet.

We have been hit really hard by the new burden in the shape of additional payments to the Government of India employees.³ The question now arises about the state employees who are paid much less. We collected all the Chief Ministers here to discuss with Pantji and the Finance Minister⁴ this problem. As you were not here I invited Takhtmal Jain⁵ to the meeting. We could not of course arrive at any firm decision. Nevertheless, the talk did some good. Takhtmal will, no doubt, inform you of it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission of India.

3. See also ante, pp. 451-452.

4. T.T. Krishnamachari.

5. Minister for Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Government of Madhya Pradesh.

3. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

Gauhati

January 19, 1958

My dear T.T.,

In a report from the Community Development Ministry to me, it is mentioned that work in the new Madhya Pradesh State is suffering greatly because of certain administrative chaos that prevails. Administration is decentralized so much that heads of various departments are spread out all over the State. Madhya Pradesh is a collection of a number of different areas and the first thing to do is to bring them together and integrate them. Apparently what comes in the way is lack of accommodation in the new capital and vital and connected departments are spread out because of this. The Chief Minister pleads his helplessness because of the reluctance of the Centre to give financial assistance.

I wanted to bring this to your notice because Madhya Pradesh is facing great difficulties and as far as possible we should try to help them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

4. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

3rd March 1958

My dear V.T.,

Dr Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, is very much concerned about his capital projects.² You have already considered this and written to him, but evidently he is not satisfied as appears from his letter to me, a copy of which I enclose. What are we to do about it now? We have told him to include it in the State Plan. That presumably is not easy at this stage. What advice am I to give him?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Katju, on 28 February 1958, to Nehru explained the plan of 'capital construction' in Bhopal and asked for Centre's assistance in the matter.

5. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
March 14, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,

Will you kindly refer to your DO letter dated the 28th February 1958 about the construction of additional accommodation for the capital at Bhopal? I understand that the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has already written to you suggesting that a detailed project report and estimate be prepared for consideration by the Commission in consultation with the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply and that meanwhile, the Commission have agreed to the State providing Rs 50 lakhs in the capital budget for the coming year for construction work for the capital. I hope that we shall be able to reach a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the size of the total outlay and the assistance required for financing it after the estimates asked for by the Planning Commission have been received.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

(vii) Madras

1. To K. Kamaraj Nadar¹

New Delhi
January 3, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,²

Your letter of January 2nd about the establishment of spinning mills to provide employment to repatriates from Ceylon.³

I am sending that letter for further examination to the Finance Ministry. The Ministry of Rehabilitation cannot deal with this matter, as this is outside their scope.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madras.

3. The Central Government and the Madras Government were taking these steps to rehabilitate the repatriated Tamil migrant labourers from Ceylon.

While we must necessarily sympathize with these repatriates, I rather doubt if we can advance money for setting up spinning mills. Such factories can only be set up if they fit in with our plan, otherwise there is no point in planning. A plan is an integrated whole and any odd thing done which interferes with it upsets the plan. Then also, as you know, we are in great difficulties about our resources at present and I do not know how we can find the money you suggest. I should have thought that a more profitable way of using the money that you can collect from the repatriates (which is estimated at Rs 10 lakhs) would be to start small industries.

However, I am sending your letter to the Finance Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Demand for Independent 'Tamil Land'¹

You may certainly write to the Chief Minister of Madras on this subject, but you can hardly expect him to convert his opponents or even his enemies. I might refer to this matter in my speech tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.²

2. You might point out to Shri Gundevia³ that the group in Ceylon, which has talked about this, is totally irresponsible. As a matter of fact, they say that they aim at an independent country, that is, Tamil Land, separate and independent from India. In the last elections, a party called the DMK stood on the basis of independent Tamil Land and got a few seats.⁴ The leader of this party is Annadurai,⁵ an able lawyer and a very good speaker in Tamil. In his plan, no mention was made of Ceylon. Now, a new group apparently has arisen, who go a step further, and they have mentioned Ceylon.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 17 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 18 February 1958, see *ante* p. 52.
3. Y.D. Gundevia, India's High Commissioner to Ceylon.
4. In the general elections in 1957, the DMK won 13 seats in the Madras Legislative Assembly and only one seat in the Lok Sabha.
5. C.N. Annadurai (1909-1969); endearingly called 'Anna' (elder brother); founded DMK in 1949; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-67; led anti-Hindi agitation in Madras in 1965; Chief Minister of Madras, 1967-69; editor of *Viduthalai*, *Kudi Arasu*, *Dravidanadu*, *Malai Mani*, *Kanchi*, *Homeland* and *Home Rule*.

3. You might further add that the States of Andhra, Mysore (Karnatak) and Kerala are entirely opposed to this. There is not even a small group supporting it.

4. It is of course completely out of the question for any such movement for separation from India to be tolerated by us, even to the extent of our having to face it with force. We are going to put up with no demand for any part of India to be separated, whatever the consequences. But we cannot shut up the mouth of every individual, and people in Ceylon should realize that this movement has little to do with Ceylon. It is really an opposition movement to the Government of India and to the unity of India. We are much more concerned with this than Ceylon can be, and we shall certainly not tolerate it.

(viii) Mysore

1. To P. Kodanda Rao¹

New Delhi
25th January 1958

Dear Shri Kodanda Rao,²

Your letter of the 22nd January.³ I really do not understand how a report which has been circulated to all members of an Assembly and discussed in that Assembly is supposed to be a private document. Any paper that is circulated to Members in Parliament is a public document and inevitably is on the Table of the House.

You ask me some question about Shri K. Hanumanthaiya. I have no recollection of what happened a year ago. Mr Hanumanthaiya had and has many admirable qualities and so far as the report on the Vidhana Soudha was

1. P. Kodanda Rao Papers, NMML.
2. Member, Servants of India Society, 1921-58.
3. In his letter to Nehru on 31 December 1957, Kodanda Rao complained about a "conspiracy of silence" surrounding the report of the three-member committee headed by P.P. Deo, retired Judge of the Nagpur High Court, which enquired into extravagance in the construction of Vidhana Soudha. Rao alleged that the report was neither placed on the Table of the Legislative Assembly nor was it made available to the public. Nehru in his letter to Rao on 11 January 1958 (not printed) reminded him of the discussion that took place in the Legislative Assembly in March 1957. However, in his second letter to Nehru on 22 January 1958, Rao alleged that still the report was kept as "Strictly Confidential", because the report contained certain adverse remarks against Hanumanthaiya, the Chief Minister of Mysore, 1952-56.

concerned, I did not know much about it at the time.

I do not quite understand the purport of the correspondence we are having. Your main charges were against all the Ministers and when I asked you to be more specific, the only case you have been able to mention is that of Mr Hanumanthaiya and the Vidhana Soudha.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Nijalingappa,²

I received your letter of March 16th a few days ago.³ Even before I received it, I had of course heard a great deal about internal troubles in your party. Indeed the newspapers have been full of them.

I have been much distressed by all this. I cannot give any precise opinion because I do not know all the facts. But, of one thing I am quite sure, that these disruptive tendencies are very objectionable. As for people going about taking signatures from MLAs, I am strongly opposed to this. I have suggested to Dhebarbhai that we should have a rule against it.

Dhebarbhai is dealing with these matters and I do not wish to interfere. He is good enough to consult us. You have all my sympathy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Mysore.

3. The dissident group in the 187-Member Congress Legislature Party in Mysore, not being satisfied with the election of Nijalingappa as the Chief Minister, had started a "signature collection campaign" to assess their strength.

(ix) The North East**1. Unsettled Conditions in NHTA¹**

Any person acquainted with conditions in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area realizes that conditions here are still very unsettled and somewhat uncertain. It is true that those conditions are improving, but even now it is almost a war area which is quiet for the present because of a truce. We can nominate someone who has no influence and no representative character. That is bound to have an adverse effect on the others. There are many good people from whom we could choose a Member. But they are at present trying to get round the hostiles. If we nominate anyone of them their influence will go.

2. Therefore, I am quite clear in my mind that the Governor's advice is the correct one. I presume this does not raise any legal difficulty.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Gauhati, 15 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Role of the Army in NHTA¹

The Commissioner for Naga Hills and Tuensang, Shri Luthra,² saw me today. He drew my attention to a copy of Army Headquarters letter giving some instructions about the future policy to be followed by our Army. (This copy of the Army Headquarters letter is enclosed.)

2. In the directions contained about future policy, it is stated that "the forces under GOC Assam will henceforth be employed strictly in the conventional meaning of 'aid to civil power' as we understand it, and such offensive action as may be considered necessary will only be undertaken on the specific request of the local civil authority concerned." Shri Luthra told me that both he and the GOC in Command of the Naga Hills, etc., felt that these new directions would come in the way of their normal work at present. The situation in the Naga Hills has certainly improved and there has been no violence except one or two cases of dacoity by some Nagas. The Naga hostiles are in a fix and appear, to some extent, to be disintegrating. The Home Guard has practically ceased to function as any kind of an organization. While the situation has improved very much and there is little chance of any going back to armed

1. Note, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. P.N. Luthra.

violence as before, the fact remains that the hard core of the Naga hostiles are still recalcitrant and there is always the possibility of some little trouble here and there. It is, therefore, necessary for our army and police to be on the alert.

3. If the directions given in the enclosed letter are strictly followed, then it will be difficult for the army patrols to function. They cannot carry about a Magistrate always with them. They have to move about in small groups over a wide area and they may have to take action if necessity arises. Therefore, they felt that some slight relaxation in the directions should be made, so that the army patrol or any army group could take action if this was really necessary. Broadly speaking, however, they will of course follow the direction.

4. I agree with the viewpoint put forward by Shri Luthra and the GOC. I think, therefore, that some further instruction should be issued to them on the lines suggested. The best course, I think, would be for the Governor of Assam to be authorized to issue detailed directions in this matter.

5. I am sending this note to (1) Home Minister,³ (2) Defence Minister⁴ and (3) Governor of Assam.⁵

3. Govind Ballabh Pant.

4. V.K. Krishna Menon.

5. Saiyid Fazl Ali.

3. Verrier Elwin's Reports on Tribal Areas¹

When I was in Shillong a little over two weeks ago, I enquired about the reports by the Adviser for Tribal Affairs (Shri Verrier Elwin). I had not seen these for some time. I was told that reports had been regularly sent by him. On my asking Shri K.L. Mehta, Adviser,² about them, and at my request, he gave me four reports of Shri Verrier Elwin. Two were for 1956 and two for 1957. I think I wrote to you a note on the subject then.³

2. I have had these four long reports with me and as I am deeply interested in this area, both from the administrative point of view and because the subject interests me, I have read through all of them, that is, I have read 116 pages of these typewritten reports. I have found them exceedingly interesting.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 19 January 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 11(3) NEFA/58, pp. 10-11, MHA.

2. Adviser to the Governor of Assam, 1954-59.

3. For Nehru's note, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 407-411.

3. I should like to know what the procedure is about such reports. Normally they should have been put up before me and I hope in future they will be put up. Whom are they addressed to? Presumably they go first to the Adviser and I suppose they are forwarded to External Affairs. What happens afterwards?

4. All these reports contain numerous proposals and suggestions. Who takes action on them? Is there any consultation with External Affairs? If action is not taken, are any reasons given? There is no particular point in our having an expert as an Adviser for Tribal Affairs if we do not take full advantage of his experience and his advice.

5. The reports I have read contain many suggestions and I do not propose to refer to most of them, though I would like to know what is being done about such suggestions. I should, however, like to refer to two or three important matters:

- (i) I am shocked to learn of the prevalence of slavery in a big way in these areas. It may be difficult to do away with it quickly, but surely we should take some steps with regard to it. Have any such steps been taken? Shri Verrier Elwin states in one place that we should be prepared to pay compensation for all these slaves and thus put an end to this custom. I should like some enquiry made as to what this compensation would amount to. I imagine that it will not be a very big sum and we might well consider taking some such step.

Shri Elwin, however, suggests that some date should be fixed after which no one will be considered a slave. Thus, he suggests (I am writing from memory) that no one in future should be allowed to become a slave. An alternative and better suggestion is that no one born or made slave after the 15th August 1947, that is, after Independence, should be allowed to remain a slave. I should like to know if any thought has been given to these matters or any steps taken?

- (ii) On the Tawang area, Shri Elwin writes a great deal about the high level of culture, in some ways better than the kind of thing that we bring to them. I think that from every point of view, we should endeavour to encourage their present cultural ways of living and not interfere with them. Indeed we should try to fit in our work with this. I entirely agree with Shri Elwin that it is not right for our schools and other training centres to lead to a detribalization of the boys and girls in small or big matters. The teaching given should fit in with the surroundings. The dress should also fit in.

Also the school should be connected with the major monasteries which thus far have been the schools or centres of learning. The

abbots or the senior monks might be associated with the schools.

- (iii) In regard to the buildings put up for schools, etc., I agree that our PWD patterns are not suitable. We should try to conform to local customs and local ways.
- (iv) Shri Elwin refers to the extraordinary charts and pictures put up in our school buildings. Surely we can supply more suitable pictures and charts. Many of our Buddha *Jayanti* posters would be suitable. Some intelligent person should choose these as well as other material which we have produced. Also books.
- (v) A teacher of Hindi or any other subject should surely know the local language. Often the teacher knows the local language, but he is quickly transferred to a new area where the language is different. Apparently, this is done on some abstruse service considerations regardless of the knowledge he has gathered. These matters should be considered from the point of view of the special training and aptitude of the men.
- (vi) Apparently, some of our officers have thought that ours being a secular State, we should not encourage in any way Buddha's teachings or contacts with Buddhist places of worship. I do not think this is the correct view in these Buddhist areas. We should definitely keep close contact with the monasteries and help them in various ways. We should repair and rebuild them and generally show our interest in the ways of life, religious or other.

6. These are just some odd things which remained in my memory after reading these long notes. But there are many other matters too which seem to me worthy of attention. As these notes are more than a year old, I presume something has been done about them.

7. A copy of this note is being sent to Shri K.L. Mehta, Adviser.

4. Grouping of Naga Villages¹

I have read these papers. As a matter of fact, I have myself discussed this and connected matters with the Governor and the Commissioner twice during the last two weeks or so. I was in Shillong on the 30th December. On my arrival in Gauhati five days ago, I had a long talk with Shri Luthra as also the Governor and Shri Dutt, the Intelligence Officer, about the situation in the Naga Hills. They all seemed to be very satisfied with developments, although the hostiles were still holding out.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 19 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. About the grouped areas, there is one matter which I should like to put on record as it surprised me greatly.

3. On the 30th of December when I was in Shillong, I had a talk with Major-General Kochhar, the then GOC. He said that most of the people who had been put in the re-grouped villages had drifted away and that in another three weeks' time, practically everyone will have gone away. I was surprised to learn this. I asked him how many were originally brought together in these re-grouped villages and how many had gone away. His reply was that altogether about 20,000 persons had been put originally in the re-grouped villages, and of these 15,000 had drifted away, leaving about 5,000. He expected these 5,000 also to fade out in the course of the next three or four weeks. All this surprised me very much because it was not only contrary to our instructions, but indicated a strange looseness about our military arrangements.

4. Very soon after, the same evening, I asked Shri Luthra about these figures. He expressed his surprise and said that the figures Major-General Kochhar had given me could not possibly be correct. He himself had recently visited some re-grouped villages and had found over 30,000 people there now. He was told that there were many others in other groupings. This information was confirmed from other sources.

5. There is no doubt that Shri Luthra's information is first-hand and correct, while Major General Kochhar's was completely wrong. For a GOC in Command there to be so ignorant of actual conditions does not speak well for his Information Department or for his wide-awakeness. I think this matter might be mentioned to General Thimayya.²

6. I agree with Shri Luthra's suggestions which FS has also accepted. It is very difficult for us to send directions from day to day. We have to rely ultimately on the judgement of the people on the spot. I would, therefore, leave it to the Commissioner, Shri Luthra, and the GOC to deal with this matter according to their discretion, subject to their getting the consent of the Governor.

2. General K.S. Thimayya, Chief of Army Staff.

5. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
21st January 1958

My dear Chaliha,²

Our Food Minister³ has sent me a copy of his letter to you dated 19th January. From what he had written it would appear that the agricultural situation in Assam requires urgent attention. I am sure you will do this and take personal interest. Our position in regard to rice is a very bad one and each state has to make its utmost effort.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Assam.
3. Ajit Prasad Jain.

6. The Situation in Manipur¹

Please write to Shri Kh. Tomba Singh, Nongmoibung, Imphal, Manipur. Tell him that I received his letter of the 6th January some time ago, but as I had to go away to Assam for the Congress session, I could not reply to it earlier. I have read his letter and I am sorry to learn that he is unhappy at the state of affairs in Manipur. He is right in thinking that I am deeply interested in the people of Manipur and I hope that any legitimate grievances that might exist will be removed.

1. Note to Private Secretary, 25 January 1958. JN Collection.

7. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

January 25, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I send you a letter I received from Imphal in Manipur some time ago. It is a long letter and you need not read the whole of it. But this letter confirmed the opinion I have had in the past that things are not shaping well at all in Manipur. A person who went on behalf of the AICC there brought the same report. Mathews,² the Chief Commissioner, does not fit in there at all, whatever his virtues might be. He is completely out of place and tells people that.

Manipur is a place which has plenty of vitality among the people, although they are not trained well. The women there are especially well known for their hard work as well as for their famous dancing. I wish somebody could be sent there who could take kindly to the people there and make friends with them.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Puthenveetil Chandapilla Mathews (b.1913); joined ICS in 1937; served in Madras State in various capacities, 1937-45 and 1946-55; Agent to Ceylon, 1945-46; Commissioner of Manipur, 1955-58; served in Cabinet Secretariat, Central Statistical Organization and Planning Commission, 1958-61; Additional Secretary, Department of Economics and Defence Coordination, 1963; Special Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, 1964; Member Secretary, Fourth Finance Commission, 1964; Secretary, Union Ministry of Labour, 1965-69; member, Governing body of ILO; Member, UN Statistical Commission.

8. The Problems of the Kukis¹

One of the Kuki Chiefs, who is apparently here for Republic Day, came to see me this morning and gave me the attached paper.² I knew that the Kukis lived in Manipur. I was not aware that any considerable numbers of them were in the Naga Hills, I can well believe that the Nagas in the Naga Hills do not encourage them at all.

2. I think we should invite the attention of Shri Luthra to this matter so that he may pay some attention to the Kukis and make them feel that they are not being forgotten. A copy of the attached letter might be sent to Shri Luthra (copy enclosed).

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 27 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 20 January 1958, the Kuki leader, Dousheh Hangshing, Chief of Chalkot Village, Naga Hills, drew Nehru's attention to the problems of his nomadic tribe of Kukis. About 80,000 Kukis lived in Manipur, 7,000 in North Cachar Hills in Assam, 3,000 in Naga Hills and a handful in Tripura. He wrote about the harsh treatment meted out to them by the Nagas, primarily for not taking part in the Naga independence movement. Hangshing noted that Kukis were not represented in Parliament, Assemblies or District Boards. He suggested that the only way to solve their problem was to give them "a Hill of our own", where they could gather together, develop their culture, custom and language, etc., and "from where we can take our rightful part" in political, economic, social and educational fields in the hope of becoming worthy citizens of Great India. He also requested Nehru to grant some privileges to the Kukis in government services.

9. To B.P. Chaliha¹

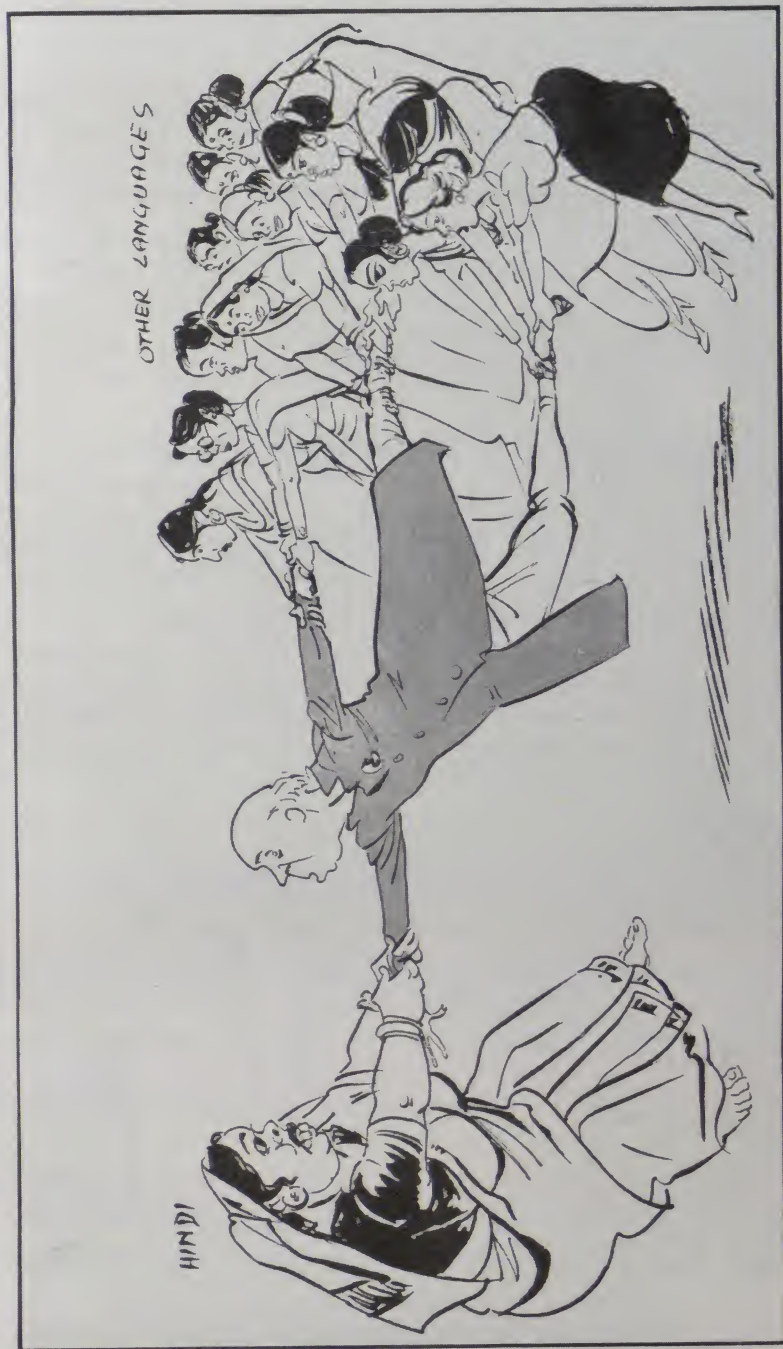
New Delhi
31st January 1958

My dear Chaliha,

This morning the Rev. B.M. Pugh² came to see me. He said that he had accepted your invitation to join the Government and he wanted to cooperate fully. But he was not quite happy at some recent developments. He referred to the appointment of somebody as first or Chief Parliamentary Secretary and somebody else as

1. JN Collection.
2. President of the Eastern India Tribal Union; Member of the Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council, 1958-67; first principal of Union Christian College at Barapan.

TUG OF WAR



Speaking at the Urdu conference, Nehru said he wanted all regional languages to flourish side by side and did not see any conflict with Hindi in the development.



WITH FRANK P. GRAHAM, UN MEDIATOR ON THE KASHMIR ISSUE, NEW DELHI, 13 JANUARY 1958

apparently under him.³ I did not quite understand all this. I told him that we had no grades among Parliamentary Secretaries here and so far as I know in most other States they were all on the same level. However, I told him that this was a matter he should discuss with you.

Then he said that there should be two Members of Parliament for the Assam hill areas and not one as at present. The population of these areas is over a million. Not knowing the facts I could say nothing to him. He told me that he had mentioned this matter to the Home Minister.

Thirdly, he referred to the need for a canning factory and a cold storage system for the fruits in Khasi Hills. I said that so far as I knew the first requirement was of communications. Unless proper roads were built, it was not possible to put up any kind of a factory. Further, I told him that the cold storage system was rather complicated, though it might be possible to start a small canning factory for the oranges. I had recently seen one in Sikkim which was doing good work.

He next mentioned some scheme for a rural college which he had drawn up. He said there was no college in any of the hill areas. I referred him to our Education Ministry.

He said also that the conversion of the Community Development Block near Shillong to some lower grade had the unfortunate result of some of the schools there being closed. This was having a bad effect on the people there. I said that I knew nothing about this, but it certainly deserved looking into. It would be a pity to close any of the schools which had been functioning.

I am sending you a brief summary of our talk so that you may deal with these matters and talk to Mr Pugh about them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. A. Thanglura was appointed Chief Parliamentary Secretary and Lalmawia and Lalit Chandra Doley as Parliamentary Secretaries.

10. Naga Defence Corps¹

I have heard about this Village Defence Corps for the Naga Hills, etc. I liked the idea when it was mentioned to me and said so. I did not discuss the details with anybody. Obviously, this proposal has to be examined carefully, more especially in regard to defence.

The whole idea of having this Naga Defence Corps is to have a comparatively inexpensive organization with a lower level of training than the Army or the Assam Rifles. Therefore, there can be no question of their uniforms or equipment being the same as that of the Army. I do not understand why the costs should be so heavy as sixteen to eighteen lakhs. Anyhow, all this has to be examined carefully.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 4 February 1958. JN Collection.

11. Assam-East Pakistan Border Situation¹

I am sending you a letter from the Chief Minister of Assam. The account it gives of conditions on the border is much worse than I had imagined. I do not know if you have received any other reports about this. I think it will be desirable for you to send a message by telegram to our Dacca people to enquire.²

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 4 February 1958. File No. 3/18/58/BL, p 1/Note, MEA.
2. A telegram to the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca was sent on 5 February forwarding the Assam Government's complaints about trespassing of Pakistan armed personnel into Indian territory and harassment and arrests of bona fide border traders.

12. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
8th February, 1958

My dear Chaliha,

You wrote to me on the 1st February about the Assam-East Pakistan border and the effect of the so-called anti-smuggling operations. We have taken action in this matter and protested to the Pakistan Government.

I find, however, that conditions are somewhat better now on your border and that a measure of trade is taking place across it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 3/18/58/BL, p.1/Corr, MEA.

13. The Situation after the Formation of NHTA¹

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L. Achaw Singh:² May I know whether after the inauguration of the New Unit the attention of the Government has been drawn to the fact that there has been increasing infiltration into the Manipur territory of the Naga rebels and also a number of armed robbery and lootings have taken place? If so, what steps are being taken by the Government to stop the infiltrations?

Mr Speaker:³ First of all, was there any raid at all?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My own impression is, as stated in the written answer, that the situation is very much better than what it has been previously, and the reported raids, etc., are entirely of a different kind. They are petty robberies, in fact. It has no relation to the movement that was going on previously. Sometimes, they are actually between two tribal people; some people have little grievance against the others and they attack. In a small way, it is just sheer robbery. On

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 27 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol.XII, cols. 2628-2630.
2. Socialist Party Member from Inner Manipur constituency, Manipur.
3. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

the whole, there have not been many events of that type.

Jagdish Awasthi:⁴ Is the Government aware that food and other articles sent for the villagers is looted by the rebel leaders? If yes, then what steps the Government proposed to take?

JN: I can assure you that this has not happened and even if it has, it is rarely so. The reason is that this help is being sent to the villages which were kept in groups. These incidents are difficult to occur there but if they happen then it is difficult to stop them.⁵

Hem Barua:⁶ In view of the admirable measures so far taken by the Government for the reconciliation of the hostile Nagas, may I know if the prize money of Rs 10,000 offered on Mr Phizo, dead or alive, has been withdrawn now?

JN: I do not know whether anything has been done about that. I do not even recollect who offered that money, whether it is the Assam Government....

Hem Barua: It was in the newspapers. During those hectic days it was flashed in the newspapers that Rs 10,000 will be offered as prize money on the head of Mr Phizo.⁷

JN: We have all forgotten about it.

Hem Barua: Has it been withdrawn, as the situation has eased?

Goray:⁸ May I know the number of Nagas who have gone to Burma and asked for political asylum from that country?

JN: There was a report in the newspapers that a few have gone there. It is entirely a matter for the Burmese Government to consider.

4. Independent Member, Bilhaur, Uttar Pradesh, 1957-62.

5. Jagdish Awasthi's question and Nehru's answer were in Hindi.

6. PSP Member of Lok Sabha from Gauhati, Assam.

7. A.Z. Phizo, leader of the Naga rebels; fled to Britain in 1956 and remained in exile till his death in 1990.

8. N. G. Goray, PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona, Bombay State.

Hem Barua: I may be allowed one more supplementary.

Speaker: It should arise out of this question.

Hem Barua: May I know if Government are aware of the recent incidents of looting and destroying of property worth Rs 6,000/- at Mao, exchange of bullets between Manipur Rifles and Tamanlong Nagas in which a sepoy was seriously injured, attack on the magistrate's quarters at Churachandpur, looting at Chingloni village and bomb explosion at Konglopokji village and one at Kalianani village? These are the incidents which have happened during the preceding fortnight in February.

JN: This is a specific detail of the broad question that has been put and answered. I cannot say about each individual thing. We have heard of such incidents. As I ventured to say, these are more in the nature of petty robberies than part of any movement.

14. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,²

Your letter of March 9th, 1958. I have discussed this matter with the Home Minister, and we have also considered it in the External Affairs Ministry. The Chief of the Army Staff has also been consulted.

General Thimayya pointed out the various difficulties inherent in the present situation and how the hostile elements could and in fact were taking advantage of it, and the Army could not easily counter these activities. However, he felt that if the civil authorities are of the opinion that no definite date for the expiry of the period of amnesty should be fixed now, he would accept that advice. That is to say, no date need be fixed now and the amnesty will be presumed to be in force. Even so, the Army can operate in the following way:

- (i) They will seize arms unless the possession of the arms is covered by a valid permit.
- (ii) They will undertake intensive patrolling in specified areas at the request of the civil authorities and take action against hostile concentrations.

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Assam.

In such areas they will also undertake offensive patrolling for getting information about hostile activities.

We agree to this which is in keeping with your own advice.

Thus, the date for the termination of amnesty is left to the final decision of the civil authorities, as they are the best judge of the local situation.

We agree also that it would be advantageous to issue a preliminary notice as suggested in appendix 'B' of your letter.

As regards the Village Defence Guards, there can be no doubt that such a force is desirable and would be useful. We do not wish to delay this matter at all and, indeed, I understand that you have already taken steps to enrol people for this purpose. How many have been thus far enrolled, I do not know. But, this involves a substantial expenditure, and we have to consider it fully with the Finance Ministry. I trust that full particulars have arrived. We hope to have a discussion with the Finance Ministry very soon.

Meanwhile, there is no harm in your continuing some enrolments, though the full figure might not be enrolled till after decisions have been taken.

You refer to the suggestion that a small force of Village Defence Guards might be created in the Mao area and Manipur also. It seems to me that this system of Village Guards should prove useful all over these hill areas. In principle, I would agree to this for Manipur. But, naturally, the financial implications will have to be considered by the Home Ministry. I presume they are doing so. It might well be that the institution of Village Guards lessens the obligations of the Assam Rifles or even of the regular police. In that sense, they might ultimately be not an addition to the expenditure, but even perhaps some reduction. I do not know if this will work out that way. But the expenditure on the Village Guards should surely be on a far lesser scale than on our regular forces.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Telegram to Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

Village Defence Guards. We have considered this question fully and agree that such Village Guards are not only desirable in the present situation, but for the future also. In fact, we think that in future set-up, apart from present emergencies, such Village Guards might well be used for other police duties thus reducing number of police required for purpose. They could also be used for developmental work. They should be organized so as not to isolate them from village population. We feel, therefore, that pay should be in the scale of Rs 40-2-46. This is more or less same as pay and allowances of Assam Rifles and J & K Militia. It is true that in latter cases there are free rations also, but latter are employed whole time and have to undertake many other duties and have to live away from their homes. Village Defence Guards will be posted at or near their own villages and may pursue their normal avocations also. If higher pay is given to Village Guards, this will no doubt result in disaffection among Assam Rifles. Also it will separate them more from their own village people, which is not desirable. Future development of this Village Guards Force will also be impeded.

2. We realize that previously they were recruited at higher scale of pay of 64 rupees, but there was no provision there for gratuities or dependents' pensions, and clothing was on an inferior scale. Those who have already been recruited at 64 rupees may be given option of either accepting this reduced scale plus other amenities mentioned above or retain their old scale minus other amenities. In future recruitment should be on new reduced scale plus amenities.

3. We attach importance to fixing this reduced scale of pay as consequences of higher scale will be bad and will spread in many directions.

4. As for strength of Village Defence Guards, we would suggest that for the present 1,400 or 1,500 might be aimed. This figure can be increased later with some experience of the working of the new force. The potentialities of this scheme are good and it may well expand for various purposes. It is desirable to give it a sound foundation at the present stage.

1. New Delhi, 15 March 1958. JN Collection.

16. Raids by Naga Hostiles¹

Mafida Ahmed:² Under Rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“The raid by the Naga hostiles in Dimapur area.”

Jawaharlal Nehru: Recently dacoities have been committed in the neighbourhood of Dimapur in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area by two separate gangs of Naga hostiles.

On the night of 4th-5th March, 1958 at 1.00 a.m. six Nagas armed with four rifles, one stengun and one revolver and dressed in olive green uniform went first to the Naharbari Kanchuri village about 2.5 miles south-west of Dimapur Police Station and looted cash and other properties worth Rs 200 from three homes by intimidation. The same gang then proceeded to Thekrajan Kuki village, a further two furlongs to the south of Naharbari and looted money, clothes, etc., from five houses of the village. They also extorted Rs 300 from one Zonkthang Kuki by threatening to kill him. The gang then left towards the south.

On the 7th March at about 8.00 p.m. 50 armed hostiles raided Lahurijan Tea Estate, six miles north of Dimapur and decamped with one double barrelled gun, some ornaments and clothes having a total value of about Rs 2,370.

In January and February also there have been one or two similar dacoities in the Dimapur area.

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 20 March 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series). Vol. XIII, cols. 5841-5842.
2. Congress Member from Jorhat, Assam.

17. Salary of the Village Defence Guards¹

I am sending you a secret letter from the Governor of Assam. In this letter he deals specially with the question of the salary to be paid to the village defence guards. He says that these guards will be engaged on whole-time work and will be engaged in activities almost continuously. This is not the conception I had

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 24 March 1958. JN Collection.

of these guards and I still do not understand why they should be on whole-time duty, except when some emergency arises. Then it might make a difference in regard to payment during an emergency when they are on whole-time duty. However, we can discuss this matter later.

2. You will remember my telling you that General Thimayya was definitely of opinion that we should pay the village guards at the lower rate. He told me also that they had made a great mistake in paying some similar formation in Jammu & Kashmir at a higher rate and it was found very difficult to reduce later.

3. The Governor and the GOC want the old regulation to be re-issued. If this is necessary, we may agree. I think you might consult General Thimayya about this. You might also see Major-General Verma.² I shall be glad to meet him later.

2. Lt. General S.D. Verma (b. 1908); joined Indian Army, 1927; fought in the Second World War; Commander, First Armed Brigade, 1948; Commander, Infantry Division and Armoured Division, 1951-52; Master General, Army Headquarters, 1953-57; Chief of General Staff, 1957-58; General Officer Commanding, XV Corps, in Jammu and Kashmir, January 1959-61; following differences with the Defence Minister resigned from the Army in February 1961; Administrative Manager, TELCO, Jamshedpur, 1961-68.

18. Telegram to Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

Thank you for your letters of March 21 and 24 about pay of Village Defence Guard. I intend discussing this matter with Thimayya who is out of town now and then reply more fully.

The main question appears to be whether these Village Defence Guards are to be whole-time employees of Government or part-time. If whole-time, then pay suggested by us will perhaps be inadequate. But in the scheme of organization received from Luthra, it was stated that they would be part-time employees and would live at or near their villages. In personal discussion Luthra also stated that ordinarily these Village Defence Guards would be free to pursue their normal avocations. If this is so, then their pay need not include any element for cost of rations, etc. I am told that there was no difficulty about getting sufficient number of recruits on a pay of Rs 20/- in the old Tuensang Frontier Division.

1. New Delhi, 29 March 1958. JN Collection.

When I discussed this matter previously with Thimayya, he told me of the difficulties they had experienced in Jammu by fixing too high a pay for Home Guards. However, we are re-examining this matter and I shall write to you after discussion with Thimayya.

(x) Punjab

1. To Tara Singh¹

New Delhi

10th January 1958

My dear Master Tara Singh,²

I have received your letter. By some odd mistake, this is dated 1st April, 1957. I suppose what is meant is 1st January, 1958. I am sorry for the slight delay in answering it. I have been very heavily occupied not only by normal work but by the visits of eminent dignitaries from abroad, such as the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom³ and President Soekarno of Indonesia. Because of this, it became impossible for me to deal with my correspondence or even to be able to read it without delay.

I would gladly meet you but, as it is, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is here for another two days and goes on the 12th. All kinds of functions in this connection are being held. On the 12th and possibly on the 13th, there is a meeting of the National Development Council which will last the whole day and to it all the Chief Ministers from various parts of the country will come. I shall preside over it. On the 12th evening, Dr Graham arrives and will be here on the 13th. On the 14th early morning I am going to Gauhati for the session of the Indian National Congress and I shall be there for a full week. Because of all this, it is no longer possible for me to add to my engagements during the next few days.

I have read your letter with care. There can be no doubt that there are some Hindus in the Punjab who are narrow-minded and communal and who have often behaved badly. There are also some Sikhs who are narrow-minded and communal. But I hope that this description does not apply to the great majority of the Hindus or the Sikhs.

1. JN Collection.

2. Akali leader and President of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC).

3. See *post*, pp. 677-690 and 701-707.

During the so-called 'Save Hindi agitation', I think the Arya Samaj has functioned in a very wrong and anti-national way. I have expressed my opinion about this repeatedly in public, as you must know.⁴

You have given me a number of instances of misbehaviour by certain known or unknown persons against the Sikhs. There can be no doubt that this misbehaviour is highly reprehensible and where the miscreant can be traced, he should be adequately punished. But I am sure you will agree with me that because of the misbehaviour of an individual, who might be a lunatic or a criminal type, we cannot judge communities. We must see things in the right perspective. I can very well understand how such acts of misbehaviour cause great annoyance. It is not only for the Sikhs but also for the Hindus to make it perfectly clear that they look upon such misbehaviour as highly objectionable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For the 'Save Hindi' agitation, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 412-435.

2. To Prabodh Chandra¹

New Delhi
January 11, 1958

Dear Prabodh Chandra,²

I have your letter of the 10th January, with which you have sent me a letter addressed to the Congress President.

I am not unaware of the situation in the Punjab. I have followed it fairly closely during the last few months and, when I went to Chandigarh recently, I spoke about it.³ However, my view as to the cause of trouble differs from yours, and I think that quite a number of Congress members have behaved very badly during the so-called 'Save Hindi' agitation, and their constant attempts to work against the leader and Chief Minister⁴ have not been to their credit. I do not

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, at this time.
3. For Nehru's speech on 9 November 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series) Vol. 40, pp. 417-419
4. Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab.

know how many people in the Congress Party are for or against the Chief Minister, nor am I much interested in it. But, the people who have misbehaved in this way in the past have no sympathy from me and will get no help from me. If the Punjab has to suffer still further from disruption, it will be unfortunate. But disruption is not cured by helping it.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru wrote to U.N. Dhebar on the same day that Prabodh Chandra was "playing a very mischievous role. Unfortunately he is encouraged to do so."

3. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear CPN,²

Your letter of February 5th.³

I have heard vague rumours about the attempts being made to weaken Partap Singh's position. The only person I have seen in this connection is Prabodh Chandra, who came to see me some days ago. I spoke to him again very strongly and even a little harshly about his activities.

I gather that the Congress President has also made it perfectly clear to those who came to him that he would not encourage or tolerate any moves against Partap Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Punjab.
3. C.P.N. Singh wrote about the efforts of some leaders of the Congress Party in Punjab to bring a no-confidence motion against Partap Singh Kairon and replace him with Gopichand Bhargava as Chief Minister. Singh added that Prabodh Chandra and Lala Jagat Narain were canvassing against Kairon and though the campaign had receded into abeyance for the present, it was likely that it would be renewed during the budget session. Singh also wrote that some Ministers in Punjab were encouraging the *Patwari* agitation in the State.

4. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
February 10, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter I have received. Presumably, you have received a copy of it. I do not know what I can suggest to you about it. But, the Raja of Faridkot² is certainly a person who deserves careful watching. The officers who serve there should be above the reproach of being influenced by him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Raja Harindar Singh Brar Bans Bahadur of Faridkot (b.1915); succeeded his father Maharaja Brijinder Singh Sahib Bahadur, 1918; invested with full ruling power in 1934; personally administered Faridkot State assisted by younger brother Kanwar Manjitindar Singh and a Cabinet of three Secretaries.

5. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
February 10, 1958

My dear C.P.N.

Our Railway Minister Jagjivan Ram made a statement about the Ambala railway disaster² in the Lok Sabha today. Apart from his statement, I discovered that the local police had started a case under Section 302, that is, murder, against the engine driver of this ill-fated train. I was astonished to hear this. How can anyone imagine that the engine driver³ was deliberately bringing about this accident to kill people? I do not know the facts, which are under enquiry by a Commission, but obviously the only thing that such a man can be guilty of is negligence and carelessness. If you like, you can call it gross carelessness. The engine driver is

1. JN Collection.
2. In a railway accident near Ambala on 1 January 1958, 36 persons were killed and 99 injured.
3. Sadhu Ram.

one of our best men at that work and was specially selected to take Chou En-lai⁴ and Marshal Tito.

But the case registered by the police has another drawback. It rather comes in the way of the enquiry that is going on. There are, I am told, some legal difficulties in the way of the enquiry. Apart from this, the poor engine driver is so terrified of that case that he does not dare to speak frankly before the Commission lest anything he might say should incriminate him in the case.

I do not understand at all the reason why the local police or the Magistrate decided to start this case under Section 302. Is it just to show off their zeal?

I am not writing to you to do anything in this matter, but just to tell you how foolishly people behave. I suppose the least that can be done now is not to proceed with this 302 case till the enquiry is over. But even afterwards, I just do not see where 302 comes in.

I have just received your letter of February 9th. I am glad the Punjab Government took quick action and appointed Justice Khosla⁵ to enquire into the rioting at Jullundur.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Chou En-lai and Nehru travelled together by train from Nangal to Delhi on the night of 31 December 1956. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, p. 583.
5. G.D. Khosla, Puisne Judge of the Punjab High Court.
6. Two persons died and several were injured following police firing on a procession in Jalandhar on 8 February 1958. The procession was taken out in connection with a Hindi conference. Khosla held in his report, submitted on 10 March 1958, that the police was justified in taking action against the hostile mob.

6. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
February 13, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I believe that the Urdu daily of Jullundur, *Vir Bharat*, is relatively one of the better Urdu papers and takes a restrained view. In the Punjab, as it is today full of communal fanaticism, such a paper does some service. I understand that the Punjab Government was making some bulk purchases of its copies, but

1. JN Collection.

that this has now been stopped. I am not recommending to you what to do, but as the paper is better than most other papers, it deserves assistance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1958

My dear SK,²

Thank you for your letter of February 25th about the Report on the Bhakra Administration.³ It is sad that our senior engineers and others should have deliberately indulged in dishonest practices. I hope that the Punjab Government will not hesitate to take adequate action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.
3. S.K. Patil gave an appraisal of the findings of the Committee on Bhakra Canals Administration. The findings cited some technical and financial miscalculations on the part of the Bhakra Canal Project and cases of corruption and negligence.

8. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
27 February, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

The Punjab is facing many difficulties and you have to carry heavy burdens. The result is that most of our time is spent in political matters and possibly the real work of the country and the State suffers.

I think I have written to you previously about a matter which has troubled me greatly. Others have written or spoken to you also about it. This is the non-use of the many tube wells that you have built in the Punjab. More than two

1. File No. 31 (67)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

thousand of these tube wells have been built and apparently continue to be built and yet only a small fraction of them is being used for lack of connecting channels or some other reason. Thus while we think of new schemes, we cannot profit by what we have done. I suppose these two thousand wells could be used to enormous advantage and irrigate a vast area and thus increase food supply, etc.

The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission² tells me that he has spoken to you about this matter and you have promised to get these wells functioning by May next. I am writing to you to point out the extreme importance of this. Meanwhile, of course, it would be absurd to have any more wells constructed. When we cannot use the old ones no new ones should be dug.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. V.T. Krishnamachari.

9. To Diwan Chaman Lall¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1958

My dear Chaman Lall,²

Your letter about the Delhi Teachers' Association and the *Patwaris*.³ It is exceedingly difficult for me to find time to go into these matters at least for some weeks. So far as the *Patwaris* are concerned, although I have not deeply gone into their question, I did enquire into it to some extent both from the Punjab Government and the Home Ministry here. The impression I got was that the strike was completely unjustified.⁴ Matters have now gone very far and normally it is not right for me to jump in at this late stage or give any kind of assurance. Also it will not be proper for me to do so without previous reference

1. Diwan Chaman Lall Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha.

3. Chaman Lall requested Nehru to meet the representatives of the *Patwaris* Union to help end their strike just as the Delhi Teachers' Association had called off its planned strike following a meeting of its representatives with Maulana Azad.

4. 13,000 *Patwaris* of Punjab were on strike from 13 December 1957 to press the Punjab Government to accept their 14-point charter of demands that included increase in pay, pension benefits and certain allowances.

to the Chief Minister. That is indeed what Maulana Saheb appears to have told you also.

I suggest, however, the following course to be followed.

These people can see my PPS.⁵ I shall meanwhile write to the Chief Minister. Later it may become possible for me to see them for a few minutes.

You can certainly bring any important matter to my notice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. After meeting Parma Nand Sharma, General Secretary of Punjab Revenue *Patwaris* Union, Kesho Ram, PPS, informed Nehru in a note on 13 March 1958 that Sharma had assured him that the *Patwaris* had no intention of continuing their strike and were prepared to accept the decisions of the Punjab Government on their representation. They wanted the release and reinstatement of 4,267 *Patwaris* who were arrested during the strike.

10. To Diwan Chaman Lall¹

New Delhi,
March 25, 1958

My dear Chaman Lall,

Your letter of the 24th March about the Punjab *Patwaris*.

Ever since I heard of the *Patwari* strike some months ago, I enquired into the matter, I went into some figures with the Chief Minister of the Punjab, discussed this with the Governor and discussed it further with our Home Minister, Pantji. All of them were firmly of opinion that the *Patwari* strike was completely unjustified. There may be some minor matters which required adjustment, but, for them to strike was wholly unnecessary. I agreed with this viewpoint after these discussions and whenever I have been approached by the *Patwaris* Union, I have told them so and advised them to put an end to their strike which can do them no good. I have sometimes been told that they are prepared to withdraw the strike unconditionally if I tell them so. But, when I tell them so, it has no effect.

So far as the major facts are concerned, I understand that since 1947, the pay of the *Patwaris* has been doubled, the last increment having been given

1. JN Collection. Also available in Diwan Chaman Lall Papers, NMML.

only last year. Their pay at present is Rs 50/- upwards and dearness allowance Rs 30/- to 40/-. Thus, it appears that the minimum emoluments are Rs 90/- and after a year, they go up to over a hundred. This applies to the Revenue *Patwaris*. The Consolidation *Patwaris* get, in addition, a special pay of Rs 5/-. All this compares favourably with the clerk in the towns getting Rs 100/-. Therefore, a demand for higher pay almost immediately after a considerable rise seems to me wholly unjustified. I believe that there are some border-line cases which required adjustment, but that is a small matter and can be attended to. It should also be remembered that the last increment was given after the Pay Revision Committee's report.

There was not only the strike, but a defiance of orders under Section 144. It was presumably for this defiance that they were arrested in large numbers and are still being tried. These cases have been prolonged because of applications for transfer, etc.

Those who were in temporary employment were dismissed; the others were given normal charge sheets and explanations were asked for. That was according to the normal procedures taken by the Punjab Government.

You say that the representatives of the Union apparently did not get much change out of the Chief Minister. Probably not. But they should recognize that they have been very much in the wrong; and what exactly can be done now? New men have been appointed and many are under training. It seems to me that the action of these *Patwaris* Union was very irresponsible. And, what is more, I cannot understand the repeated assurances to me that they would withdraw the strike if I told them so, but they do nothing of the kind in spite of my advice to them.²

I am all for dealing with such cases in a friendly way and this is my general advice to every State Government concerned. But I cannot override the State Governments. At the most, I can draw their attention to any complaint that comes to me, more especially when I think that the strikers have acted very irresponsibly. Even so, I would not like anything in the nature of reprisal, but developments have taken place which cannot be undone.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The *Patwaris* called off their strike on 1 April 1958 after the Punjab Government released and reinstated a large number of striking *Patwaris*.

11. Appointment to Chandigarh Project Control Board¹

Will you please find out the position in regard to the proposal to appoint Shri P.L. Varma² as a member of the Chandigarh Capital Project Control Board?

He is a member of the Public Service Commission. When this question came up, the Home Ministry said that it would be improper for a member of the Public Service Commission also to be a member of the Control Board. Later, it was pointed out that this does not involve any payment and simply means attending a meeting twice a year. The advice of Shri P.L. Varma would be exceedingly helpful to that Control Board because he has been associated with it right from the beginning, and the French architect, Le Corbusier,³ was very anxious to have him there.

I was informed that the Public Service Commission had no objection to this. The matter was mentioned by me to the Home Minister, who also agreed. I informed the Governor of the Punjab accordingly.

I want you to find out if this matter has been processed.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 28 March 1958. File No.7 (118)/56-66-PMS.
2. Member, Union Public Service Commission.
3. Originally a Swiss national; famous architect, city planner and painter; settled and practised in France; Chief Architect, Chandigarh Project.

12. To Gian Singh Rarewala¹

New Delhi
30th March, 1958

Dear Sardar Gian Singh,²

This morning Raizada Hans Raj³ came to see me, as he sometimes does. He spoke to me about Dalhousie and showed me some correspondence in connection with the electric supply to Dalhousie. Also, about the rates charged for electricity.

I was rather surprised to read this correspondence because in spite of every effort and repeated reminders nothing appears to be done. Even my

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Irrigation and Power, Government of Punjab.
3. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Punjab, 1953-58.

colleague, Sardar Swaran Singh,⁴ has written on this subject and so far as I know has not received a reply.

I cannot understand the reason for the high rates charged. A decision in this matter can be taken within a matter of hours and yet months pass and nothing is done. About the other matter too, i.e., the connection of Dalhousie with the Mandi Hydroelectric Grid, the delay appears to be without excuse.

It is these little things which give us a bad name. Such delays can either be due to the slowness of working of the government or deliberate obstruction at some stage or other by the official hierarchy. It may be that the official or the engineer directly concerned is not interested in such steps being taken or is indirectly opposed to it for some odd reasons. The result is that even government's orders are not carried out or are greatly delayed. Surely, a government should not be so helpless about all this.

I shall be grateful if you will please let me know as soon as possible what is being done in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

13. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
30th March, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose copy of a letter I have written to Gian Singh Rarewala. It seems to me that the Punjab Government or rather the Ministers have hardly any time left to attend to their normal work because they are too busy playing politics.

Anyhow, for a simple matter that Raizada Hans Raj has raised to be delayed for long periods and ultimately to have to be referred to a Union Minister like Sardar Swaran Singh and ultimately to the Prime Minister does bring out a curious state of affairs. I shall wait to see if even the Prime Minister's intervention bears any result or not.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

(xi) Rajasthan

1. To Mohanlal Sukhadia¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,²

When I was in Bombay recently, I was informed of the discovery of a valuable treasure in the Nathdwara temple or round about it on the 25th December, 1957. I was further told that the High Priest accompanied by the Executive Officer went to the place, broke open the locks of the secret room as well as the locks of the almirah which contained the treasure, and removed it to the palace of the High Priest. No information was given about this. It was only fifteen days later that a list of valuables estimated at Rs 3,68,000/- was produced. Our information is that the value of the treasure was very much greater and indeed amounted to about one crore.

I found subsequently that *Blitz* had written about it in its issue of February 1st. Further, it is stated that you went to Nathdwara on the 24th December, a day before this treasure was removed, and that you again visited the place on the 3rd January.

All this is very odd and intriguing and deserves full enquiry. The reputation of the Nathdwara temple and its High Priest is none too good in financial or other matters. In any event, the discovery of a treasure trove like this should not be hushed up. It is public property now and the fullest information has to be given to the public and then decision made as to what should be done with this treasure. As you seem to know something about it, will you please let me know what steps you have taken in regard to a full enquiry being made and the facts published.³

I gather that the Congress President⁴ has also written to you on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.
3. The Rajasthan Government appointed a one-man commission of inquiry headed by the Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, K.N. Wanchoo, to inquire into the matter.
4. U.N. Dhebar.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear Pantji,

When I was in Bombay, Mulraj Kersondas² came to see me and spoke to me about the discovery of a treasure at Nathdwara. I have written to Sukhadia on this subject, copy enclosed. I do not at all like the association of Sukhadia with the Nathdwara High Priest. I am told they are brothers. The High Priest has a very bad reputation.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Gujarati entrepreneur; came in contact with Nehru in 1937.

3. To Raj Bahadur¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Raj Bahadur,²

You have spoken to me on several occasions about the treasure in Rajasthan. You wrote to me also about this subject and sent me a letter from Shri K.L. Mathur. I have seen these papers. I really do not know what I can do about it. To say that we should acquire a fort and then start digging about for it, hardly seems to me a feasible proposition. If you can suggest something more definite, it would be more helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Transport and Communications; Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Bharatpur, Rajasthan.

(xii) Uttar Pradesh**1. To Sampurnanand¹**

New Delhi

February 14, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

I have received a copy of the judgement of the Sessions Judge, Orai (Session Trial No. 17 of 1957). This is a judgement against a number of Muslims in connection with the riots that occurred there in September 1956.³ In the course of these riots seven Muslims were killed, apart from other damage done. In the judgement, a number of Muslims have been convicted, but, oddly enough, no Hindus or others who had attacked the Muslims have even been proceeded against. In the judgement the following passage occurs:

There can be no doubt that the District police authorities betrayed utter callousness in not investigating properly into the cases relating to the murder of seven Muslims and the incidents of loot and arson in which the shops of Muslims were involved. Regular reports of about 28 incidents of murder, looting of shops and arson in which the Muslims of Orai were involved were made to the police station, Orai. But the police authorities adopted a lukewarm attitude and did not seriously and promptly investigate into all these cases. It is a matter of great regret that although the Muslims of Orai had suffered so heavy losses of lives and property at the hands of the Hindus of Orai but not a single Hindu rioter of Orai has been challaned and prosecuted. This could not be justified on the ground that the Hindus had started the onslaught on the Muslims as a counter-attack. Even if it was a counter-attack it remained an offence in the eyes of law and it ought to have been dealt with properly. The explanation put forth by Mahendra Pratap Sharma, Sub-Inspector, and Shri B.B. Sidhu, District Magistrate, that the Muslims of Orai did not come forth to make reports about these incidents at the police station and to give evidence about these incidents is hardly satisfactory. All these acts were offences against the society. It was the duty of the local police authorities to investigate into these cases

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 260-262.

vigorously after these incidents had been reported to the police in some form or other. The police authorities of this district ought not to have waited till the evidence of these incidents disappeared completely and it became difficult to trace out the real culprits.

This is [a] very serious and damaging criticism of the police authorities in Orai as well as that of the District Magistrate there, B.B. Sidhu. In view of this criticism it is not surprising that the Muslims not only of Orai but of other places also complain bitterly about the one-sided approach to this affair.

In view of these remarks in the judgment, did your Government take any action against the District Magistrate or the police authorities?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
February 27, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sending you a letter from Masud Ali Nadvi of Azamgarh,² in which he gives his own instance of how he was expected to give a bribe of twenty-five per cent of *taccavi* loan which he had asked for. I hope you will have this matter enquired into.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. A Khilafatist and a member of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

3. Construction of Roads¹

Recently, a telegram from the UP Government about some border roads was received by me. That has been forwarded by the External Affairs Ministry to the Ministry of Transport. I hope that these matters will be expedited.

1. Note to the Ministry of Transport, 28 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. I see from the newspapers that the UP Government is building the road right up to Badrinath. They are welcome to do so, but the other roads mentioned by us appear to me of far greater importance. There is another road from Chakrata to Tuni in UP which I consider important.

3. A recent report from Tibet disclosed that during the last six or seven years, the Chinese Government has built four thousand miles of road in Tibet. It is true that most of these roads are *kutch*a and merely amount to levelling up; it is also true that Tibet has not got to face monsoon downpours. Nevertheless, the progress made by the Chinese Government in these roads in Tibet is impressive. Some of them pass over high mountains.

4. I am anxious to know about the progress of the road from Gangtok to the Tibet border.

(xiii) West Bengal

1. To B.C. Roy¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

My dear Bidhan,²

I received a deputation today from the Revolutionary Communist Party of India.³ They belong to the Assam and Bengal branch or perhaps they represent the Central Committee of their party. They gave me a letter, which I enclose. You will see that this refers to the continuing imprisonment of 39 prisoners convicted in the Dum Dum, Basirhat, Jessop⁴ and Kakdwip cases.⁵

I told them that, first of all, this was a matter entirely for the Bengal Government. Secondly, that this question had come up before me last year and the Bengal Government had been good enough to send us particulars about these cases. They were horrible cases and brutal in the extreme. I told them that all I could do was to send their representation on to the Bengal Government

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

3. A five-member delegation of the RCPI submitted a charter of demands to Nehru which included immediate release of the RCPI political prisoners in West Bengal and Assam.

4. On 26 February 1948, a group of members of the RCPI had raided the Dum Dum airport, an ammunition factory, the workshop of the Jessops Ltd., and the Basirhat police station.

5. This refers to the peasant uprising in Kakdwip in the Sunderbans in 1949-1950. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 423-425 and 428-429.

and it was for them to decide what steps, if any, should be taken.

They accepted the fact that the cases were very bad, but pleaded that the persons concerned were very young, that they had spent many years in prison as undertrial prisoners, and further that in Andhra and Madras similar cases had been dealt with more leniently and the persons concerned had been discharged. Also that in some cases the first court had acquitted them and it was only on a re-trial that they were convicted. Conditions had changed, and all that, and some of these people were very ill. Apparently one of them, Sudhindranath Kumar,⁶ had spoken to you about them and had asked for a special interview in regard to them, but this interview had not taken place.

As I promised them, I am sending their letter to you. All I can say is that these young men and the young women who came to see me seemed very much toned down and spoke to me quite decently.⁷ It would appear that they have matured a little. Chaliha, the Chief Minister of Assam, said that some of these young people were quite decent now.

It is, of course, for you to consider what to do about them. Perhaps if some people are very ill, you might deal with them more leniently.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

6. Secretary, Revolutionary Communist Party of India.

7. The delegation included Sudhindranath Kumar, K.N. Baruah, MLA, Assam, Govind Kalita, Rasika Bhatt and Kamala Mazumdar.

2. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
January 23, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

I have received a petition containing 5,000 signatures from the tailors of West Bengal. This is rather a new type of petition. I enclose one or two copies of it for the Planning Commission to see. I do not know what can be done about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

1. To Subroto Mukherjee¹

Gauhati

January 20, 1958

My dear Subroto,²

I have been very happy to read the reports of the work done by our team of officers and men under Air Commodore Arjan Singh,³ which was sent to Ceylon for relief operations recently.⁴ All those who came in contact with their work in Ceylon have spoken very highly of this. Will you please convey my deep appreciation and congratulations to Air Commodore Arjan Singh and his colleagues?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief of the Air Staff.
3. (b.1919); commissioned in Indian Air Force in December 1939; Air Commodore, 1950-58; Vice-Chief of Air Staff 1963-64; Chief of Air Staff, 1964-69; became Air Chief Marshal, 1966; Ambassador to Switzerland, 1971-74; High Commissioner to Kenya, 1974-77; Chairman, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, 1980-83; Director, Grindlays Bank, 1981-88; Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi, 1989-90; Marshal of the Air Force, 2002; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1965.
4. The Parakrama Samudra in North-Central Province in Ceylon, one of the largest artificial reservoirs, burst its banks on 26 December 1957. The Ceylonese Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, sent an urgent appeal to the Indian Government for relief. On 27 December, the Government of India sent five Dakotas to Colombo, carrying medical supplies, a supply drop unit and paramedical units.

2. Defence Forces as Messengers of Peace and Goodwill¹

Our Air Force demonstrated recently how it can work with energy and enthusiasm for the relief of suffering. They went at the first call to Ceylon which had suffered disaster. They went as messengers of peace and goodwill and carried the touch of healing with them.

I was particularly happy to learn of this fine work, which has drawn praise from all who witnessed it in Ceylon. I should like our Defence Forces to be known not only for their efficiency and daring, but also for the work of peace and friendship.

So, on this 25th anniversary of our Air Force, I send them my greeting and good wishes.

1. Message on the occasion of 25th anniversary of the Indian Air Force, New Delhi, 21 January 1958. File No.F9/2/58-PMS.

3. Need for Unity and Discipline¹

Whatever you have learnt during the period of your training here is good. When you go back to your respective places, try to impart the knowledge of these good things, including the value of hard labour and discipline, to others. After all, the country is not going to progress through legislation. It is only through hard labour and the sense of unity that the country will make progress. Unity and discipline are imperative for India's progress. Our people have not yet fully realized the necessity of maintaining unity. Often there are quarrels and agitations in the name of religion, language, caste and region. Such quarrels are only signs of our old weakness.

It was on 26 January 1930 that people everywhere in the country met in groups and took a pledge to attain full freedom. Earlier, the Congress at its Lahore session had adopted a similar resolution.² Since then, 26 January has signified the expression of full independence to the people. It was also on this date that the new Constitution came into effect and India became a sovereign democratic republic.

Since Independence, the role of India's armed forces has changed. Besides protecting the frontiers of the country, they also have to serve the people. In the past, the armed forces were cut off from the people as the Government of the day did not like them to mix with the people. But now there should be no wall of separation between the two.

Only recently some members of the armed forces went to Ceylon to help the flood-stricken people there. They have also been on peace missions to Indo-China, Korea and Egypt. This was because sometimes India's efforts contributed to lessening tension between the two hostile groups.

There are two big and powerful countries in the world today, the USA and the Soviet Union, both being opposed to and afraid of each other. But India has decided not to side with any one of them and to be friends with all. Even with Pakistan, with which we have many disputes, we do not want to have bitter relations. We want to be friends with Pakistan but that does not mean we shall

1. Address to the Lok Sahayak Sena (LSS), New Delhi, 22 January 1958. From *The Hindustan Times*, 23 January 1958, and *National Herald*, 24 January 1958.

The LSS was a voluntary organization built up by the Defence Ministry to inculcate the habits of discipline and self-reliance in youngmen. The contingent of the LSS which met Nehru on 22 January in New Delhi comprised 186 young boys, mostly students, representing all parts of India. They were in Delhi to take part in the Republic Day parade.

2. On 31 December 1929.

give up our rights. Our desire is to have the friendliest of relations with Pakistan which is our close neighbour. It is a matter of great regret that while India is keen to be on friendly terms with all countries of the world, her relations with Pakistan continue to be unhappy. It is true that there are several problems affecting the relations between the two countries. I hope that these will be gradually solved and the two countries will be able to live in peace and amity. We have to live like good neighbours because of the old ties which bound the people in the two countries together.

Even with the UK, against which India fought for years, we have a unique relationship today. We have maintained our friendship with the British people. We do not want any bitterness in the hearts of our people against them.

4. Religious Ceremonies in a Secular State¹

A few days ago, the President was pleased to give a Standard to his Bodyguard.² Newspapers reported that on this occasion, some religious ceremonies were performed.³ I do not quite know what the ceremonies were, nor did I pay much attention to them. We were at Gauhati then.⁴ But I have received some enquiries and complaints about them, that is to say, I have been asked why at an official function particularly these ceremonies should be performed, and whether this is not against the concept of our secular State, etc.

2. I should like to know if this kind of thing usually takes place in the Army. Is it an old custom or a new one and whether it was at the initiative of the Army that this was performed?

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, 22 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 18 January 1958, President Rajendra Prasad presented President's standard to his bodyguard. The standard was the first of a series of over two hundred standards, colours and guidons to be presented to various units of the Army to replace their counterparts issued during the British regime.
3. In a brief religious ceremony, two priests, one Hindu and one Sikh, blessed the standard. The ceremony took place in the forecourt of the Rashtrapati Bhavan.
4. Nehru was in Gauhati from the 14 to 20 January 1958 to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress.

5. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
January 31, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

Some three months ago I wrote a note about the Noratlas aircraft³ to the Cabinet Secretary and asked him to get in touch with the Air Headquarters as well as Civil Aviation on this subject. I think I wrote to you separately also. Prima facie, it had seemed to me that this aircraft was of great use to us in many ways and it had some very special advantages about take off, landing, etc. I think you wrote to me something about it, but I am not sure what it was.

I have now received a long report from the Air Headquarters about the performance of this aircraft. Also a note by the Defence Minister on the subject. Both the report and the note speak highly of the utility of this aircraft for our various purposes.

I am sending you these papers so that you can read them. It seems to me that it is clear that this aircraft is a good one for transport, for dropping supplies and, of course, for any emergency use, and it does appear that this aircraft deserves to be encouraged. The Defence Ministry are not in a position to take these planes now because so far as they are concerned they will be used in emergencies only and they have already exceeded their budget. But Civil Aviation might consider this matter carefully.

I am sending these papers to you so that you might mention them to the Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri,⁴ and later write to me on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Civil Aviation.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 478.
4. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

6. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi

February 8, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Please refer to your letter of the 23rd January about the Government Hydrogenation Factory, Kozhikode. I referred this matter to the Defence Minister,² who informs me that the Defence Ministry does not buy any supplies itself.³ It places indents on the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. In any event, the Defence Minister would not be permitted to buy a more expensive produce for the Army. I understand the Defence Minister himself has spoken to you about this matter.

Probably, it might be possible to invite tenders for running the factory.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. V. K. Krishna Menon.

3. Nehru forwarded Namboodiripad's letter and the subsequent note sent by the Defence Minister, to Morarji Desai, then the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, and asked his opinion about this plant at Kozhikode which was good but not in use.

7. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
March 13, 1958

My dear Lord Dickie,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th February which Edwina brought me. We have all been very happy to have Edwina here for some days. She is now in Kalimpong, but is expected to return tomorrow evening.

This has been a very difficult and heavy time for us here. We had the trouble about our Finance Minister which created quite a furore. We have lost him as Finance Minister and this is very unfortunate, as he was really good at his job. But he had to assume responsibility for what had been done. There was no question of lack of integrity.

Then there has been the death of Maulana Azad. I have just had to face the loss of two of my most important colleagues and it has been a very difficult business to fill their places.

I am glad you like the *Mysore*.³ I shall be going to Bombay to see it soon.

You refer to our unfortunate experience with the French shipbuilding firm and in particular to our error in not employing A.B. Cole.⁴ Although this was past history, I had this matter looked into again rather thoroughly. I have received two long reports. The Press cutting that you have sent does not give the facts correctly. However, it is true that the work that the French shipbuilding firm has done has been unsatisfactory and we have suffered because of it.

It is not much good being wise after the event and, as you know, when A.B. Cole came here, a decision had already been taken. That decision, however, was not taken in a hurry and I find there was a good deal of thought given to it. There was much correspondence with Krishna Menon.⁵ The real decision was not in favour of a particular French firm but in favour of our employing a firm and not an individual. It was thought that a firm would offer us many opportunities of teaching our people. We tried our best to get British firms to undertake this work, but we failed and Krishna Menon, who was our High Commissioner then, reported to us that the British firms were not prepared to

1. JN Collection.

2. Louis Mountbatten was First Sea Lord, UK.

3. *INS Mysore*, former *HMS Nigeria* was a light cruiser. It was commissioned to the Indian Navy in 1957 and it was decommissioned in 1985.

4. British naval officers in command of ship *HMS Albion* from 1958-59.

5. Union Minister of Defence at this time.

undertake this work. It was then that we turned to the French firm which was certainly a leading firm in shipbuilding and had done some very fine work. Even then it was our wish to retain A.B. Cole as our Adviser on extended terms of reference. Cole, however, decided that his continuance here would not be of much use. In the circumstances we decided reluctantly to relieve him at his request.

However, it is not much good now thinking of past mistakes.

Edwina will be returning soon. I hope that her stay here has rested her.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To M.K. Ghosh¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

Dear Shri Ghosh,²

Your letter of the 17th March. I am myself very anxious to reduce our Defence expenditure, but we come across a certain difficulty. Either we keep an Army, Navy and Air Force, or we do not keep them. There is no point in keeping an Army without up-to-date weapons or an Air Force without up-to-date aircraft. I am not referring to atomic weapons, of course, but to other conventional weapons. Therefore, we try to keep a relatively small Defence force, but we wish to arm them with up-to-date weapons. It is this that is costly. However, my mind is always thinking of how to limit this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mohindra Kumar Ghosh (1893-1982); trade unionist; Vice-President of Tata Workers' Union; participated in Bhoodan movement and other Gandhian constructive activities; attended the ILO Steel Committee meeting at Stockholm in 1947 as a representative of the Indian labour; Congress Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62.

9. Role of the Navy¹

When I left the shores yesterday on board the *INS Mysore*² I realized once again the geographical position of the country. The country is surrounded by the sea on three sides and on the fourth side by high mountains. In a sense our country may be said to be situated in the lap of the ocean. I pondered over this situation and our close links with the sea—how the sea has brought us together and kept us together.

From time immemorial, the people of India have very intimate connection with the sea. They travelled far and wide into the world, trading with other countries. They sent cultural missions abroad. They built ships and ploughed through the waves of the seas of the world.

However, the country later unfortunately became stagnant under the alien rule. People got caught up in their own little internecine quarrels. We lost sight of the sea and its importance. We became weak. One after another conquerors came by the sea and succeeded in ruling over us.

For the past eleven years the country has been free. The most important task after the advent of freedom is to preserve and strengthen the freedom. Freedom cannot be maintained by guns alone but also by hard work, courage, determination and, above all, unity. The country should learn to remain vigilant. Now that we are free, we have to once again realize the importance of the sea. If we are weak on the sea any enemy can come to our very doors. India does not have enmity with anyone. She wants friendship with everyone and wants to establish commercial and trade relations with all countries. But if prompted by greed or enmity any nation puts obstacles on our path, we have to defend ourselves. Therefore, we have to be very vigilant. People must remember their inherent strength and face the world cheerfully.

It is absolutely necessary for a country like India to have a strong navy. Navy is not only for the purpose of defence but also to carry our flag and message of friendship to countries far and near. In the last few years, our

1. Speech on board the *INS Mysore*, Bombay, 28 March 1958. From *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*, 29 March 1958.

Nehru was accompanied by Indira Gandhi, the Defence Minister, V.K. Krishna Menon, the Governor of Bombay, Sri Prakasa, and Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay State.

2. Earlier, Nehru witnessed air and sea exercises for six hours from the bridge of *INS Mysore*. Eight ships of the fleet and several aircraft of the Navy and Air Force took part in these exercises, which were held in the Arabian Sea, off Bombay. Nehru spoke highly of the new ship, which, he said, was a symbol of strength, efficiency and pride of the Indian nation.

Navy has taken India's message of friendship and our flag to several countries.

Our Navy is like a miniature India where people from various parts of the country live and work together like one large and happy family. This is also true of the Army and the Air Force. Whenever our sailors go abroad people never know them as belonging to this or that State in India but merely as Indian citizens. This is a lesson that should be learnt by all in this country.

Whatever religion you belong to, whatever language you speak and to whichever State you belong, you must realize that you are an Indian first. Till this morning I did not know from which part of India Rear Admiral Katari³ hails. I am told that Admiral Katari comes from Andhra. But all I know is that he is one of the gems of India.

Since time immemorial India's basic weakness has been disunity and disruption. Today this disunity is much less and things are improving in the national life. But still some quarrels and fights occur in the name of religion, province and language. This failing is a very old one and we should remember that our enemies have always used this weakness to their advantage. We should be careful so that we do not fall into their trap once again. If we remain weak and disunited we would not be able to meet the challenge of accomplishing big tasks before us.

We are amid various development plans and projects which can be carried out only if the nation stands on its own legs. Everyone, whether in the armed forces or in the civil society, has his own part to play in the development of the country.

Scientific advance in the world today is such that terrible weapons of destruction and fantastic inventions are being made. India cannot afford to lag behind in such a world. We have to forge ahead not by pushing others behind or at the expense of other nations but by our own influence and strength. The main thing is the courage of convictions. If people have this courage then the nation can succeed. Otherwise, even the scientific and technological advance will not be able to help this country. We must have confidence in our strength and courage and unity to achieve success. And we must never lose sight of the high ideals of truth, non-violence and peace which Mahatma Gandhi preached and practised.

3. Ram Dass Katari (1911-1983); joined Navy, 1927, and fought during World War II in the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean; Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, 1954-56; Flag Officer Commanding, Indian Fleet, 1956-58; Chief of Naval Staff, 1958-62; Chairman, Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation, 1962-64; Ambassador to Burma, 1964-69; Chairman, Mazagon Dock Ltd. and Goa Shipyard Ltd., 1970-71; Chairman, Andhra Pradesh Fisheries Corporation, 1974; author of *A Sailor Remembers*.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

1. Privileges of the Vice-President¹

I am quite clear that the Vice-President should not be placed in a position of less privilege than the Governors.² But I am not convinced by the argument that because some step was taken twenty-one years ago and confirmed in our Constitution, therefore, it should continue. All these relics of old times have no meaning today or rather have an unattractive meaning.

2. I can understand that it may not be convenient to take this matter to Parliament now. But it might be advisable for the Governors to be addressed on the subject by the Home Minister. It might be pointed out to them that these relics of old customs and privileges are anachronisms today. I should like to give them up. We would rather do so without framing laws on the subject and by the consent of the Governors.

3. It must be remembered that these privileges of Governors stand on a separate footing from the assurance given in the Constitution to the Services.

4. What is the position of the ex-ruling princes now in regard to exemption from customs?

1. Note to Govind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister, 2 January 1958. File No. 19/52/57-Public I., p. 16/n, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 443.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
January 8, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th January about customs privileges for Governors, etc.² In view of what you say, no step need be taken to withdraw these privileges at present. But I do think that these privileges, even though not acted upon, are out of date and, at a suitable moment, should be formally ended. So also about the ex-rulers.³

As for the Vice-President,⁴ I am sure that he does not wish to import anything, but it is annoying to him and objectionable to me that Governors should get some kind of a privilege that he does not enjoy. To issue a special notification about him now would not be very desirable. But the Vice-President might be informed that, in our view, he is certainly entitled to this privilege which the Governors enjoy and, should any occasion arise for his importing anything, we shall gladly take steps to meet his wishes. We do not think it necessary to issue a special notification to this effect and draw public attention to imports, when as a matter of fact practically no imports are being allowed even for Governors and others.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Pant wrote that though Governors enjoyed certain customs privileges, they had imported very little on their account and that they would hardly have any opportunity to do so, so long as the foreign exchange difficulty continued.
3. In the same letter, Pant had written that ex-rulers of certain groups of states were entitled to exemption from the customs duty on articles imported for their personal consumption in accordance with the agreement made at the time of the merger of the states. He added that these concessions were being extended to them only in rare cases.
4. S. Radhakrishnan.

3. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
22nd January 1958

My dear Pantji,

Kailas Nath Katju² has written to me about the position of his Deputy Speaker. He tells me that he has sent you a copy of that letter. I have sent him a brief reply, copy enclosed. I should like your advice in this matter.

I am writing to our Speaker also and sending him a copy of Katju's letter.

Personally, I think that the Deputy Speaker should be a whole-time officer and should not practise in the law courts.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

4. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
22nd January 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have received your letters dated January 19th and 20th.² Both these deal with the appointment of a Deputy Speaker to the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

I imagine that the Madhya Pradesh Assembly is entitled to pass any law governing the emoluments of the Deputy Speaker. You have been advised by your legal officers that under the present law the Deputy Speaker cannot

1. File No.16 (17)/58-PMS.
2. In his letters to Nehru on 19 and 20 January 1958, Kailas Nath Katju raised the issue of appointing A.S. Patwardhan, a practising lawyer, as the Deputy Speaker of Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly. Patwardhan wanted to continue practising in law courts and for that he was ready to renounce the salary due to the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. Legal opinion was not in favour of such a renunciation of salary and Katju wanted to know the views of Nehru in this regard.

renounce his salary and that there can be no honorary Deputy Speaker under the Constitution. Further that he has to be a whole-time officer and therefore cannot practise. The question therefore is whether it is desirable for the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly to pass some law which would bring about a reversal of the new practice and go back to the old one, thus permitting the Deputy Speaker to practise in the law courts.

You have already written to the Home Minister about it. I am also writing to him. I am writing to our Speaker³ also and I shall let you have a further fuller answer on hearing from them.

I might mention here that the question of Deputy Speakers being whole-time officers or not was discussed by me with the late Speaker Shri Mavalankar.⁴ He was definitely of opinion that they should be whole-time officers and I agreed with him. That is still my opinion. I think that we should build up a convention to that effect, apart from law. Therefore, I would not personally favour any change in the law which permits a reversal of the present practice.

I shall however write to you again later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

4. G.V. Mavalankar, Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1952-56, till his death.

5. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

Dear Mr Speaker,²

I seek your guidance in a matter which I think is of some importance.

I see that a number of questions have been put in the Lok Sabha in regard to Travancore Minerals (Private) Limited.³ This is a State-owned concern, but is run as an autonomous corporation. These questions relate to matters of day-

1. JN Collection.

2. Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

3. Travancore Minerals (Private) Limited was established in October 1956 to take over the mineral sand industry of South India.

to-day administration. Normally I have no objection to answering any questions where answer can be given without injury to the public interest. But if we are to answer questions about the day-to-day administration of autonomous corporations, then such corporations are put on exactly the same level as a Government Department. I believe that the accepted pattern in the United Kingdom is for the Minister concerned not to accept or reply to questions in Parliament regarding autonomous corporations, unless such questions relate to matters of general Government policy, on the ground that this infringes the autonomy of the corporation. I would suggest for your consideration that this convention might be adopted here also. I might mention that my attention has been drawn to this matter by Dr John Matthai, who is the chairman of the Travancore Minerals Corporation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
February 10, 1958

Dear Mr Chairman,²

I have written a letter to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha which raises a question of principle. Questions are often put in regard to State-owned Corporations. The normal practice in the United Kingdom is for such questions to be put only in regard to policy matters.

I am venturing to enclose a copy of my letter to the Speaker for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Rajya Sabha.

7. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
February 17, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,
Your letter of February 15th.

I agree with you that it does not seem quite proper for a State legislature to pass resolutions about foreign affairs. There is nothing to prevent them from passing a resolution, but once you adopt this practice it will be difficult to draw a line. A better course would be for members of the legislature to issue a statement expressing their views.

So far as the Central Government is concerned, it does not pass such resolutions in Parliament or elsewhere. We refer to the matter in a speech or deal with it on the diplomatic level.

So far as my information goes, it is not likely that the death sentence on the Algerian patriot Djamila² is likely to be carried out.

Recently, of course, something very horrible has happened. That is the bombing by the French of the village Sakhiat in Tunisia near the Algerian border.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The death sentence awarded to Djamila Bouhired was not carried out.
3. On 8 February 1958, France bombed the Tunisian frontier village of Sakhiat-Sidi-Youssef, which, according to the French, was being used as a base by the National Liberation Front for raids into Algeria and attacks on French aircraft. The bombing caused a large number of civilian casualties.

8. Exemplary Conduct Expected of Parliamentarians¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman,² may I, with all respect, associate myself with the remarks that you have made? The framers of our Constitution, in their wisdom, provided for different ways for the continuation of these two Houses of Parliament. In the other House there is, what might be called, a sudden death

1. Statement in the Rajya Sabha on the retirement of one-third of its Members, 14 March 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XX, cols. 3027-3030.
2. S. Radhakrishnan.

for all of them and a kind of reincarnation after a process of general elections. Here, Members both die and serve and there is a continuous process of change plus continuity. Which is better, I don't know, or perhaps both have their good points. Anyhow, it would be dangerous for me or for anyone to express any preference for the procedure in one House lest the other House may disapprove of any remarks that one may make. Anyhow, in this process of partial change and partial continuity, some of the Members of this House have come to the end of their term, including my colleague, the Leader of this House.³ I have hopes that he will return.

V.K. Dhage:⁴ Surely.

JN: So will a number of others, but if I may say so, Sir, repeating in less adequate language what you said, that whether we return or we don't return here—some of us—the field of service in this country is vast. I think it is as well for us all to remember that because sometimes there is a tendency to think that the only way or effective way of serving the country is to be in a legislature. If that was really so, then I fear, the country would not go far because it is the millions and millions of people's work that carries on the country, not the selected persons who come to the legislatures. But the legislatures, apart from doing important work, do something else—which also you hinted, Sir. They set or try to set a tone or way of doing things, a way of conflicting opinions being debated calmly, peacefully and in a friendly way, a way of trying at least to join two conceptions. One is a certain crusading zeal for a cause and with that a capacity for tolerance for not only paying heed to what others say but a certain receptiveness to allow oneself to be affected by it and thus, through a conflict of opinions and debate, for us to find a part of the truth that we aim at.

It is difficult for most of us, Sir, to be detached philosophers, to be philosophers. Detachment is good, I suppose, but unless there is some more active virtue attached to it, it may become unconcern, which is not good, I suppose. Members of Parliament especially have, I suppose, formed ideas about progress, about social changes, about other matters to which you referred and a certain element of a crusader in them they ought to have. At the same time they have to have that detachment and objectivity also and tolerance, which sometimes a crusader does not have. How to combine the two is a problem which faces us all the time and we, to some extent, approach it without ever probably realizing it fully.

3. Govind Ballabh Pant.

4. Independent Member from Bombay State.

So the Parliament does set some kind of an example to the rest of the country. As we behave here with each other, towards our work, towards the general public, so to some extent others will behave elsewhere, whether in the State legislatures or in the many other organs of self-government that exist in the country or that are growing up, right way down to that foundation of our democracy—the panchayats in the villages. Even the panchayats will be affected by the tone we set in this sovereign Parliament of India. Therefore, on all of us rests this great responsibility, not only to behave as we should behave, but to remember always that a million eyes are upon us and we may not do something that brings the slightest discredit on Parliament or set a wrong line before the people. India is a big country, very big, with great variety, with great diversity and also considerable unity and we want both the unity and the diversity and we can only have it by that feeling of toleration which is the sign of a civilized individual, which has been the sign of Indian civilization for ages past, even though we forget it often enough, forget our own inheritance, forget the basis of our culture, still that is the foundation and the basis. That becomes very much more necessary when we move into a dynamic state of affairs, moving out of those static positions.

Today, India is changing; India is changing anyhow, and there is also that plus the change which comes from world changes. So it is a double process of change, and we want that change. We want social change. We want social revolution and so many other things. And, as you said, Sir, we want them peacefully, by consent, by cooperation, as far as possible, by getting the goodwill of the people concerned. It is not possible to get everyone to agree to every change; but I think there have been very remarkable instances in India during the last few years of very major and revolutionary changes taking place largely by consent, certainly peacefully. We shall have to face many other changes in the future. The period of change is not over, it has only begun. We have to remember this fact, that any change which is sought to be brought about by violence, by bitterness or hatred, will not be a good change, even though by itself it may be desirable. Anyhow, it would not be so and in the context of India, with its variety and bigness, it will be still worse.

So I come back to this House and this Parliament where we seek to set an example as to how changes, big changes, even revolutionary changes, can be brought about by peaceful debate and a large measure of consent, and where, in spite of opinions expressed which differ from one another, in spite of sometimes warm words exchanged, we behave as civilized and tolerant people worthy of India.

9. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
March 26, 1958

Dear Mr President,

As you are aware, twelve member of the Rajya Sabha have to be nominated by you. The term of four such members who had been nominated by you, expires soon. These four are:

- 1) Dr P.V. Kane,²
- 2) Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar,³
- 3) Shri Maithilisharan Gupta,⁴ and
- 4) Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji⁵

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji is rather old now, and I would not recommend his re-nomination.

I would suggest, however, for your favourable consideration the re-nomination by you of the other three members, namely,

- 1) Dr P.V. Kane
- 2) Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, and
- 3) Shri Maithilisharan Gupta

For the fourth seat which would be rendered vacant, I recommend that Shri A.N. Khosla, Vice Chancellor of Roorkee University, be nominated. Shri A.N. Khosla is one of our most eminent engineers, who was connected in the past with many of our major river valley schemes. He retired from service and, later, became Vice Chancellor of Roorkee University. This University is subsidized by the Uttar Pradesh Government.

In order to make sure that his present connection with Roorkee University is not a bar to his membership of the Rajya Sabha, our Law Ministry was consulted. They have examined this question and have come to the conclusion that the Vice Chancellor of Roorkee University cannot be said to hold an office of profit under the State Government. They have given reasons for this view.

1. File No. 48/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Dr Pandurag Vaman Kane (1880-1972); Professor of Sanskrit and Law; Vice Chancellor, Bombay University, 1947-49; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1953-59; recipient of Sahitya Akademi award, 1956 and Bharat Ratna, 1963; author of *History of Dharmashastra* among other books.
3. A close colleague of Mahatma Gandhi; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-64.
4. A leading Hindi poet; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-64.
5. Historian; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-58

Therefore, in their opinion, the Vice Chancellor can function as a Member of the Rajya Sabha.

We have consulted also the Chief Minister of UP⁶ and he was agreeable to this proposal. I do not think it is necessary to ask for the consent of the three present Members of the Rajya Sabha who are retiring and whose names are being recommended for re-nomination. I have asked Shri A.N. Khosla, and he is agreeable.

I have consulted the Home Minister about these recommendations, and we are both in agreement about them. I trust that they will meet with your approval.

Should you be pleased to accept our recommendations, a notification to that effect might be issued at the proper time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Dr Sampurnanand.

10. To N.R. Munisamy¹

New Delhi
March 31, 1958

Dear Munisamy,²

I have your letter of the 31st March.

I do not personally know of cases where persons holding Government offices were asked to resign to seek election to Parliament. I suppose this is not normally done and only in very rare cases could it have been done. It would be wrong, I think, to rule this out completely because that means that once a Government servant, always one, and a person cannot take to public life afterwards. That is not the practice anywhere that I know of. If a Government servant is supposed to be suited for public life, there is no particular reason why he should not be allowed to stand. Each case would have to be judged on the merits. If he decides to stand and gives up his Government office, then he

1. JN Collection.

2. (1908-1995); advocate, Supreme Court; Member, District Board, North Arcot, 1943; Member, Senate of Madras University, 1943-45; Member, Backward Classes Commission; Congress Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

cannot in fairness ask to be reinstated or to get another post. He can be judged on the merits later on.

As for defeated candidates being provided high posts, I do not know to what you refer. There had been one or two cases, I think, of Governorship. I do not understand why a person who happens to have been defeated in an election is to be ruled out for any post, provided of course he is considered suitable. This should not be done merely to find a job for him. That would be improper. But there can be or should be no objection to his filling a post to which he is suited. There are very few such cases and it is not always easy to find suitable men.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

I. GAUHATI SESSION

1. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
7th January 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

I have rather hurriedly gone through the draft of your Presidential Address. The only comment I would offer is that your reference to Netaji³ in the third paragraph of your Address is perhaps not necessary.⁴ So far as I can remember, the Indian National Army people did not come into Assam. I think they functioned in a part of Manipur. It would, therefore, not be factually correct to say that Netaji established his first camp near Gauhati. Also it is rather doubtful if there was any separate camp at all. It was the Japanese camp.

This matter is not very important and I thought I might draw your attention to it. On the whole, it seems to me that this paragraph is not necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress President.

3. Subhas Chandra Bose.

4. Dhebar did not mention this in his Presidential Address at the sixty-third session of the Congress held at Pragjyotishpur in Gauhati on 18 and 19 January 1958.

2. Resolution on International Affairs¹

The Congress expresses its sense of satisfaction and relief that some of the developments in the world, which threatened to precipitate conflicts, were averted by the intervention of the United Nations and of world opinion. The grave world tensions, however, continue unabated and no progress has yet been made which might lead to their relaxation. Recent developments in science and technology, resulting in even more powerful weapons of mass destruction being made, have increased these fears and tensions, and added to the momentum of the armaments race, which itself, if not checked, may lead to inevitable world catastrophe.

2. The most sinister of all the threats that face the world is that of atomic destruction. The stoppage of the manufacture and use of atomic weapons of mass destruction is essential, if the way to peace is to be ensured. Explosions for test purposes of these weapons are gravely harmful to peace of the world, irrespective of their nationality or their geographical position or their policies. The consequences of these explosions to present and future generations are such that they should cease forthwith, if the human race and civilization is not to be exposed to incalculable and unascertained risks and dangers. These tests are part of the preparation for a nuclear war and therefore of possible annihilation. The Congress calls for immediate suspension of these tests by all concerned. This will also be a beginning of the reversal of the armaments race, and create a favourable atmosphere for further agreements in respect of disarmament itself.

3. Agreement at least on some aspects of disarmament and a halt in the armaments race are the most urgent and imperative tasks of the time. Disarmament, however, can only be achieved by agreement among the Great Powers who are in possession of these weapons and who can affect a change of approach towards world peace. This Congress appeals to the Governments of the world, particularly to those of the atomic powers, to respond to the call of world opinion to pursue negotiations towards agreements on disarmament, which at present appear to be deadlocked.

4. The Congress recognizes and notes with satisfaction that the Declaration of the United Nations adopted on the 14th December 1957, embodies

1. Drafted by Nehru at New Delhi on 10 January 1958. JN Collection.

This resolution was moved by Harekrushna Mahtab and seconded by Sampurnanand at the plenary session of the Congress and was passed with minor changes on 18 January 1958. For the final resolution, see *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 2-5.

and affirms the Five Principles of Coexistence, known as *Panchsheel*, and points to the need of reducing world tensions and of peaceful approaches to international problems. These problems can only be solved in this way and not by military blocs, which have failed to bring any solution nearer and have only aggravated fears and tensions and produced greater insecurity.

5. The Congress expresses the earnest hope that negotiations will take the place of force, violence and racial domination, and that the establishment of national freedom, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, will be achieved all over the world.

6. The Congress regrets that in the Union of South Africa, racial discrimination and exploitation of non-Europeans continues unabated and, in some respects, has even been aggravated. People of Indian origin, who have been the pioneers in the resistance to these measures, have been, in common with the African peoples, suffering under great disabilities and persecution. This Congress declares its solidarity with those who are resisting these evils.

7. The Congress reaffirms the determination of the Indian people to work for peace through friendship with all nations and to remain unaligned with the power blocs. It records its appreciation of the increasing recognition of this approach and policies as helpful factors in world reconciliation, even by those who do not necessarily accept them. While the Congress legitimately takes pride in the firm pursuit by the Government of India of the policies of collective peace and the support of it by our entire people, it recognizes that our approach must be one of understanding and humility, and that example and persuasion alone can be our effective contribution.

8. The Congress regrets the continued exclusion of the true representatives of China from the United Nations and the failure to recognize that her full participation in world affairs is essential for the solution of all major problems of the world and, more particularly, for stability in Asia.

9. The Congress reiterates its support for the colonial peoples of all dependent territories who are struggling for their independence and, more particularly, those in North Africa where much violence and bloodshed is taking place. In the opinion of the Congress, peaceful approaches and methods only can solve these problems.

10. The Congress solemnly reminds the nation that the unity of India, the practice of tolerance amongst ourselves, the building up of our economic strength, and the maintenance of our free institutions, in all of which strength and quality of character is ultimately the decisive element, are imperative for the successful pursuit of our country's declared policies in regard to world affairs.

3. Resolution on the Situation in Goa¹

The Congress expresses its deep sorrow at the continuance of Portuguese colonial rule over Goa with its repression and exploitation and the denial of the most elementary liberties, and its conviction and resolve that no foreign base should be allowed to continue on Indian soil. In particular, it records its indignant protest against continued retention in prison of hundreds of political prisoners, including women, who are kept in barbarous and inhuman conditions.

1. Drafted by Nehru at New Delhi on 10 January 1958. JN Collection.

This resolution, moved by N. Sanjiva Reddy and seconded by Gurmukh Singh Musafir, was passed at the plenary session of the Congress on 18 January 1958. For the final resolution, see *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 5-6.

4. Resolution on Educational Reconstruction¹

The Avadi session of the Congress had laid stress on the urgent need for introducing far-reaching changes in the educational system of the country and had welcomed the policy adopted by the Government of India in the Planning Commission of introducing basic education as the future pattern of primary as well as secondary education in India.² The Second Five Year Plan also provides for the expansion of basic education as the national pattern throughout the country. The progress made in this respect, however, in different States has not been satisfactory. This is partly due to paucity of funds and partly to the dearth of trained teachers.

The Congress attaches great importance to the spread of basic education which is necessary not only to build up good citizens, but also for the speedy execution of various developmental plans, and trusts that priority will be given to this and, more especially to the conversion of the existing elementary schools into the basic type.

1. Drafted by Nehru at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, on 14 January 1958. JN Collection.

The resolution, moved by Shriman Narayan and seconded by Vahju Bhai Shah, was passed at the plenary session of the Congress on 19 January 1958. For the final resolution, see Congress *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 7-8.

2. For Nehru's speech while moving the resolution on basic education at the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress on 23 January 1955, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 291-295.

A distressing aspect of the present system of education in India is that it does not promote any basic loyalties among students, nor does it lay stress on the ethical approach to life's problems. Young boys and girls should be made to realize the dangers of narrow and separatist tendencies, like casteism, communalism, linguistic fanaticism and religious intolerance, and an attempt should be made to develop a sense of basic loyalty to the unity and welfare of the nation, tolerance and high standards of behaviour. The future of India will ultimately depend on the character and national spirit of young men and women and the training they receive in our educational institutions.

Every system of education depends upon the right type of teachers on whom the great responsibility rests of training and shaping the character of the rising generation. It is necessary, therefore, to improve the type of teachers and raise their status, more especially in the elementary schools.

5. Duties of Women Congress Workers¹

Women Congress workers should concentrate on establishing house-to-house contact with women rather than holding women's meetings. Women workers should hold social education classes for women and children in their wards, *mohallas* and villages. They should also take up the problems of health, sanitation and dietetics. Women workers should also make a special attempt to popularize small savings. These are some of the ways in which effective contacts can be established with the women of India. After the advent of freedom, now we have to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country.

Although I am not in intimate touch with the activities of the women's department of the AICC, I am glad to see the progress of work in the direction of the welfare of women and children is commendable. A country is judged by the condition of its women. Women can play a greater role than men in the field of social work and in improving the economic condition in rural areas. The women's department should co-ordinate its work with the community development programme and small localities should be taken up for intensive work, which should include teaching of languages to women and acquainting

1. Speech at a closed door convention of conveners of the women's departments of the Pradesh Congress Committees, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 14 January 1958. From *The Hindu*, 16 January 1958.

The convention was attended by about sixty women workers, including representatives of the women's departments from all but three Pradesh Congress Committees, and was presided over by Indira Gandhi.

them with the conditions prevailing in the country. The workers should undertake their work without any complex and only then they would be able to achieve results.²

2. The convention resolved that every year 14 January should be observed as the "Kasturba Day" when funds would be raised for carrying on activities for the welfare of women. It also decided to start camps for training women organizers of the district and *mandal* Congress committees in every State.

6. Resolution on the Economic Situation¹

In the course of the past year, as the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan gathered momentum, the economy of the country had to face considerable stresses and strains, more particularly in regard to foreign exchange. While these stresses had been partly envisaged in the Plan itself, certain unforeseen developments added greatly to them. These were the heavy expenditure on the import of foodgrains, on defence and the higher prices on the articles imported for the purposes of the Plan. Government adopted a number of corrective measures and the Plan has been, to some extent, rephased to restore a measure of balance in the economy. It must, however, be recognized that every attempt to ensure rapid economic growth involves strains and stresses which are symptomatic of the pains of growth, and the only satisfactory way of overcoming these difficulties is for the nation to put forth the necessary effort for increasing production and for saving, so that financial and economic stability can be maintained without sacrificing the legitimate goals of development. A large measure of economic discipline is inevitable in order to implement the Plan and the Congress hopes that the people of the country will cooperate in this task.

The Congress approves of the general approach of the Budget proposals of last year and, in particular, welcomes the new direction given to the tax structure with a view to giving the fullest incentive to work and earn for the sake of increased production and progressively removing inequalities and the ill effects of a large concentration of wealth among a few persons.

1. Drafted by Nehru at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, on 15 January 1958. File No. G-19/1958-59, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

This resolution with some changes was moved by Nehru at the Subjects Committee meeting on 17 January 1958 and passed unanimously the next day. It was moved at the plenary session by Khandubhai Desai on 19 January and passed unanimously. For the final resolution, see *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 8-13.

The dominant factor in the economic situation is the internal strength of the country's economy. The building up of internal resources is, therefore, of the highest importance. While increased production is essential, a considerable part of this increase should be canalized into savings to provide capital for further development. In an undeveloped economy, where people have been living for a long time past on marginal levels of subsistence, any increase in their earnings does not automatically generate a surplus for development. A great part of this surplus goes into increased consumption which may add to inflationary tendencies. Thus it is important not only to create a surplus, but to divert it towards saving and investment.

The key to internal resources lies in the production of foodgrains and agricultural cash crops. In a country like India agricultural production, more especially of foodgrains, is of basic importance and industrial development cannot take place unless agriculture produces an adequate surplus. During the last three years, many parts of India have suffered from bad harvests or floods. In the past year especially there were heavy floods in some parts of the country and drought in some other parts, resulting in a large-scale import of foodgrains, which has burdened the country's economy very greatly and upset previous calculations.

It is, therefore, of vital importance to increase the production of foodgrains so as to put an end to all imports. Indeed the aim should be a surplus to provide for all possible contingencies. At present, the yield per acre of foodgrains in India is almost the lowest in the world and there is thus great room for adding to this yield. In fact, experts have indicated that with soil conservation and intensive cultivation, this yield can be raised three or four times, that is, 300 to 400 per cent. While such an increase will necessarily take time, it is possible to have a substantial increase within a reasonable period.

The old extensive methods of agriculture should give place to intensive work, more especially in the areas which are irrigated or which have a substantial rainfall. Such areas are estimated to be one hundred million acres.

During the past few years, river valley schemes and minor irrigation works and tubewells have provided water for new and wide areas. Unfortunately, all this available supply of water has not been taken full advantage of, chiefly because of the lack of village irrigation channels. It is estimated that if all the available supplies had been fully used, there would have been no deficit of foodgrains, such as we have recently had.

It is, therefore, necessary:

- (1) To utilize all the available supplies of water by making village irrigation channels.
- (2) The rates charged for water from tubewells should be so fixed as to be

within the reach of the cultivator. Where necessary, such rates should be low to begin with and gradually raised to the normal level.

- (3) Old tanks and wells should be repaired.
- (4) Minor irrigation works should be constructed.
- (5) Every Community Block should have an area reserved for producing better seeds.
- (6) Some land should be reserved for production of green manure. Compost should be used in addition to chemical fertilizers.
- (7) An approach should be made to the individual farmer and his target of production fixed.
- (8) Organized attempts should be made to develop substitute foods and to encourage balanced diets.
- (9) Production of short-term crops should be undertaken systematically and immediately.
- (10) *Usar* and saline lands should be brought under cultivation after the necessary treatment.

State Agriculture Departments should concentrate on this programme and utilize the machinery of the community blocks for this purpose. The basic rural organization should be the village panchayat and the village multipurpose cooperative. It is important that this cooperative should be non-official and should not be too large. The village panchayat and the village cooperative should be the base of political and economic democracy in the country and should form the spearhead of the various activities of the village.

The Congress welcomes the recent decision of the National Development Council, based on the recommendation of the Balvantray Mehta Committee on Community Development, to democratize and decentralize the organization of the Community Blocks.²

In addition to the proposals made above, all wastage of foodstuffs should be avoided and, in particular, the consumption of rice in the wheat eating areas should be strictly limited. Government should take effective steps to prevent hoarding.

The Congress is convinced that it is impossible to increase food production very considerably and within a relatively short period of time unless the urgency of this problem is realized and every effort is made by all concerned, that is, Governments, public organizations and individual cultivators, to take part in this campaign on the lines indicated above.

The target of near thirty per cent increase given in the Second Five Year Plan can be greatly exceeded if this effort is made in an organized way.

2. See *ante*, p. 213.

While the various basic major industrial projects in the Plan have to be proceeded with, as future development depends upon them, attention has also to be given to small-scale and village industries. Such small industries do not require much capital or foreign exchange. The general effect of heavy expenditure on the Plan is resulting in increasing incomes over a large sector and the first impact of this increased income is on the supplies of foodgrains and consumer goods. This demand for consumer goods should be met by the development of small-scale and village industries which, in addition, provide employment to many persons.

The Congress further appeals to all those who work and earn to restrict unnecessary consumption and invest in Government loans, National Savings and similar schemes. While the Congress appreciates and is grateful for such assistance as may be received from foreign countries, it must be realized that the burden of India's development has to be carried by India's people and the larger the volume of National Savings, the greater the progress made in agricultural and industrial development.

7. Resolution on the Question of Language¹

The Congress regrets that, as a result of the publication of the report of the Official Language Commission, which is under the consideration of a committee appointed by Parliament, acrimonious controversies have arisen and even the basis as laid down in the Constitution has sometimes been challenged. It is clear that, in spite of these controversies, there is a very wide measure of general agreement which is sometimes forgotten in the heat of controversy. The Congress has every hope that the Parliamentary Committee will arrive at decisions which are generally and widely accepted.

The general principles in regard to the use of languages have been laid down, not only in the Constitution, but in a number of resolutions passed by the Working Committee on the 17th May 1953 and 5th April 1954, and in the

1. Drafted by Nehru at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, on 15 January 1958. File No. G-19/1958-59, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

This resolution was passed unanimously at the Subjects Committee meeting on 16 January and at the plenary session on 19 January 1958. At the Subjects Committee meeting it was moved by N. Sanjiva Reddy and seconded by Gurmukh Singh Musafir, and at the plenary session it was moved by S. Nijalingappa, the Chief Minister of Mysore, and seconded by C. Subramaniam, Minister in the Madras Government. The final resolution is available in *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 6-7.

AICC resolution of 3rd June 1956. This Congress approves of and confirms these broad principles. In the implementation of both the Constitutional provisions and previous Congress resolutions in regard to languages the approach has to be flexible and practical and should be made by general consensus of opinion.

All the languages of India, as mentioned in the VIIIth Schedule of the Constitution, are national languages which should be equally encouraged. With the development of all these languages, education and administrative and other work will be progressively carried on in them.

It is necessary, however, that there should be a strong link between these languages. Such a link cannot be a foreign language, however important this may be. It can only be an Indian language, as is laid down in the Constitution.

English, as a world language of great importance, and as a language which has long been in use in India for official and other purposes and is known by a considerable section of the people, must necessarily continue to occupy an important place. The study of other foreign languages will also be necessary to facilitate India's contacts with other countries of the world. In particular, the use of English will have to be continued for scientific, technical and like purposes. In regard to technical and scientific terms, it is desirable to develop, as far as possible, similar terms in all the Indian languages and to approximate them to the international terminology in use.

As stated in the Constitution, the official language for all-India purposes will have to be Hindi, but the transition to Hindi for such purposes would necessarily be gradual and flexible, each phase to be judged by the success attained and the practical problems to be faced. The Congress trusts that further decisions in regard to the use of languages in India will be taken by general consensus of opinion, even as the decisions embodied in the Constitution were taken, and should be adaptable to changing conditions.

8. Resolution on Land Reforms¹

For many years, the Congress has given to land reform a central place in the reconstruction of India's economy and various proposals to this end have been made from time to time. The Planning Commission has also accepted most of these proposals. Though substantial steps have been taken towards the achievement of these reforms in land, much still remains to be done.

In an agricultural country like India, the structure of agricultural economy, agrarian relations and laws are a matter of vital concern. In view of the fact that even the industrial development of India as well as the growth of population makes it incumbent for agricultural production to be raised rapidly, the question of land reform is one of urgent importance. The proposals which have been made by the Congress as well as by the Planning Commission should, therefore, be implemented without delay.

The aim of Congress policy has been that the actual tiller of the land should be brought into direct relationship with the State and the intermediary interests should be eliminated. Further, that there should be a maximum limit for the size of the holding under personal cultivation. In the period of transition, the tenant should have full security and should receive a fair deal.

The goal of land reforms should be a cooperative rural economy based on the village community and on voluntary association. The principles of cooperation should be applied to agriculture and village industries alike, and for this purpose multipurpose village cooperatives should be formed. These cooperatives should not only provide credit, but also supplies and market facilities and other needs of the villagers. The size of the cooperative should not be too large and should be such as to enable the members to participate in its work effectively. The cooperative should be essentially non-official and should aim at the development of self-reliance and self-dependence and the spirit of cooperative self-help. Where possible, joint cooperative farming should also be introduced with the consent of the cultivators concerned.

The Congress welcomes the progress made by the *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* movements. *Gramdan* will greatly hasten the advance towards village self-

1. Drafted by Nehru at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, on 15 January 1958. File No. G-19/1958-59, AICC Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

This resolution was passed unanimously at the Subjects Committee meeting on 18 January and at the plenary session on 19 January 1958. At the Subjects Committee meeting it was moved by Jagjivan Ram and seconded by Balvantray Mehta, and at the plenary session it was moved by Y.B. Chavan and seconded by Lal Bahadur Shastri. For the final resolution, see *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 13-14.

government and the development of cooperation in all aspects at the village level. The Congress further welcomes the steps recently proposed for integrating the programme of Community Development with *Gramdan* with a view to the all-round development of the village community and the fostering of the spirit of community cohesion and developing the collective initiative of the people.

9. Flexible and Consensual Approach to the Language Issue¹

Mr President,

I will first say a few words in Hindi and then in English because I wish to say something in particular to those of our comrades who do not understand Hindi or know English better. This question concerns them most closely. I want to make it quite clear to those of you who come from the Hindi-speaking areas that this question does not concern you. You must not try to exert pressure or plead the case. You must not try to coerce anyone. We must arrive at a consensus by mutual agreement. I do not think anybody has done greater harm to the cause of Hindi than those of our comrades who keep waving the Hindi flag about whether there was occasion for it or not and even used threats at times.

According to our Constitution, 14 languages are national languages. Please remember that Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Assamese, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam are all great languages. Have I left out any? You must also remember that we want that not only the national languages but even our dialects must progress. For instance, innumerable dialects are spoken in the hill areas of Assam. We want all of them to flourish. In fact, we want to make them the medium of instruction in those areas. The official work in the different provinces will continue to be done in their own languages. Where does Hindi come in then?

After all, Hindi is by no means superior to Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil or any of the other Indian languages. Often it is two steps behind the others in excellence. But the majority of the people in India speak Hindi. So, it is a question of numbers alone. It is a matter of convenience to accept Hindi as the national language because it is understood by large numbers of people in many provinces and is easy to learn. Please do not think that Hindi is superior to the other languages. The work in the provinces will continue to be done either in

1. Speech at of the Subjects Committee meeting at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

Nehru first spoke in Hindi and then in English.

English or the provincial languages for the time being. There can be no question of coercion in this. Ultimately, you will have to persuade the others and arrive at a decision as to how much of the work being done now in English can be conducted in Hindi. The question of coercion in this matter simply does not arise. Once the Hindi-speaking people make it clear to the others, the sting will be removed from the debate and we can arrive at some decision. That is the best way of going about this.

Now I shall speak in English.

Listening to my friend and colleague Shri Hanumanthaiya, I wondered repeatedly if he had got the subjects we were discussing, if he had read carefully the resolution which he has amended.² It seems to me, almost, that he had formed certain opinion on some other plan, not this particular resolution, but rather what we might have expected a resolution to be perhaps and thinking on those lines he has advanced a number of arguments here which were not very relevant. Some may have been relevant but some are not relevant.³

What is this resolution? First of all, what is the position? In the first paragraph of this resolution it is said, and I should like specially to draw your attention to this, that over this question of languages there is a tremendous degree of agreement. People forget in this argument that the area of agreement is very wide indeed. The area of disagreement or controversy is remarkably narrow. I think that is an important fact which should be remembered.

Shri Hanumanthaiya referred more than once to Pakistan and Urdu and Bengali, not realizing that the problem in Pakistan is not to recognize Bengali. We have fourteen languages recognized in our Constitution. The question here is, right from the beginning, to give the same status to all our 14 national languages. In Pakistan, Bengali was not given that status, and therefore, in East Pakistan there was trouble. And now they have given Bengali that status in East

2. For the resolution on language, see *ante*, pp. 571-572.

3. K. Hanumanthaiya, former Chief Minister of Mysore, pointed out that imposing a language by sheer majority was unjust. Rather it would be desirable to leave the decision to the non-Hindi-speaking people as to whether Hindi should be recognised as the all-India language. In his opinion, Sanskrit could rather serve as the connecting link between the national languages. He insisted that status quo should be maintained and that English should continue to be used and, in the meantime, Hindi might grow and subsequently, the question of using Hindi as the official language might be taken up. In case Hindi was immediately introduced, the people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas would be under a serious handicap on that score.

Pakistan, so that question does not arise.⁴ All our 14 languages in their respective areas have been given the same status. All of them are national languages in any part of India, not only in their respective areas. It is the right of a person to use that language provided there are enough people who can use it. For education, if there are enough Tamils in Delhi city, they have a right to demand a school for the teaching of Tamil in primary schools, or any other language in any other city. They are all national languages and they have every right to write to me in Tamil or Malayalam or Telugu or Assamese or any other language. We have to accept it. It may be that because I have not got adequately big enough office, it will take slightly longer time for me to reply to it.

Therefore, the basic fact is that all these languages are national languages. So far as their own State is concerned they are obviously not only the dominant language but in a sense something more than dominant. That is to say, it is the language of the State and inevitably the use of that language will grow, that is, it will grow at the expense of English. There is no question of Tamil growing at the expense of Hindi in Madras State; Tamil will grow in Madras State at the expense of English, naturally. And so also it is here.

Here people talk a great deal about the English language. But, first of all, I suppose many of you will realize that considering my own background, education, etc., I am no opponent of English. I want English to continue. I want many other things to continue too. From that point of view, it is not necessary for Mr Hanumanthaiya to tell us that many of us, and our forefathers, were brought up in the English language and we learnt our patriotism from them. I agree and I admit it. But the main point I want you to realize is that the work of a Pradesh will necessarily be carried on in its own language, whatever form it may take, and anyhow it is for that State to decide to what extent it will do it and how gradually it will change over from English, mind you, not to Hindi or any other language. The real changeover we talk about will be from English to the State language because the basic change is in the medium of instruction and the medium of instruction becomes inevitably the language of the state, the mother tongue. It cannot be English and nobody has suggested it. I and many of you learnt English as the medium of instruction, although it was not our mother tongue. Now that thing is going out of India, inevitably everywhere, whatever other position you may give to English that is the basic change that is coming, that has come and that will come. Therefore, so far as the State is concerned, there is no argument at all about the state language, subject to only one thing that they should recognize, in a sense, all the languages

4. Bengali was recognized as the second official language of Pakistan in its Constitution of 1956.

of India mentioned in the Constitution for the purpose that I have mentioned. If there are enough people, enough children, and if resources permit, they should arrange to give them education in their mother tongue. But this is a relatively minor matter, applying to big cities.

So the only question that arises is about what might be called the link language between different States for official all-India purposes. Mind you, 'official', because non-officially one can use any language. Even in official all-India purposes every State language is an official language which can be used for all-India purposes. That is not ruled out. It will take some time. That is a different matter. But it is the right of anyone to use any of these official languages.

A very simple issue is about English, that is, English as a medium of instruction and for many other purposes for which it has been used, like for industry, it will gradually cease to be; it is inevitable. But that process would be gradual. So that you are limiting English inevitably to those who want it for certain all-India purposes. The question becomes thus a very limited one.

Mr Hanumanthaiya's argument was, why talk about this Parliamentary Committee. Well, this resolution deals with, as you will see, certain principles and the broad approach. There are ever so many minor points, important but minor, which have not been dealt with in this. You cannot in a Congress resolution draw up a detailed list of occasions when it should be used and in which law courts. Many such questions do arise. You can only give a broad indication. It is right that this Congress should lay down the broad policy to be pursued but the details can seldom be worked out. As a matter of fact, even if some of the details had been worked out by the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee, if they are referred to here, in regard to education, services, etc., they have been worked out with the sole intention, or the primary intention, of seeing to it that no person in a non-Hindi area is put in a disadvantageous position over the all-India language issue, whether it is in services or in administrative offices, etc. That was made clear several years ago before there was any big controversy. So that even in some matters of detail we have made our position clear as a policy, and that policy is laid down here.

It would be wrong for us to go off a resolution and discuss all the complicated aspects of a vast administrative system: what should be done, judicial, administrative, etc.? That has to be left, I think quite rightly, to the Parliamentary Committee which is considering this matter and it is not proper for us to bypass that, or even in regard to these matters to send them directives by this or that way. It is neither courteous nor proper. After all, Parliament is Parliament. You can say this is our broad policy but if a Congress Committee, even the annual session of the Congress, started giving directives in every

matter, then it should be an extraordinarily embarrassing position for any kind of government here to deal with various groups, various parties, various peoples. Therefore, it is right that in this resolution, apart from laying down this broad policy, which it does, you should not go into details. It is completely right for you to say, something which Mr Hanumanthaiya wants to take away from it, to express a hope that the Parliamentary Committee will arrive at decisions which are generally and widely accepted. What is wrong with it? Now, here we aim at three or four things in this resolution. One is this idea that decisions should be widely and generally accepted. That is to say, they should not be majority decisions imposed on a minority. That is to say, that such decisions should be arrived at by the general consent. That is one point. Secondly, you will see that it has been stated repeatedly in this resolution that whatever decisions are taken, they should be flexible; any changeover, whether it is administrative or educational, should be gradual and flexible, because we are dealing with a very delicate and living thing.

Now, if I may say so with all humility, I am a lover of language. I am a lover of words, the power of words, the music of words, the context of words, the history of words. You cannot deal with a language, as some people seem to imagine, as if it is an artificial thing which you can impose and throw about. A language grows in generations, in hundreds of years, and if one has a sense of language, one likes the shape of it, the smell of it, if I may say so, everything about it. How can you create these things suddenly by some Acts of Parliament or resolutions of the Congress? The language has to be dealt with delicately. It is a very delicate plant and we have to deal with it in that way. Therefore, repeatedly in this resolution it is said that the changeover should be flexible, should be gradual, should be adaptable to changing conditions. You see how cautious this resolution is even about the changes.

Practically it says that every step will have to be seen in a way so that it is taken with goodwill and common consent. Mr Hanumanthaiya said it should be put down here that, where it is said by "general consensus", the general consensus of the non-Hindi-knowing people. Now, what does that mean? A general consensus is consensus of people agreeing. It is rather absurd to say that general consensus should be there, and others, who are left out, should not even be allowed to agree. Then there is no consensus. It is a remarkable proposition really, I do not understand it. Specially when the proposition is not merely of English and Hindi, there are so many other things which should be considered in the context of general consensus. So that the problem is limited to the problem of finding a link, some common link, between the various national languages of India. Should that link be one of those languages or should it be English or any other?

Now, I would submit that obviously it can be no other foreign language other than English. We do not know. I wish we did. Other foreign languages are becoming very very important. Can it be English? As I said that I am very partial to English, I am prepared to say I want the study of English not only to continue in India but to become more widespread in India. But I cannot conceive my saying that English is a national language of India. It is beyond my conception. People know English and I want them to know it. I want people to learn it. I should like it to be a compulsory subject in our schools because I think that our progress depends on knowing foreign languages. That is one thing. But for me to say that English is my national language is against truth. It is a falsehood. I cannot understand how that argument can be put forward. Let us, for practical reasons, use English as long as we like. It is a matter for consideration how long we do it. Or let us for practical reasons use both Hindi and English for a period.

Suppose I write a letter in Hindi, I am prepared to attach a copy in English. What do I do today? As Foreign Minister I have to send all kinds of official documents to foreign countries. I found it very very embarrassing to send them in English to non-English-speaking countries—remember the world is bigger than the English-speaking countries, and it is very embarrassing—and I gave it up. I send them in Hindi always, with an English translation attached for their convenience, but the original in Hindi. Just as I get a document from Russia it is always in Russian, not in English. If I get it from China, it is in Chinese, maybe with a translation attached or we have pamphlets also. If I get it from Baghdad, it is in Arabic. It is quite extraordinary for me in India to announce to the world that English is our national language. My head reels at the thought of that. I cannot understand this.

English cannot be called or designated as an all-India official language. We can use it as long as it is convenient for us to use it. There is another reason. I do submit that undoubtedly we have progressed and many people have learnt English for the last three to six generations and we have profited too in many ways, and, undoubtedly, I admit completely that English has been a link between different parts of India in the past. Here in this Congress or in any other place we discuss or talk to each other in English often enough. I do not deny that. The utility of English to us is there. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the coming of English, much good as it has done us, has separated the English-knowing class in India from the non-English-knowing classes. There is no doubt about it. A new caste—the English-knowing caste—was created in India. And however much you may try to spread the knowledge of English, as I want to do in India, because I want to be more and more in touch with the outside world, we could never get that intimate feeling with English, which we have

with our own language. After all, Hindi and Tamil may be different, as they are, but Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Punjabi have the same cultural and linguistic background, the same stories, the same metaphors, the same similis and many other things which are common. If you go to English you go to a different and old culture, you go to Greek and Latin background. I had to learn that at school. It is good to go to a foreign world but I cannot imagine that millions of people in India will go to it. It is difficult.

Having said that, I want English entirely for reasons of my own and not perhaps for Mr Hanumanthaiya's reasons. I want the study of English to continue and I do believe very probably that there will be far more people knowing English in the future than in the past. But I think their knowledge of English will not be quite as good as Mr Hanumanthaiya's. That is to say, the standard of English knowledge, the quality of it, may be less, but the quantity will be greater in future in spite of it, because it has become inevitable today, just as in other countries foreign languages are taught. We get frightened by the question of language. In most countries there are at least three compulsory languages taught to every schoolboy and sometimes four. Quite a number of countries have four compulsory languages in addition to a classical language. Quite a stormy act! Here we get frightened by learning one foreign language. Therefore, I submit to you that the resolution that has been placed before you has kept, really speaking, every consideration that Mr Hanumanthaiya has advanced. If he had really considered a little more carefully he would have probably seen it.

To repeat, the first point in the question of languages is that the real and basic change, the change from English to our national language—Hindi, Tamil or Telugu—that is the real change. Well, that is the local challenge, and there it is. And as soon as the medium of instruction becomes different that deep root of English which came through the medium goes. That is why I said that probably in the future quality of English in India will not be as good as it should be, although in quantity it will be greater than now in the limited sphere and therefore, English is replaced for educational and administrative purposes in the provinces.

Then we come to the limited all-India sphere. I submit that it is not fitting or proper or conceivable for me to call English or any other foreign language, the national language of India. I do not mind accepting that English can be considered the language, let us say, of Anglo-India in India. That is a fact. There is no objection to it. But to call it an all-India national language is, I think, not at all a proper or reasonable proposition to make.

You have to have a link language, and by stess of circumstances we cannot suggest any other but Hindi, not because it is better, but honestly I think that

several of our Indian languages are more developed than Hindi—Tamil for instance, Bengali for instance, Marathi for instance, Gujarati for instance—I am a Hindi-knowing man and I am glad to say that and there may be many others also, but for sheer convenience and facility, Hindi is the only language that is suitable.

Let me tell you another thing. If you go to Central Asia, and if you know the local language, well and good; but if you do not know the local language, the only other language that might help you a little is Urdu, which is a different form of Hindi. People do not realize how the people of Central Asia, camel-drivers and others have taken this Urdu or Hindustani there and that helps them a little, and no other language except the local language will help you there. About Urdu, I should like to say quite clearly that I deeply regret the attempt of Hindi enthusiasts to push out Urdu. I am glad, whatever the reason is, even in a place like Andhra Pradesh, they have adopted it as its official regional language. I congratulate them. Urdu is as much an Indian language. Some think it is part of Pakistan. It has nothing to do with Pakistan. It took its birth in the particular area I come from, in Uttar Pradesh, and in Delhi. I think it is a very rich inheritance which we have got, which should be nurtured and encouraged.

The very narrow thing which we are ultimately discussing is this whether in that limited sphere of our all-India official correspondence and all-India administrative work, what should be done? I have no doubt that it is not practically possible to make any violent or big change in that suddenly. Therefore, the question of date is another matter and I foresee an overlapping period when Hindi may be used and English will also be used, and, in any event, the use of English or any of the Indian languages cannot be tabooed. Whatever period is fixed, you cannot say, after that date a language shall not be used. It is absurd. The whole thing is a flexible approach and not a rigid approach and an approach which will have to be examined from time to time to see how far we can go and what next step we can take. So I submit to this House, and I would particularly beg Mr Hanumanthaiya, to consider what I have said.

He has moved a number of amendments. His first amendment was about the Congress regrets, etc., about the acrimonious controversy. I really do not see why we should not say that.⁵ It is not meant as criticism of anybody but the fact is, let us recognize the fact, on the one side we have some of our Hindi enthusiasts who indulge in gestures which I think are most unfortunate. We indulge in a language which I think is unfortunate, I am not talking of today but

5. K. Hanumanthaiya moved ten amendments to the resolution on language. He wanted to omit the word "acrimonious" from the first paragraph of the draft resolution, see *ante*, p. 571.

of some time past. There are others frightened by these Hindi gestures who also begin to talk in unhappy language. No particular group is referred to here. We are only referring to a way of approach which becomes bitter and acrimonious when this question should be dealt with from a different point of view.

Then the second is about the Parliamentary query. Why should it not be referred to? I think it is very important. After all, it is a Parliamentary Committee dealing with this matter and we cannot forget it.

Then the third amendment is about the general consensus in non-Hindi-speaking areas. That I think has already been dealt with in paragraph 4. Paragraph 4, which is necessary, states that there should be a firm link between all these languages; such a link cannot be a foreign language, however important it may be. It can only be an Indian language as is laid down in the Constitution.

Then in paragraph 5 he says: Add to "scientific and technical" "administrative, parliamentary and education." Now of course "technical, scientific" covers education naturally. I do not think you can add all these things. Of course, because the whole point of "technical and scientific" goes there, you may use the English language during the intervening period or later or alternately. That is a different matter. The whole point of this paragraph is that in science and technology, whatever other changes you may bring about, you cannot strike a new path. Otherwise you isolate yourself from the world of science and technology. That is the point here.

First of all, the Indian languages should develop more on similar terms. And, secondly, those similar terms should be in consonance with international technical terms. That is the whole argument here. It is patent we are going in for industrialization, we are going in for development of science. We shall ruin all these things if we cut ourselves off from the world of science and world of technology.

K. Hanumanthaiya: Will English be allowed to be used after the change-over? That is the real issue.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Speaking for myself, it is bound to be used for a considerable time. After that, there will be a period when it will be in alternative use, and after that too, as far as I am concerned, it will be allowed to be used. Why do we use a language? Normally speaking, to be understood and not to show off, maybe in some cases but to be understood, and the tendency will always be for the people to use a language whereby they can convey their thoughts and are understood.

So, read this resolution carefully and you will see that it has been drafted

keeping almost everything, every criticism that has been made, in view, except for one major fact that we considered it quite wrong to think of deliberately making the English language a national language which is not in fact true, and also because we thought that stress should be laid on the development of our own languages in a gradual and flexible way, and every change should be brought about from time to time, as far as possible, by common consensus of opinion. I hope, therefore, this will be accepted, not accepted merely for form's sake, but accepted as really being, if I may say so, in all respects, a very reasonable approach to this difficult problem.

10. Road Map for Economic Progress¹

Mr President,

I am presenting this resolution on the economic situation.² I do not wish to read it out because both the English and the Hindi versions are with you and those who do not have it can borrow from other delegates. Apart from that, it has been published in all the newspapers which all of you must have seen. So I do not wish to take up your valuable time by reading out this long resolution. I do not know whether there are any suggestions for amendments. I am sure there will be many. When I read it myself, many new things come to my mind. I also wonder why it has not been worded in a different way. This is a very vast issue and involves, in a sense, many different facets of life in India.

What is meant by economic situation? I agree that it means the situation in the entire country, in all the States of India. But ultimately you and I and all of us are involved in the question of economic progress. The Five Year Plan has various parts and practically every aspect of the country's development is included in it because when a country is trying to progress, it has to do so on all fronts. It cannot go ahead in one direction and lag behind in other directions.

Let me give you an example. Just now we were discussing about education and it was mentioned that, apart from the lack of resources, the main difficulty we are facing in the field of basic education is the shortage of trained teachers. It is all very well to say that basic education should be provided to everyone within a year or two. But the thing that takes the longest time is to train human beings. Teachers have to be trained well. There is no way in which you can feed knowledge to a person in the form of a pill or capsule. No matter how

1. Speech at the Subjects Committee meeting at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 17 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. See *ante*, pp. 568-571.

hard you try, it takes years to train engineers. It is not merely a question of learning by rote and passing an exam. It takes time to learn something complicated. We are putting up huge industries all over the country, which also takes time. Each one of them will take five, six, eight years to start functioning. Our river valley schemes, which were taken up seven, eight years ago, are likely to take another two or three years to be completed. Everything takes time. But nothing takes longer than to train human beings to run all these industries. It takes at least 15 to 20 years. It is not just a question of merely passing exams. They also have to gain experience through practice, as these are all extremely complex tasks. Even a trivial mistake on the part of an engineer can result in an enormous loss and crores of rupees can go down the drain. Therefore, there can be no slackness in such matters. We must select the best people.

Some people ask me why we must get engineers from abroad. It is perfectly right that we should have Indians and there are excellent engineers in India, but still it is necessary to get good engineers from outside. I shall do so, even if I do not like it, because I want only the best people for such vital schemes and not second-rate people because these are not short-term matters. They are meant to serve generations to come. We are building a huge dam at Bhakra in Punjab on which we have already spent nearly two hundred crores. It hurts me not to take full care of a scheme which is one of the largest in the world. A poor country like ours cannot afford to let crores of rupees go down the drain. It is not economical not to get the best engineers if a small mistake is likely to lead to the entire dam collapsing some day, causing tremendous ruin. There is no question of Indian or foreign engineers in such matters. We have to get only the best men even if it means spending more money and searching all over the world because it means real saving. This is a universal fact. It is a different matter that now we have excellent engineers in India and I think we will not need to get them from outside. They have not merely passed exams but acquired skills and experience by taking up big tasks and completing them successfully. We can rely on them, though I have no hesitation in bringing in people from outside if necessary or if it means achieving a higher standard of work. We cannot afford to take risks of any sort.

Well, people often ask, as Azad Saheb³ did just now, why arrangements

3. Bhagwat Jha Azad (b. 1922); Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and 1962-88; Member, AICC, 1952; Secretary to Congress President, Indira Gandhi, 1959; Union Minister of State for Education, 1967-69, for Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation, 1969-71, for Supply and Rehabilitation, 1980-82, for Labour, 1982, for Civil Aviation and Civil Supplies, 1982-83 and for Food and Civil Supplies, 1983-84; Chief Minister of Bihar, 1988-89.

were not made ten years earlier to train engineers. Many of the things that Bhagwat Jha Azad Saheb has said are very pertinent but he has said a number of things which are not borne out by facts. He has been in Parliament for long and should know what we have done in this matter. We have done much and I was amazed to hear his comments. He seems to be completely ignorant of what is being done in India and the world and about the work that Parliament has done. Is this some kind of joke that such things should be said? One of our biggest achievements has been to train engineers as quickly as possible. We require money for it. You cannot pull engineers out of a hat. We are opening schools and colleges and institutes, training *gramsevak*s to work in the community blocks and doing so many other things. All this has involved a great deal of expenditure. We are deriving a great deal of benefit too. Moreover, let me tell you that there is no dearth of engineers in the country. Please do not have any misconception about that. But we are expanding our activities very fast and, as I said elsewhere, it has been estimated that we will need five lakh engineers for the Third Plan. So now we have to make arrangements to train more engineers. At present, it has been calculated that altogether 75 thousand engineers and overseers are working in the country.

What can I say about this resolution on the economic situation in India? It is such a complicated resolution that each aspect of it will take days to expound. Broadly speaking, the resolution has tried to draw attention to a few important things. The resolution starts with the various ideas relating to development outlined in the Second Plan. Three or four years of the five years have already gone by. We need money for these tasks of development. So the question is how to progress in a manner that will increase the country's income so that we can do all the things that we wish to do. It is not possible at the moment because we do not have enough money. We may allocate a certain amount of our resources for education and other things. But so long as the resources are limited there is no scope for increasing the activities, especially when the tasks in hand require enormous sums of money. So the entire question revolves round the need to increase production in the country in order to augment our resources.

What does that imply? It means that a part of the national income, the income not only of the government but of the people as well, should be saved. It is the surplus which is utilized for development. This is a crucial matter. For instance, if we spend all we have for some temporary relief to the people but do nothing to augment the income, we shall continue to remain where we are. We are drawing up five-year plans so that, apart from our overall development, the national income may go up and we may be able to undertake the big tasks that we want to and extricate ourselves from the mire of poverty. People ask

why this or that has not been done. You should remember that we too want to do so many things. But the fact is that if we fritter away our resources in other ways, the task of improving the economic condition of the country will be relegated to the background.

We have a chasm before us; poverty is that chasm. We have to leap across that chasm to prosperity, to a stage when the economy will grow of its own momentum. The countries of Europe and America crossed it long time ago. But they did it after nearly 150 to 200 years of constant effort. Now we cannot wait for that long; it is unacceptable. We will have to do it quickly, though even then it will take years. There are bound to be hardships and you must remember that even England and the Soviet Union and other developed countries had to bear tremendous hardships. In the forty years since the Russian Revolution, they have borne great hardships and it is only by stringent measures and by tightening their belts that they have reached where they are today. There is no doubt about it that they are extremely prosperous and the Soviet Union is a very great power today and is growing day by day. But they have paid a tremendous price for this progress in hard work and sacrifice and suffering after the Revolution. So all these things take time and effort. Moreover, the Soviet Union, you must remember, was better off than us even before the Revolution. I mean the condition of the common people was better in the Soviet Union than it is in India today and so we are starting from a lower rung. There is no other way of solving these problems except by hard work and a proper understanding of the problems. Please remember that behind any "ism" that you may choose, whether it is communism, socialism, capitalism, or Gandhism, there has to be hard work and effort.

I am saying this because our young men seem to think that the problem can be solved merely by shouting slogans about socialism. They wonder why the Congress leaders are hesitant to bring about socialism. One gentleman has proposed an amendment, which is even longer than the resolution itself, suggesting that banks and industries should be nationalized and that land should be state-owned so that socialism is established.⁴ This is all ignorant talk. I agree that you are justified in saying that the speed with which we are moving towards socialism is not fast enough. This is worth considering. We can have debates about it and try to move faster. But to pass a resolution nationalizing everything in sight and calling it socialism is not right. First of all, I would like to tell you that I consider myself a socialist and believe in the basic tenets of socialism. But, at the same time, I feel that the method of achieving it changes

4. N.V. Gadgil, AICC member from Maharashtra, had argued that nationalization had a great moral force, and that equitable distribution was guaranteed thereby.

according to the changing times.

Forty years ago, a revolution took place in the Soviet Union due to a combination of events and circumstances and it was successful. So our communist friends in India think that we should toe their line and run to them for advice in case of a doubt. Now this seems very strange to me. First of all, though there is no doubt about it that the father of communism, Karl Marx, was a great scholar and wrote a great book, it is equally true that he was writing about the circumstances of a hundred years ago. Secondly, the Russian Revolution took place after Russia's defeat in the First World War, when everything had become topsy-turvy, the government had collapsed and the troops were in disarray. So there was a revolution. What I mean is that you cannot reproduce all those circumstances in some other place. What I mean to say is that we cannot copy others, we can only learn from others. If not so, then are we to go to war and be defeated in order to bring about a revolution? This is the general trend of thinking among the communists who want the economic condition to deteriorate further and then they want to try to bring about communism. There are some among them whose thinking is stranger still. They have read about the violence which accompanied the French Revolution two hundred years ago, and, to some extent, the Russian Revolution, and they feel that violence is necessary to bring about changes in India. All our communist brethren and their colleagues in Assam who have broken away from them have great belief in the efficacy of arms and violence. They call themselves a revolutionary party and seem to think that the greater the violence, the more revolutionary they will be.

The same is the case with our traditional pundits who are completely ignorant of the fact that the world has changed a lot and keep repeating the old lessons by memory. But they are at least pundits. The communists are not even that. The fact is that you and I are living in extraordinary times when the world is changing very rapidly and new forces are emerging. You often read about atom bombs and other terrible, lethal weapons. But, at the same time, the new forces are also changing the entire economic situation of the world. How did Europe become so rich? It is because of the great Industrial Revolution which took place there. When the British came to India nearly 250 years ago, India was richer than England. We used to produce more and export things. But then some countries of Europe harnessed the powers of nature, developed the steam engine and ran trains and industries and gradually grew in strength. This was a real revolution. Then electricity was invented. Today the machine is worshipped most in the two countries which consider themselves arch enemies of each other, the United States and the Soviet Union. So, as you see, though they are enemies, in a sense they are quite similar in one respect.

Well, the Industrial Revolution changed the face of Europe and made it extremely wealthy. The appearance of atomic energy is yet another revolution, and the question is whether it will transform the world still further or destroy it. So we have to think about all these problems from this new angle and find out how best to utilize this new source of energy. The old way of thinking will take us nowhere in this new world. To think of a violent revolution like the French Revolution is meaningless. In those days, the revolutionaries and the governments had the same, outdated weapons. Today governments have atom bombs which no crowd can counter with a lathi. What I mean is that the picture of the world has changed. The problem is that people's thinking does not change, it remains static.

Well, all this is not written in the resolution. As I told you, it is up to us to understand these things. I do not say that we have not been wrong in our judgement. But I will certainly say one thing. We have kept a certain picture before us and tried to stick to it as far as possible. We have tried to rectify our mistakes. I will not say more than this. We stuck to it in the First Five Year Plan and were successful. We drew up a more ambitious Second Plan as we had more experience and confidence in ourselves. We were confident of attaining our goal somehow or the other.

It is our misfortune that, instead of the path becoming smoother, the difficulties increased. You must have heard of the foreign exchange crisis. We are finding it difficult to make payments for the goods that we have imported. You may say that it was a wrong judgement on the part of the Government. I agree that we were carried away by our enthusiasm and eagerness to go ahead and made some mistakes. But there were certain problems which we could not have anticipated at that time. First, we went wrong in our calculations. You must remember that when a country is trying to forge ahead, there is a tremendous strain on its economy. The people have to take on great burdens. Calculations also go wrong. All this is inevitable but without it there can be no progress. Then, on top of this, other problems descended on us. In the last two, three years, we have had droughts as well as floods which damaged the crops, especially this year. So we had to import foodgrains and pay for them in precious foreign exchange.

Secondly, our military budget has gone up, rightly or wrongly, for we did not wish to endanger the nation's security in any way. So we have spent a great deal of money on aeroplanes and other military hardware. Thirdly, the Suez Canal crisis, which was something we could not have anticipated at all, occurred. As a result of this the prices of everything went soaring in the world. In short, we have made mistakes. But there have been various factors completely beyond our control and so our calculations have gone completely

awry. We have had to pay much more for foodgrains, machines and other military equipment that we have imported. This has led to great difficulties.

Well, please do not think that I am trying to evade our responsibility. We did go a little too far in our enthusiasm. But please remember that we did not squander the money; we bought goods and machines and foodgrains with it. So this is the position.

But what is the solution? It has been suggested that we should prune the Five Year Plan a little. Others say that it should be spread over seven years. Well, we shall do it if it is absolutely necessary. But we cannot leave everything midway, especially when we are in the process of putting up huge steel plants. It is impossible. Even so, we have had to drop some of the projects under the Plan and postpone some of them for a year or two. As you know, we have shelved many things. But you should remember that this process cannot go on. This does not happen in any country. We are moving ahead, so our burdens are bound to be heavy and we can shoulder them only by being prepared to face them and by refraining from all extravagant, useless expenditure. As the resolution states, we need discipline and cooperation of the people.

The second half of the resolution approves of the projects in the Central Budget of last year and its proposals in regard to taxation, etc. We have changed our policy slightly and the resolution endorses it. We hope that the national income will go up and, secondly, the burden will now be more on that section of society which is able to bear it, particularly the rich who are living off the labour of others. We want to reduce the burden on those who are assisting in increasing the production in the country. The main thing is that there should be greater production and more wealth in the country.

Now, as for our internal strength, what are our internal resources? The fact of the matter is that everything depends on our economic strength within the country and we cannot increase it by merely passing resolutions. We have to increase it by our action.

You will find that the third paragraph mentions that our progress depends on our internal strength and the amount of money that we are able to save for development. Today our internal economic strength is inextricably linked to the production of foodgrains in the country. If the production is low and we have to import foodgrains from outside, we may be able to carry on for a year or two, but ultimately it will mean complete ruination. India being mainly an agricultural country, we can hope to set up industries and other things only from the surplus agricultural production. Instead of being able to save money if we are forced to import foodgrains, where will the money come from to import machines? So it is quite obvious that India's progress is tied to our production from land especially foodgrains. India cannot progress in any other

way. Therefore, the resolution lays strong emphasis on increasing food production. Please remember that the average yield per acre in India is very little compared to the other countries, which is very sad. But, at the same time, you will see that there is plenty of scope for increasing it. Wherever we have tried, the production has been doubled or even trebled. So it can definitely be done. Some experts feel that the production can be increased up to four times of what it is now. Just imagine, it will double or treble the national wealth and all our problems will be solved. Anyhow, it may take time. But there is no reason for us not to make an effort to increase it at least by fifty per cent in the next three, four years.

The resolution sets down various steps that we must take which are not new. First of all, it is unfortunate that, for one reason or another, the canals and tubewells, etc., that have been built have not been utilized to the full. Smaller channels have not been dug to enable the water to reach the villages and the canal waters are wasted. You will be amazed to know that if the amount of water which is available from canals and tubewells in India today is fully utilized, it is estimated that the food shortage which we are facing can be more or less wiped out. This would mean an enormous saving of hundreds of crores of rupees. So, first of all, we must take full advantage of the existing facilities which means that smaller channels must be dug and whatever has to be done must be done fast. Secondly, the tubewells must be properly utilized and the existing tanks and wells must be repaired and used. A large number of them are there in the South. Minor irrigation works also must be undertaken in large tracts. Then, soil erosion must be prevented by building bunds and planting trees so that the productivity of the soil is not reduced. It is also necessary to produce good seeds and fertilizers, green manure, etc. And every single farmer must be contacted to find out how much he can produce.

Another thing which I want all of you to realize is that for our food, we should not depend on cereals alone, rather we should consume other types of food also for good health as also for reducing the consumption of wheat and rice. Rice is consumed in vast quantities in Assam, Bengal and other places. Rice is a good thing and should be eaten. But it is not enough in itself. You need other kinds of food to supplement your diet. Moreover, it is desirable that you should consume less rice when there is its shortage in the country. Thus you as well as the country will be benefited.

Now all these things cannot be done by merely passing resolutions. The community blocks that have been set up must take up these matters. We want that there should be a panchayat and a cooperative in every village. There is a debate going on whether village cooperatives should be small, that is, whether there should be one cooperative for one or two villages, or each cooperative

should cover thirty or forty villages. This resolution lays emphasis on small cooperatives because they are not official institutions subsidized by the government. The basis of a cooperative is self-reliance and cooperation, though help can certainly be given from outside. In the olden days, during the British rule, farmers were mortally afraid of government officials. We feel that the bureaucratic method is absolutely wrong. Farmers must run the cooperatives themselves. It is a different matter that officials should guide and advise them. But the farmers will learn only by doing things themselves, and even if they make mistakes it should not matter. We do not approve of undue official interference or giving government subsidies. Secondly, in large cooperatives farmers would not know each other, which is not a good thing. We want that a cooperative should be like one large family. Then there will be mutual confidence and trust. This is very essential.

Now, one thing which concerns all of you is that there should be no wastage of food, especially of rice. Consumption should be carefully regulated. Now, these are little things which all of you are aware of. The Government can take some steps. But if the people cooperate, this enormous problem of food shortage will become lighter. So I request all of you in the country, the farmers as well as the city dwellers, to help in all possible ways in these matters.

The last point dealt with in the resolution is regarding savings which can be utilized for national development. How can you save? One easy method is to invest money in the National Savings Certificates or postal certificates. After all, this is the money which we utilize for our big projects. Such savings will benefit you as well as the nation. This is very important. We have accepted whatever foreign aid has been offered. But the fact is that it will always be insufficient and the real burden will have to be borne by us only. No country has ever progressed by relying on others. We must learn to stand on our own feet.

So, we must take up these matters seriously and if we are able to tackle these extremely complex matters successfully in a year or two, we will overcome a great hurdle. Then further progress will become easy. There will, of course, be difficulties. But you may find that the rate of progress will become faster once the steel plants go into production and other such projects start functioning. But at the moment the main task is to solve the problem of food shortage and to reach a stage when it will not be necessary to import food. Therefore I wanted to draw your attention to some of the points mentioned in the resolution.

At the end I shall repeat what I said in the beginning that this resolution might have mentioned many other things. But there is no point in putting down everything that comes to mind in a resolution. We have taken up the task of

completing the Second Five Year Plan successfully, no matter what difficulties crop up. In this connection, the matter of increasing food production, etc., comes up. We completed the First Plan successfully and our self-confidence and strength increased, which is a big thing. As you know, self-reliance and self-confidence are big assets of a nation. There is no doubt about it that the successful completion of the First Plan has increased our self-confidence and strength. Now that we are facing some difficulties in the Second Plan, many people in the country are beginning to lose their nerves. They are making a big noise and saying that the nation has been ensnared in a terrible situation. Such people can never do anything big. You need stout hearts and courage to accomplish great things. Only the mind should remain cool and calm. The problem here is that people's minds become heated and the rest of their body becomes cold.

So you must try to understand all this. It is foolish to hide the realities from you. We must look at the problems realistically and understand them. At the same time, you should realize that the strength and economic resources of our country are by no means negligible. We are pretty strong. The difficulties that we are facing are temporary. I hope we shall be able to overcome them in a year or in a year and a half. Then we shall take other steps. So to create an atmosphere of defeatism or anxiety is bad. There is no question of anyone losing.

We have deliberately made a mighty resolve and embarked upon a great venture after careful thought. It is our misfortune that the burden has increased due to the failure of crops and the Suez crisis and other reasons. But it will be a sign of weakness if we give up in panic or get perturbed. At the same time, we must not become conceited about ourselves and our position in the national or international affairs. We must be modest in our relations with other countries. But there is no doubt about it that India is a great country and we shall never do anything that may dishonour her. We must remember all this when we face difficulties within the country or abroad. The resolution mentions many things to be done. Every single individual in the country will have to share the burden and, as far as possible, all of us must make an effort. If everybody pulls his weight, our problems will be solved in no time at all. We will go very far. But the most important thing is not to allow anyone in the country to vitiate the atmosphere in the country. I agree that things are not going so well as they should. There is no question of hiding anything. But I also believe that we have the strength to overcome these difficulties.

I want all of you to think about these matters. Any amendment that you may propose will be considered. As I said, any number of amendments can be moved. But the broad fact is that we must complete the Five Year Plan. If we

try to start other projects during this period, neither the Plan nor the other projects will be completed. We are facing difficulties in completing the Plan which we have to face. The basic problem is that of increasing the food production. We once again come to the problem, how it can be done. Wherever an effort has been made, we have achieved results. One of the channels through which this effort can be made is the community blocks which have spread over almost half of India's villages.

So I hope that the work will go on. By next year, you will find that the progress is rapid. I am not prepared for a moment to accept that we will have to continue importing foodgrains for years to come. I am not prepared to believe that, not just because I do not wish to do so, but because I believe that if we work hard, we can produce much more than what we are producing today and the people as well as the country will be benefited by it. We shall also get rid of the problem of importing foodgrains. It is not good to depend on other countries for essential things.

After you leave, I would like you to read the resolution carefully and think how you can help in resolving the problems faced by us. You should also encourage others to do so and create an atmosphere conducive to progress, so that we may be able to overcome the difficulties and hold our heads high.

11. Responsibilities of Women¹

The country is facing today many problems. Women should understand them and try to solve them by their suggestions and work.

Women are the mothers of the future citizens of India and unless they realize what the country needs they will not be able to perform the great task of developing their children into perfect, well-educated and healthy citizens. A child can only be developed properly, when the mother is educated and conscious of her responsibilities.

India needs today revolutionary changes in social as well as economic fields. Crores of people are to be provided with food, education and employment. It is a big task and it cannot be solved unless women are conscious of the country's needs. It also requires hard labour on the part of all.

There were several handicaps in the way of women's progress in India in the past. But some of them have been removed by recent pieces of legislation.

1. Speech at a women's convention organized in connection with the Congress session at Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 17 January 1958. From *The Hindu*, 20 January 1958.

Therefore, you should be conscious of your duties and responsibilities in building the nation.

12. Disarmament Necessary for Survival of Humanity¹

Mr President,

Perhaps some of you may wonder why it is necessary to present such a resolution² in every session of the Congress. After all, except for minor changes, basically it remains the same and there cannot be much divergence of opinion about it. Some words may be changed here and there. Your question is justified. My answer to this is that we do this both for ourselves and for outsiders. We do it for ourselves so that being preoccupied with our petty problems we may not lose the larger international perspective. We often tend to forget even larger national issues. Therefore, it is essential that we should have a broad picture of the world situation before us, without that we will become confused and may not be able to solve even our internal problems to our satisfaction. So it is essential that the people of India should have a grasp of international affairs. It is not enough for a handful of leaders at the top to understand them. I feel that there are large numbers of people in India who understand something of international affairs. I am prepared to go so far as to say that the common people in India take far more interest in international affairs than the people in Europe and other great countries. I do not mean to say that they go into their intricacies. But they do take an interest in the broad issues of the world and it is proper that they should do so.

So, firstly, we have to make the people understand that we have to be always vigilant because the world is in turmoil, in revolutionary ferment. The relationship between different countries, the balance of power in the world, is in a state of flux. Above all, the arms race is gathering momentum day by day and the new weapons are getting more and more lethal. The world is poised on a razor's edge and we have to be extremely careful to see that it does not tilt one way or the other. Nobody knows what will happen next. Therefore, we must have a grasp of international affairs in a broad sense and remain vigilant all the time.

1. Speech at the conclusion of the debate on the resolution on international affairs at the plenary session of the Congress, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 18 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. For the resolution on international affairs, see *ante*, pp. 564-565.

Secondly, there is no doubt about it that our voice, India's voice, the voice of the Congress, has an impact on the world. I do not wish to exaggerate our importance or boast about India's influence. But other countries are aware that the Congress resolution is backed by the majority of the people of India. So it does have an impact. So does what we say in our Parliament though we have neither wealth nor weapons. We are a large country with a huge population; everyone knows that at least in this regard the entire country is more or less of the same view. Moreover, I feel that our convictions are right and so what we say is gradually reaching out to the others and influencing them. Had we not been right, our advice would have been forgotten long ago.

There is a great leader, whose name I shall not mention, who does not like India's foreign policy. He has said recently that though he does not like India's and Nehru's foreign policy, if India did not follow this policy, some other country would have had to do so. What it means is that it is essential for the world that someone should fly the flag that India has decided to raise. If the process of polarization of the entire world into two armed camps were to be complete without nobody to mediate, war would definitely have broken out. There was a grave danger. I feel that it is because India and some countries of Asia and Europe have refused to join the military blocs that the world has been under control. There is no check on the arms race but there is a restraining influence on public opinion in those countries. The views held by the Great Powers have a great deal of influence. You must not think that the criticism of India's foreign policy in foreign newspapers means that the people of those foreign countries also hold the same views. People in large numbers, in fact, in all those countries agree with India's views and want India to raise the banner against war. So our passing such a resolution on foreign affairs makes sense both for ourselves and the world. It is possible that it may help the countries in the armed camps to change their views. Our resolution has an impact on some countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Whenever such issues are raised in the United Nations our delegation is often consulted about India's views by many countries.

As I have already mentioned, you must not be misled into thinking that raising our voice has a great impact within the country or outside. The fact of the matter is that at the moment the world is poised on a razor's edge and nobody knows how long it will remain this way, and which way it will tumble down. You can imagine what the consequences will be if that happens. There are extremely lethal weapons in the world today which have never been used before. So nobody can predict what the consequences of using them will be and, once unleashed, whether anybody can control them. One grave fear is that once such weapons as hydrogen bombs are used in large numbers, they

will eventually destroy the whole world. This is a new fear which grips the world today. Modern warfare has become extraordinarily dangerous and it has been proved that there can be no victor in war now.

So the important thing to do is to bring about a change in the people's thinking and attitude. Unless that happens, an excuse to go to war can always be found. Now, it is a very tall order to change people's hearts and minds immediately. Today people all over the world are opposed to war, not because they have had a change of heart but out of fear. It is a good thing even if fear is a deterring force. But it is not stable. Fear can prevent war but it can also lead to it. Fear is not a very strong ground to work on.

Well, anyhow, as Krishna Menon³ pointed out, change of mind and heart can come about only gradually, especially when a pall of fear hangs over the world. But even one step away from war changes the atmosphere and there is a lessening of fear. The first step obviously is disarmament, even partial disarmament, which will lead to a lessening of fear. Once the atmosphere is a little changed other steps can be taken. So disarmament has become very essential. The problem is that talks have been going on among the Great Powers for the last two or three years and a Commission was also set up but nothing came out of it. Now a new Commission has been set up by the United Nations consisting of 25 countries. I do not know if they will meet or what the outcome will be because even now it is not clear whether all the countries which have been chosen will participate in it or not. For instance, the Soviet Union has said quite clearly that they do not like the method of selection of members of the Commission, that it is full of supporters of the West and very few from the Eastern bloc, and that unless it is evenly balanced they will not join it. This is what they have said. I do not know what they will do ultimately.

It is equally obvious that if the Soviet Union does not agree to participate in the talks, with whom will they hold talks? What is the use of India going there with a banner declaring that we will not make the bomb when we don't have it? The agreement has to be made between the Superpowers which have the largest arsenals in the world. There are other nuclear powers, I agree. But unless the two Superpowers come to terms with each other, there is no point in making any agreement. So even if the new Commission of 25 countries meets without the Soviet Union or other countries of the Eastern bloc, it will not have the power to take any major decision. One Big Power is already out of it, out of the United Nations itself. Whether you like China or not, it is a huge country with tremendous potential. It may even acquire nuclear weapons in a few years. If China is left out of the disarmament talks, no reduction in the

3. V.K. Krishna Menon, Union Minister of Defence.

armed forces of any country will make any impact. If China is left out, you cannot advise it either. How can you advise a country whose very existence you refuse to acknowledge?

These are various strange and complex aspects of disarmament. China is fast becoming a great power but still not part of world councils. It is counted among the "disgraced class" of the world. The problem however is that China is growing in strength. What I mean is that there can be no major agreement without China's participation in it. Similarly, if the Soviet Union does not join in the talks, the talks cannot be fruitful. Therefore, a way has to be found out by which China and the Soviet Union can also join in the talks. We have nothing to say about which countries should participate. But the main thing is that if talks are held, it should be done with the intention of achieving something. Therefore, it is obvious that the two Superpowers must join in the talks.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, we have no desire to elbow others out and go ahead. We have no desire to add to our heavy burdens or to join in conferences. But often we have to do so willy-nilly. It is difficult to keep out when we feel that we may be able to do some good. If we are not likely to achieve anything, we do not wish to participate for mere show, as it would be better to sit at home.

Even over the issue of disarmament, both sides are bent upon seeing to it that the other side loses some ground. If one bloc is strong in some area, it is not prepared to relinquish its superiority. It is meaningless. Each side wants to do the other down. The fact of the matter is that the Superpowers have the power to destroy one another and the whole world many times over. Both sides have reached the saturation point in armaments. So a slight edge over the other side has no meaning.

Then the argument of first strike giving an advantage over the other side has been raised. It is possible that if one side strikes first, it may weaken the other side tremendously. But the question of first strike has far-reaching consequences because there are hundreds of bases all over the world which can be used to launch these weapons. The Soviet Union has now invented missiles which can reach a target of five or six thousand miles away. There is no doubt about it that if one of the Superpowers decides to attack first, it can destroy half a country within hours. Gone are the days when war was formally declared. Even if by mistake a button is pressed, hundreds of aeroplanes, which are constantly airborne, will rain destruction on pre-determined targets and within a few hours entire cities will be razed to the ground. All of you know what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the twelve years which have gone by since then, tremendous progress has been made in this field.

Now each side is fully prepared and poised out of fear that the other side

may strike first. Aeroplanes equipped with nuclear weapons are constantly circling the European skies for fear that the enemy may strike first. If the captain of one of these planes goes mad or a button is pressed by mistake, war will break out at once. So the fate of the world hangs by a thread and depends on the judgement and cool thinking of one individual. As I said, we are poised on a razor's edge. All this is the result of fear. Even more lethal than nuclear weapons is a mind filled with fear. Nobody can predict what it will do in panic.

Now, there is not much that we can do in such a situation. But it helps to keep repeating some advice. It makes an impact. We must remember that there is no country in the world which does not want peace. The people all over the world want peace, not destruction. But they have got into a tangle and are unable to get out of it for fear that the other side will gain an edge over them. In this situation, those countries in Asia and Europe which are out of this vicious circle of fear can do some good by passing resolutions about peace and disarmament to keep the issues alive. We must not keep silent.

I would like to mention one more thing in this context. I was here when Indiraji mentioned the matter of Algeria and specifically about some girls.⁴ The newspapers are not mentioning much about it. But the fact of the matter is that terrible fighting is going on and the people of Algeria are being ruthlessly suppressed. Even the people in France have been perturbed by the brutality of their forces in Algeria. Books have been published in Paris describing the extraordinary condition prevailing in Algeria. But what I want to mention in particular is that young girls aged between 18 and 20 are fighting for their country's freedom. They are brave young girls and many of them face death sentence. People from all over the world have appealed for granting them an amnesty. The French forces are trying to frighten the nation into submission. It is obvious that, by hanging these young girls, the people of Algeria will not be frightened but will be angered and matters will become worse. I hope that the death sentence will not be carried out.⁵

Look at the situation in the world today. The two Superpowers which are bitter opponents today were in alliance with England against Germany and

4. Indira Gandhi had said that India could not turn a blind eye to the atrocities being perpetrated on innocent people in Algeria. She particularly mentioned the case of the Algerian girls who had been sentenced to death by the French authorities for their alleged participation in the liberation struggle. She added that the women of India should raise their voice against such cruel acts.
5. Djamilia Bouhired, the Algerian nationalist and feminist, and two other women—Djemila Bouazza and Jacqueline Guerroudj—were sentenced to death on charges of planting bombs and causing several deaths. For details, see *post*, p. 699.

Japan earlier. History has taken a strange turn and friends have become foes and vice versa. Japan is now an ally of the United States and the Soviet Union its enemy. So we must not think that in international relations nations are friends or foes forever. It depends on circumstances. Who knows the Superpowers may in a few years come to an agreement and become friends. It is like a game of chess.

There is one more thing. The world is said to be divided into the communist and anti-communist camps. But this is only part of the truth and extremely misleading. The fact of the matter is that there is no clash of ideologies involved. The real clash is between the two Great Powers which have acquired so much military prowess that they are mortally afraid of each other and want to somewhat weaken each other. To attribute this rivalry to a clash of ideologies is only a part of the truth. If this clash reaches its zenith and war breaks out, it might lead to total annihilation. This is a new development which has taken place. So it is very important to take these things into account and consider what is to be done.

13. Hard Work Leads to Economic Progress¹

Mr President,

I have moved a very long resolution and, if you read it, it might appear to be a rather drab resolution, a bread and butter resolution with no fine gestures in it, with no fine declarations in it as to what we are going to do, but with only a simple analysis of the situation and a simple advice as to how to meet it. And that is why the resolution may be a drab one, or a simple one, or an unexciting one. But the fact of the matter is that the condition in which we have to deal with the economic situation and everything in India today is not drab and unexciting; it is vastly exciting, it is a challenge today to you and me and every person in this country.

Some people have the habit of getting cold feet. I see no reason for that. If I see any reason I work doubly hard to prevent it. What are we in the Congress? What have we not seen in the last 30, 40, 50, 60 years since this Congress came into existence, 72 or 73 years ago? And what have we not seen even after Independence? We saw that terrible thing that happened in northern India and in Pakistan and the migrations and those killings, and all inhumanity and upsets

1. Reply to the debate on the resolution on economic situation at the Subjects Committee meeting, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 18 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML, and *National Herald*, 19 January 1958.

The resolution was adopted unanimously at the Subjects Committee meeting.

and finally we saw almost before our eyes the assassination of our beloved leader. We have gone through all these terrible situations and have survived and carried on so far as we could, feeble as we are, small men as we are. It is well to remember the message of the master and our leader not to bow down to adverse circumstances, not to get frightened by anything that happened but to face any challenge bravely, with the best of our faith and ability. So are we going to get frightened because the foreign exchange situation is somewhat adverse to us or because something else has happened which we did not anticipate or because the economic situation showed considerable strain and stress? It is for you to answer. It is for the country to answer. It is not necessary for me to tell you, but I find, as I said, some people in this country who with amazing speed get upset by something that they do not like, by some circumstance which is adverse. I hope that you and I are made of sterner stuff, of purer stuff, and that we are not weak. That does not mean that we should indulge in wishful thinking; we must be practical, realistic and must realize that we are facing a problem. Only then can we solve it. But you must also realize that there is no problem in India that we cannot solve, that we will not solve. Maybe we will have bigger difficulties and bigger problems but we shall face them in bigger ways and solve them in bigger ways. That is the spirit with which we should approach the situation and it is very important for us to develop that spirit in all such matters where all kinds of practical considerations are important, all kinds of economic matters are important.

I too was young a long time ago. And I too mixed with the people of my generation 30 and 40 years ago. We talked a different language then. We had a tremendous advantage, the advantage of the physical presence of one of the greatest of men India had produced. We have that advantage in a more distant way today; his memory, his inspiration live with us. But, anyhow, we live in a great age, a dangerous age, dangerous not only from the point of view of what we are doing in India but dangerous from the world point of view.

You passed a resolution relating to international affairs, and I wonder whether in passing it and moving an amendment to it, you had in your mind something of the tremendous drama that is taking place in the world which cannot be confined to resolutions and words—this tremendous situation, amazing situation, all that is happening in the world. It is not a question of what we like or dislike; there is much that we like and much that we dislike. But apart from that, the question is of this dramatic situation which has developed in the last few years, since the last War. The last War saw the fall of empires. Since then, during the last ten years, we have seen tremendous changes; we have seen the freedom of India come and the freedom of other countries in Asia. We have seen the whole of Asia resurgent, renascent and all that, and new forces that worked all

over Asia, some good forces, some bad forces, and we see all that happen in Europe, in America and all over; we see two tremendous giants in power: the United States and the Soviet Union standing up and evidently disliking each other and arming against each other and other nations groping around this way or that way. All this tremendous drama, think of it, the drama of it.

Then you see the advance of science, you see something that had never happened in the world in millions of years, that is, a human-made thing going out into the outer space, a tremendous thing. The Russians did it but I have no doubt that someone else also will do it, because science is not the monopoly of any one country. In some respects the Americans or the British or the French go ahead; sometimes others go ahead. It is true that the resources of these countries are great. So forget it that this country did it and the other country did not do it, because the other country is likely to do it tomorrow. The point is that man did it, wherever man existed. Here is man's mind at work. This is a challenge of the moon and the stars and an amazing thing that happened and this is an amazing time that you live in. My days are more or less numbered, anybody's days are numbered. I do not know whether I shall see in the few years that remain something new. But you men of these days, men of this generation, all young men, just imagine what amazing things you might see in this world, in the next 20, 30, 40 years as we have seen in our time in the last 40, 50 years. So think of this world in this way. Get out of the petty grooves, get out of your petty fears, get out of your petty conflicts, think of the great age you live in, and try to make yourself great because the age demands greatness.

We, who are sitting on this platform, who are we? Small men who might have spent our lives in petty ways, in petty professions, in petty jobs, with normal allotments of joy and sorrow, but it was our privilege to come into contact with events, with the great men, a great leader, and with great events. And because we threw in our lot with these great events and with that great leader, we small folk, as we were, also became great. It is nothing else except the shadow of the great leaders that fell upon us, small folk as we were, and so we also imbibed something of their greatness. So may the shadow of great deeds and great things fall upon you, and all of you and all of us may, in this age of great and real deeds, serve our country and meet this challenge to our country—this challenge which in its small way the Second Five Year Plan has put, this challenge with all this business of foreign exchange and all that.

What has all this got to do with the building of a nation? People sitting in offices and measuring things with their normal yardsticks do not realize that if a nation wants to do a thing it does it, come what may. We resolved once to do something that has gained the freedom of India, not by magic, not by hard

words but by hard work, by discarding fear and we achieved it. It took time, but we achieved it. And people were surprised and amazed at that achievement in a particular way. So the challenge for us today is not less than the challenge of fighting for independence. It is a bigger challenge, a more difficult challenge, and that is to the good; on the other hand, there is the danger of our becoming complacent, and that is bad. But today the weak, the complacent, go to the wall. It is only those who work, only those who are prepared to shoulder burdens are successful and they take the country forward.

You should understand the purpose of this resolution and the thinking behind it. I am prepared to agree with many of the criticisms that have been made by Mr Gadgil² and Mr Sanyal³ because these criticisms are apt criticisms. But the whole purpose of the resolution is to direct the attention of the country to certain specific things which we feel have to be done and in these specific things there is the food situation.

Some of you have said that the resolution is a retreat from the goal of socialism. Let me make it clear that there is going to be no retreat, even by a hair's breadth, from the Congress goal of socialistic pattern of society. You must remain constantly vigilant to prevent any sliding under pressure of circumstances. A leader may slip, being overburdened with pressures and difficulties. But a leader must not be allowed to slip on the basic ideals to be followed. Speaking for myself, and I think for my colleagues, and speaking for this House and for the Congress, I would say that there is not only no question of any retreat either from the idea we have laid down or from our path, but I am quite certain that if anybody demanded such a retreat, he will not be allowed to do so. Nobody will be allowed to demand a retreat because it is not a question of merely wanting to do something of this sort. We have arrived at a certain conclusion because the circumstances demanded it, because we thought that the problems of India could only be solved properly if we went along a certain path, because not only from the point of view of what you might say, a kind of utopian approach, a sentimental approach, an approach of justice and all that but from the point of view of the strict and hard reasoning of how to go ahead in this country, that we came to a certain conclusion which was the development of the thinking of the previous generation.

I am quite certain that there can be no wavering in the matter of this conclusion. Some people imagine that we waver because we like to stress one aspect of our policy and not the other. Please remember that in our country we

2. N.V. Gadgil.

3. N. Sanyal was Member of the AICC from West Bengal.

have advanced in our own way and in a big way in regard to many matters, and primarily in our fight for independence. The way India fought for freedom was not understood in other countries. After attaining independence the Indian people forgot their bitterness against the British and became friendly to them. This was so because we have been trained and conditioned in that way. It is not necessary that the Indian people are better than other peoples, but they have their own way of working. The problem of the princes was solved in the same way, which in any other country would have involved suffering and bloodshed. The land problem has been similarly tackled. I am not satisfied with the progress being made in this regard but, nevertheless, the point is this that we tackled the major part of the land problem, involving big zamindaris and *jagirdaris*, peacefully and relatively cooperatively. In other countries, the tackling of this land problem would have involved bloodshed.

This does not mean that there is no conflict between different sections of the people. I do not say that because the basis of society today is conflict between the possessor of certain vested interests and another person who is deprived of it, between capital and labour, between landlord and tenant; there is this conflict, and what is good for the capitalist sometimes injures the labour and vice versa. I do not deny that fact, but the point is not denying it, but trying to change it by methods of peace and not by adding to the conflict. It is the method that differs. There is a method of making the conflict worse and worse till the whole structure tumbles down. I do not see why that should be necessary in the present age in India. I am not criticizing anybody. So people do not understand our approach when we are friendly. They think that being friendly means that we have toned down or weakened in our resolve. Nothing doing. We want to be friendly, if I may say so, more especially when we want to be stronger. It is an odd contradiction, perhaps, because the whole approach was conditioned in a different way. Therefore, I would beg of you to remember that the fact that because we do not shout socialist slogans all the time does not indicate the slightest weakening in any way.

Some of you say: 'Let us take charge of all the big industries, all the banks all this and that. That will be socialism and we will advance ahead.' Maybe that is socialism in a book. But we are dealing with the complexities of life today and when the time comes and the demand is made, you may take possession of banks and whatever it may be. Today we are dealing with the Second Five Year Plan. No army marches all over the place and anybody going with a little banner with a few followers, that is not an army that is chaos. If we gained independence it was because we were united and we moved forward step by step, a goal being there. And sometimes it appeared to us that the step forward was not big enough. Well, I would think that rather irrelevant. 'Oh, what is this,

making a little salt in a corner? Seems ridiculous.' And yet those little steps that we took then became bigger and bigger in their consequences and thus we wove a pattern and wove that pattern into the destiny of India. And so do not imagine that these things that are said here are small things. Was the charkha a small thing when Gandhiji asked you to spin? It was something that each person could do, something by which he could not only add, maybe, a very little bit to the production of India, to the economy of India, but do much more. There was something in the heart and mind of that person which went in that spirit, for he spun for the freedom of India.

So, these things count and brave resolutions are good in their own way occasionally but if you pass them only in words and do nothing else then they do not mean anything and you just delude yourself. Today it is the question of our going ahead with our Second Five Year Plan. We have seen reality. We have revised the Plan to some extent and recast it as stated in the resolution. But, nevertheless, we are going ahead with it. In doing so we have come across certain difficulties. The major difficulty is that of food which we have to face. Some people say—Oh! we have to import food for years and years. I think that is a terrible prospect for us to consider.⁴ I am not prepared to accept it, not because of wishful thinking, but because every line of thoughtful approach makes me convinced that we can produce enough food for the country and can even export it. But how can we do it? It cannot be done suddenly as if by magic. It can be done only by the sustained hard work of the millions of our peasants. How will they do it? They will do it if each one of us conveys this message to them, explains it to them and helps them in acting upon it. If we take all the steps mentioned here the food problem will be solved in a year or two.

So this resolution, this simple rather drab resolution, has the amazing dramatic situation of India behind it. All this of drama of 370 or 380 million people, bowed down by grinding poverty, working, toiling, trying to get rid of the age-old poverty and march forward with high spirit and heads held high. This is the drama in which we want them to play their role. This for us is a sort of pilgrimage which we have undertaken, and its the pilgrimage of not you and me but 380 million people marching hand in hand and step in step. And may all of us have the strength to march ahead and help others to march ahead and succeed in this.

4. The reference is to the recommendation of the Foodgrain Enquiry Committee report. See also *ante*, p. 160.



WITH LADY DOROTHY AND HAROLD MACMILLAN AT PALAM AIRPORT, NEW DELHI, 8 JANUARY 1958



WITH PRIME MINISTER HAROLD MACMILLAN, NEAR NORTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI, 8 JANUARY 1958

14. Concerted Efforts Required for Economic Progress¹

Mr President and comrades,

You have heard many speeches on this resolution. Great scholars and pundits and doctors have spoken. I am not a pundit of economics or any kind of pundit for that matter. So it is somewhat difficult for me to speak after them and live up to their standard. Many things have been said which sound very good. Some of them are based on facts but some have no relevance to the present situation and to our problems. But things sound good when they are said forcefully.

It is obvious that there is no simple, easy solution to the problem of uplifting India's 37 or 38 crores of people. It is a difficult task and will take time to carry it out. It may take years. No matter what 'ism' we follow, whether capitalism, socialism, communism, or Gandhism, it requires hard work and time. Take the case of other countries, even the communist countries, some old and some new, and think of the difficulties they had to face, how they solved them and the difficulties that they are facing now. I do not like to make any comparison because, being the Foreign Minister, it is not proper for me to say anything about other countries. But I say this much that if you read about the situation in other countries during the last six or seven years, and particularly during the last two years, whether in the capitalist countries or in the communist countries, you will find that all kinds of new problems and complexities are arising which are creating great difficulties for them. I am not talking of the capitalist countries. You must be aware of their condition. But the new communist countries have made great progress during the last eight to ten years and I hope they will continue to do so. But you will find that surprisingly the problems before them are almost the same as those that India is facing today. It is not so much a question of ideology as that of the problems of an economically underdeveloped country trying to make rapid progress. Hence there are bound to be difficulties, no matter what 'ism' you follow.

It can be said that you can reach your goal faster by following one particular path rather than some other paths. It is easy to say that nothing is happening in India or that the path we are following is not right or that the Government is making mistakes. I agree that all these things are possible and are true to some extent. Who says that the Government has not made mistakes or will not do so in the future? But if anyone wishes to criticize or condemn, he should first

1. Reply to the debate on the resolution on the economic situation at the plenary session of the Congress, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 19 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

know the facts. You cannot cast light on anything by talking in the air, and, on the contrary, you may only confuse the issues.

Just now a lot of things have been said, some of which are a little relevant, but much of them do not have any connection with actual facts. Just now Dr Sanyal said that those who evaded taxes should be severely punished and that the people of India are ready for it. This may sound good but is not very wise. It is obvious that people are willing. Who will not be willing? Can you point out any country, whether communist, socialist or capitalist, where this problem does not arise? What does it mean? I would like to say that the people of India may be willing that all dacoits in Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, etc., should be caught and punished. But passing laws for this would be meaningless.

The problem is that in every country there are some people who indulge in anti-social activities to achieve their own ends. There is no doubt about it that many people do so and to some extent everybody does so and forgets the good of society at large. In fact, I would say that to some extent this has always been the weakness of man. It is a different matter that he may be able to overcome it in the future. Therefore, it is all very well to say that tax-evaders should be punished and taxes should be collected. But how to do it? What are the laws that should be passed? One way is to do what China and the Soviet Union did. There people's heads were cut off on the least suspicion. But in the process innocent people are also likely to lose their heads. So we have to decide. We cannot take drastic action merely on suspicion. We must remember that often false complaints are made because of personal animosities, groupism, etc., especially in rural areas. You cannot cut off a man's head because five people complain about him. Those five people themselves may be guilty. So, these are the problems.

So long as every individual in society does not become a citizen of high quality having no selfish motives, these difficulties will have to be faced. I agree that as far as possible we should change the laws and learn from our experience. Many laws have been changed. But what can you do with selfish people? Remember that that section includes not only the capitalists but others too. They are jealous of those who are going ahead and try to drag them down. There are thousands of weaknesses and faults in human beings, in me, you and everyone. One is quick to notice other people's faults and not one's own. It is easy to ask why this or that is not being done. The fact is that human beings are by no means perfect. The darker side of human nature was laid bare during the time of partition. Ten, eleven years ago when partition took place and Pakistan came into being, I saw with my own eyes citizens of Delhi, highly respectable and esteemed, indulging in murder, loot and arson, and I saw worse

things happening in Pakistan at that time. These were the people who claimed to be righteous. Those who had given long speeches from our platform suddenly became barbaric and worse than beasts. So, it is a matter of explaining issues to the people and improving ourselves. It is not becoming to point the finger of blame at others all the time. Sometimes, it may be necessary to do so. But it is absurd to say that the capitalists are selfish and make money by absolutely wrong methods, while the rest of the people are selfless. In my opinion capitalism tends to encourage the wrong ways of making money. So we must change this system and bring about socialism. But to call the capitalists thieves and dacoits is not becoming nor is it a fact. You will find good as well as bad people in every country and every community. Even the best of people may do wrong things sometimes because of selfish interests or anger or bitterness or any other reason.

It is easy to incite one group of people against another group and pass resolutions. But we must look at the question from the viewpoint of how to improve the condition of the people and make progress in the world. It is obvious that there is a great deal of wasteful expenditure which must be stopped. Dr Sanyal has said that there is a great deal of wasteful expenditure on the Governors, Ministers and government officials. There is no doubt about it that it should be stopped. But it is much less in India than in other countries. I do not say that it does not need to be stopped. I am only making a comparison.

Some of our socialist and communist colleagues have criticized the expenditure incurred in Delhi on the construction of some hotels and buildings. However, some of them went in a deputation to China and after returning from there said that such things were being done on a much larger scale there. Now, you may call the construction of a hotel in Delhi a wasteful expenditure. But I say it is necessary because numerous conferences are held in Delhi and it is impossible to make arrangements for the delegates to stay comfortably without there being a proper hotel. We cannot remain isolated in the world. We should have the spirit of cooperation and dealings with others in a thousand different ways. If we isolate ourselves the consequences will not be good.

I agree that there is a lot of wasteful expenditure and it must be cut down. As far as the taxes are concerned, some people have asked, what is the difficulty in levying Wealth Tax or Estate Duty. The greatest difficulty in doing so is the Hindu joint family system according to which no matter how large a property is, it gets divided and the tax on it is very much reduced. A man may die leaving a property worth a couple of crores, but if it gets divided among fifty people, the property does not remain taxable. This is not dishonesty. It is merely the old traditions which create an obstacle. They have again and again come in the way of framing new laws relating to marriage and women's inheritance rights.

However, the laws have been passed and I think the biggest achievement of the Government has been the liberation of women and according them the status equal to men. This is a big step forward in the progress of society. The moment anything is said about the joint family system, thousands of objections are raised. Well, it is a system which has existed for thousands of years and it would be good if it continued to exist. But it creates a great obstacle in the way of changing our taxation policy, which makes it imperative to find a way out. Let me tell you that it is no easy matter and we need the cooperation and help of everyone to solve these problems.

There is one more thing. One of our senior colleagues has said that we are prepared even to shed our blood to bring about socialism and for India's progress and there was a thunderous applause. But I am not willing to die. I am willing to live and work for India's progress. What is the sense in saying such absurd things? We used to say such things in our youth when we were agitated as, for example, at the time of the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy. The times have now changed and the reins of government are in our hands. So we have to remain alive and show what we can do. Everybody is destined to die. The question is how we try to solve the problems before us while we are alive.

How many of you seated here have read the Five Year Plan? It is a big thing to me. I ask this because thought has been given to the various questions relating to the Plan. Whether you accept those arguments or not is a different matter. But the Plan enumerates the problems and the difficulties before us and indicates what our priorities ought to be. It is a picture of what should be done in these five years. As I told you day before yesterday, the question before us is how to implement the Plan that has been drawn up. It is a carefully drawn Plan. It is possible that there could have been some improvements in it if more brilliant people had been associated with it. But there is no point in wasting time on futile arguments and criticisms.

We suffer from the old malady of wasting time over arguments and discussions instead of doing something constructive. Long discussions and arguments have been a tradition with us in India. Gandhiji helped us get rid of these to some extent. He did not indulge in tall talk; but he made people do great things. He was able to uproot a great imperial power. Do you now wish to revert to those old ways of holding long discussions and doing no constructive work? This is something worth thinking about. This is how I feel whenever I hear long harangues, having no relation to the present situation.

Well, we have drawn up the Five Year Plan. I do not say that it is the best. But thousands of minds were involved in preparing it as we consulted not only the people belonging to the Congress but other parties too. We consulted the State Governments too. There are several panels of experts in the Planning

Commission. Now the Plan has been drawn up and it is not bad, though improvements are always possible. Now that we have decided to implement it, it becomes our duty to see it through as far as possible—I do not mean blindly, for if any alterations become necessary, we should certainly make them. Some changes may become necessary due to circumstances.

I want to put all this before you because I want the people of India to remember how Gandhiji moulded us into disciplined soldiers and taught us not to waste our energy and strength on petty things like elections to the Assemblies, Parliament or Congress Committees. Nowadays, this seems to have become the profession of some people. Members of political parties waste their time in seeking tickets for contesting elections to the Assemblies. Our lives are being wasted in this manner and if this is not checked, we will be ruined, the Congress will be ruined and the reins of government will pass into the hands of others.

So, the question is how to implement the Plan which has been drawn up after two or three years of hard work and after collecting various data. However, we still can make any changes we like. But the more we succeed in implementing the Plan, the more successful the people will be and they will to that extent get closer to socialism. If we fail in it, it will be a matter of shock. There is no doubt about it. Questions have rightly been asked about the difficulties that have arisen. Dr Sanyal has asked why luxury goods were imported. I request him to send me a list of the luxury goods that have been imported, because I am not aware of them. There may be some small item which has been imported. The other question is why we are facing the foreign exchange problem. This is a good question. The moment we became aware of it, we got it fully examined by the Planning Commission. Now, the Planning Commission is not a party organ, nor does it consist of a few men sitting and deliberating. There is huge machinery behind it. After two months of enquiry, they sent me a fairly long report. There were discussions on it. There was nothing new in it. May I tell you what it contained? There is no doubt about it that due to our fault or mistake the coordination that should be there between the various Ministries and the External Affairs Ministry was lacking. How did it happen? We were so full of enthusiasm to go ahead and in so much hurry to import machines and set up industries that sufficient attention was not paid to what things should be imported and when. Our overzealousness has been responsible for this. It is wrong, for coordination is absolutely essential and it should be done at every step. It is our fault that this problem of foreign exchange has arisen. But there were other reasons too.

Firstly, the greatest setback has been caused due to the shortage of foodgrains. Floods and droughts and such other calamities damaged the crops and we had to import more than 20 lakh tons of foodgrains. You can calculate

the enormous amount of foreign exchange that had to be spent on it. I think there has been no other reason than the damage to the crops which has led to such a severe set-back.

Secondly, we had to import defence equipment more than we had intended to. We were compelled to do so.

Thirdly, the prices of everything, including the price of every single machine that we have been importing, have gone up. We have examined why the cost of the steel plants that we are putting up has increased. It is something that has happened in other countries too. You must remember that the prices of foodgrains and other commodities have gone up much more in other countries than in India. However, we had to pay more for machines. The Suez Canal crisis that occurred a year and a half ago also led to an increase in prices.

It is true that had we tried we could have curbed some imports by the private sector. But it is wrong to think, as Dr Sanyal has mentioned, that luxury goods have been imported. Even in the private sector, machines have been imported and there is nothing wrong in it. Non-essential items, if they have been imported, did not cost more than a few lakh rupees or a crore at the most. But here the question is of 800 or 900 crores. I agree that, with more careful thought and planning, the imports could have been spread over a longer period. But in our enthusiasm, we imported everything together. Apart from that, the goods that were ordered two or three or four years ago, for some reason or the other—due to the Suez Canal crisis and other problems—arrived at the same time, after a long delay and we had to make payments immediately. I do not deny that the blame lies with the Government. But the mistake was due to our overzealousness and eagerness to go ahead fast. The fact is that if you read the Five Year Plan carefully, you will find that there is a big gap between our resources and what we have to pay. We undertook too much in our enthusiasm. But I think what we did was proper and I am not prepared to undo it. We deliberately chose to face difficulties.

I am not trying to make excuses. I am merely putting a few facts before you. There has to be a proper checking of the facts before they are published. We are often faced with dilemmas as at present. It is said that we should stop imports. But if we do so, all our industries will come to a stop, whether they are in the public sector or in the private sector. Production will go down. Therefore we have to import spare parts, small machines and essential raw materials, etc. We are naturally in a dilemma. But the countries making progress are bound to face such dilemmas. Those who are content to remain stagnant have to face no problems. When you decide to make progress, such complications and difficulties are bound to arise. They are compounded by the international crises, like the Suez Canal crisis, wars, inflation, etc. But we must

learn from all this how to plan carefully and proceed step by step. We are drawing up our five-year plans, which are complex plans. Planning cannot be done on the basis of principles and ideals alone, it is done on the basis of statistics and other data, which are now being collected.

But, as I told you in the beginning, wherever there is a socialist pattern of planning the difficulties are the same. The only difference, it is true, is that in other countries people's heads are cut off, whether they are guilty or not, in order to frighten others. It is a different matter if you want the same thing to be done in India. But it is not our way of doing things. We do not want to punish innocent people. Of course, in times of war strictness can be done. But if you want the laws to be applied stringently in peace-time, you should not create an uproar later, no matter who is affected.

I would like to make one thing clear. I said earlier at the Subjects Committee meeting that, really speaking, this resolution is not merely on the economic situation of India, but on other aspects too. But we have deliberately put only a few broad facts before the people. If the entire situation is to be reviewed, it will become a large tome. You should try to understand the situation. We come round again and again to the problem of food which is basic to all other activities. The steel plants and other big industries that we are setting up are casting a heavy burden on us. Each one of them will cost 150 crore rupees. But ultimately they will benefit us greatly. The thing which does not need foreign exchange is the production of food. We may have to import some fertilizers, which we can do. We can change the picture of India completely if we make a concerted effort to improve the food situation. This is the entire purpose of this resolution. We can also encourage and develop cottage industries without the help of any other country. Once these things are done, we can turn our attention to what is happening in other countries and take advantage of them. We are turning our attention away from the tasks in hand and are looking towards other countries to help us out which is not good. As this resolution mentions, we shall thankfully accept whatever foreign aid is offered to us. But the moment this idea takes root in our mind that we can progress only by foreign aid, India will go down and there will be no further progress. You must realize this clearly.

Foreign newspapers often write—I was reading an article only yesterday—that the greatest dilemma before Nehru today is whether to give up the policy of non-alignment in order to get more aid from other countries or to stick to it and forgo the aid. Anyhow, it is neither my problem nor anybody else's. Foreign newspapers may be thinking on this line. But it merely shows what they think. They seem to think that we are in such dire straits that unless we get aid from other countries we will be ruined. They think that perhaps we may be prepared to give up the policy of non-alignment so that foreign aid may pour into the

country. There is no doubt about it that if we give up the policy of non-alignment, foreign aid may pour into India. But I think I need not repeat what every sensible person in India knows that we are not going to give up our policy of non-alignment in international affairs nor our goal of establishing a socialistic pattern of society, for the sake of foreign aid or under pressure of other country. Jawaharlal Nehru is an ordinary individual and even if he went mad the Congress and the nation will not give up these policies. I can say to you confidently that these are not the policies evolved by me but are those that the Congress has been following for at least 20 years. We accepted the goal of establishing a socialistic pattern of society at the Avadi Congress.² But if you look at the Congress resolutions passed over a period of twenty years before that, you will find that they contain the same ideas, especially with regard to foreign policy.

Moreover, I would like to tell you, especially with regard to our foreign policy, that this policy has been so close to our thinking for years and that India can have no other foreign policy. I would rather say that no government in India, even other than the Congress, can have a different policy. So it is nonsensical to think that we will give it up for the sake of money. There is no question of giving up our foreign policy and if some country does not wish to give us aid, it is free to do so. We will do without aid.

Now, there is one thing more which I would like the rest of the world to know about the Congress. There are people of different shades of opinion in the Congress. It is obvious that there is a broad consensus on principles, though some people may lean towards this side or that side on certain matters. But the Congress has been moulded by Gandhiji, since he appeared on the scene, in a particular way. He taught us not to do anything out of fear or under pressure in spite of all our mistakes, weaknesses and follies. During the last 30 to 40 years, we have had the idea, in our minds and hearts, of not giving in out of fear or because of threats. There were numerous occasions in the twenties and thirties when we could have lightened our burden by making a compromise with the British Government. But we did not do so. Millions of people who went to jail had merely to ask for pardon to be released but they did not do so. So, Congressmen and the people of India have been trained in this manner during the last forty years. The only thing that can influence us is love. But nobody can lead us astray by threats or intimidation. To those who think that we might give up our policy out of greed I would say that they should take a fresh look

2. For Nehru's speech on 21 January 1955 at the Avadi Congress while moving the resolution on socialistic pattern of society, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 279-291.

at what our Government and the Congress and the people of India stand for. The problem is that they measure us by their own yardstick. I do not say that we are superior to them but their yardstick cannot be applied to us.

So, I would like to make it quite clear that this is a straightforward resolution in which there is no mention of socialism. Its sole object is to draw the attention of the people to the food situation, the Five Year Plan and the small-scale and cottage industries. But to anyone who harbours the slightest doubt I would like to make it clear that all these fit into the broad pattern of socialism which we have in mind. There is not the slightest deviation from that path, on the contrary we are more than ever convinced that we must follow that path firmly and not merely talk about it.

I request you to support the resolution before you.

15. Importance of Basic Education¹

Mr Chairman² and comrades,

I have stood up to support this resolution.³ But at the same time I do not support everything that has been said by others on the subject before this. It is obvious that there can be no disagreement about it that we can build the nation only through education. There may be other methods also but education is of fundamental importance. First of all, we must make up our minds about the kind of country we wish to build and have the vision for its future, and then gradually train the people for it. Some things have to be done in any case and some things stem from the picture that we have in mind. For instance, if you wish to industrialize the country, we have to pay attention to it right from the start. If you go to the United States or to the Soviet Union, you will find even small children playing with machines. Their toys have small machines. So right from their infancy they think about and play with machines. So by the time they are eight or ten or twelve years old, they know much more about machines than their grandfathers and fathers knew. I have given you an example. In short, we must have a picture before us of the kind of society we wish to build and then gradually orient the education towards it. This is the main thing to do.

Secondly, when we talk about basic education, many people think that it is a new thing for India. It is only partially true. Today every country in the world

1. Speech during the debate on the resolution on educational reconstruction at the plenary session of the Congress, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 19 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. U.N. Dhebar.
3. See *ante*, pp. 566-567.

follows the pattern of basic education with some minor differences. But the fundamental thing about basic education is that, instead of laying stress merely on book learning and learning by rote, it encourages students to do some manual work too, like carpentry, plying the charkha, farming, etc. This is a principle which has been accepted all over the world.

What is new in the Indian pattern is that the basic schools are encouraged to earn some money by the work of the students to run the schools. This was done because we wanted basic education to spread in the whole country as quickly as possible. As somebody, I think, pointed out yesterday, if we calculated the amount of money that would be needed to finance good basic schools all over the country and to provide pens, ink and blackboards, it would far exceed our national income. This is the main problem. There is no point in ignoring this. No matter how many resolutions we pass, the picture will not change. Gandhiji evolved an inexpensive basic school system to ensure rapid spread of education. There are various ways of reducing the expenditure. First, there is no need of big buildings and other paraphernalia. Secondly, schools can generate income by their activities.

This gave rise to a great debate, which goes on to this day, whether it would be wrong to make money by making the children work. It is said that it would lead the teachers try to outdo one another to increase the income and would impose a great burden on the students if the schools were converted into some sort of factories. These are some of the arguments which are advanced against it. They are no doubt true. But how can a middle path be found?

I told you that the principle of basic education has been accepted all over the world. But it has fifty or a hundred different patterns and new ones are being constantly evolved. There is no single pattern which everyone follows. *Nai Talim* or the new education, as it is known, has been in practice for several years and we have gained a great deal of experience about it. You will find it in Wardha and elsewhere. Basic education has been accepted in almost every state and is implemented in various ways though it may not correspond one hundred per cent to the new education pattern.

Recently Acharya Vinoba Bhave⁴ met the Directors of Public Education in a conference. Shriman Narayanji⁵ told me that he was also present there. Vinobaji shared with them his ideas and listened to their difficulties. He told them that they must not equate *Nai Talim* with basic education completely. Everyone did not have to follow the same pattern as was followed in Wardha. They were free to follow their own pattern and learn from their experience. The main

4. Famous Gandhian and Sarvodaya leader.

5. General Secretary of the Congress Party.

thing was to accept it in principle. There could be 20 different patterns and different experiences, which might still develop. This is Vinobaji's advice. You can see how open-minded he is. It is true that if we try to follow a rigid pattern, we will not be able to gain different kinds of experiences. So you must remember that basic education has different patterns though the underlying principle is the same.

Another point that has been made is that though people talk about basic education they themselves send their children to convent schools and other big schools and not to basic schools. It is true to a large extent. But the main objections which are raised against it are due to ignorance. I have no children of the school going age. I have one daughter who is now grown up. But let me tell you that even the other schools follow the pattern of basic education to a large extent. As I told you, wherever good education is imparted, it is on the lines of basic education even if it does not conform fully to it.

In short, our basic education system is not bad. There is no doubt about it that it is a good system. The standard of education in village schools is not very good. But it is not a question whether basic education should be imparted or not. The fact is that our teachers are so poorly paid that they do not enjoy a high status in society nor do they have the necessary material to impart good education. We have to pay attention to all these aspects of the problem. If parents want to send their children to good schools providing all the facilities, we cannot stop them. Every parent wants to give his children good education.

The only way to rectify this is to raise the standard of education right from the beginning in all the schools, and not to force anyone to send his children only to basic schools. You will not be able to convince anyone. Our effort must be to improve the standard of education. Every school in India must be as good as any private school. Private schools can be used for making new experiments to gain experience. But there is no doubt about it that today the private schools are far better than the government schools. Private schools can afford greater facilities. So it is not the question whether they follow the set pattern of basic education or not. Everything depends on the structure of society and how rapidly education spreads and what is its quality.

There is one thing more. One gentleman has said that a great deal of money is spent on university education and very little on schools. Now I do not have all the figures before me, but I want you to remember one thing that the expenditure on university education is incurred mostly on professional education and higher education. I was amazed when someone asked a couple of days ago, why we did not arrange for the training of engineers, etc., earlier. In fact we are spending a great deal of money on universities, technical institutes and engineering colleges. There are engineers of various kinds. Graduates with

mere degrees are not of much use. We cannot implement the five-year plans without trained personnel. I would say that we may have to double or treble our expenditure on training engineers and scientists. There is no other way. It imposes a great burden on us. But it cannot be helped. The advanced countries spend enormous sums of money on teaching science. I was looking at the statistics only the other day. The United States alone spends 211,000 crores rupees on scientific research. I think the figure that I am quoting is right. The Soviet Union also spends just as much. That is, however, another extreme. But it is obvious that there is no question of our competing with them. The situation is such that if we wish to keep our heads above water, we will have to spend money on teaching science. There is no alternative to it.

We are laying the foundations of India's future. I agree that the basic primary education of a good standard is the foundation upon which we must build the structure. But it is obvious that university education is equally important and we cannot afford to weaken the link between primary and higher education. The people who will govern the country in future will after all come out from amongst us. The better trained they are, the greater the stature of India will be. It is not a question of mere numbers. A nation's stature depends on the number of its highly qualified people, engineers, scientists, doctors and administrators. If we have 36 crores of human beings in the country, most of them unemployed, they will be just like so many sheep. Democracy does not mean having a huge population. Democracy or any form of government can work only when there are large numbers of people of high calibre and training. Today we need a large number of technically trained people. We may keep on passing resolutions but unless there are qualified people to implement them, we can get nowhere.

So, we have to ensure that there is an all-round progress. The problem is that our university education leaves much to be desired. We have set up the University Grants Commission to deal with it. There is one thing more. Basic education is a State subject. The Central Government gives monetary assistance. But the State Governments must pay attention to the training of teachers. I would say that ultimately it is not so much a problem of resources as of the availability of trained and good teachers. It is easy to run an ordinary school with untrained teachers who make the children learn everything by rote as in the olden days. The children may even pass examinations. But there is very little place for books in the basic education system, rather the teacher is very important. Books are, of course, necessary. But unless the teacher is good, the school will be not much good, and the children will not learn anything. Instead, it would be better to follow the old system under which the children learnt something from books by rote.

Therefore, it is essential that the teachers should be well-trained. The entire

system of education centres round the teacher. It takes time to train people to be teachers or other professionals. You can construct a building soon but it takes a long time to train human beings. You may have heard about the teachers' training programme which is being started. Old teachers are doing refresher courses and new teachers are being trained. If we think in terms of replacing all the old teachers, it will create problems. You must have heard Humayun Kabirji⁶ telling us that there are nine lakh teachers in primary schools in India. It is obvious that you cannot throw all of them out saying that they are not properly trained. So we have to try to retain the existing staff even if it is not possible to completely change their way of teaching.

All these things take time. It is not as simple as constructing buildings of bricks and mortar. It takes a long time to train human beings, which is being done gradually. I am not convinced that the progress is as rapid as stated in the resolution. But at the same time it is not right to say that the Central and State Governments are not paying enough attention to this problem. Attention is being paid but there are tremendous problems. Maybe some State Governments have not paid sufficient attention. That is a different matter. One big problem is that the great educationists, teachers, professors, etc., who advise the educational boards do not change their views easily. They view the new methods of education with great suspicion. After all, they are the deciding authority and not the Government which can merely express its opinion. Ultimately, it is the Board of Secondary Education and the Board of Primary Education and other University Education Boards consisting of experienced people who decide and it is very difficult to make them understand the problem well. But they are also gradually beginning to see the light.

There is one thing more. The question of resources is also there. Moreover, basic education can spread only when good teachers are available. This is the basic requirement, otherwise no matter how much money we may spend, it will yield no results. In my opinion we should try more and more to curtail the expenditure on constructing buildings and spend more on teaching. I will be satisfied even if classes are held under trees provided the teachers are well-paid and they enjoy a good status in society. I do not say that all schools must hold classes under trees only. You may point out the difficulties in doing so during the monsoons. I agree. But it would be enough to have one room somewhere to store equipment and classes may be held under trees. During hot months, classes can be held early in the morning. In Santiniketan, for years classes were held under trees. It was not done to save money but because

6. Union Minister of State for Civil Aviation at this time, became Minister of State for Scientific Research and Culture in March 1958.

Gurudev liked the idea. Classes were held under the mangroves. Now they have built umbrella-like structures for different classes. They are built at a very little cost. The teachers and students sit under them.

So I feel that our attention should be focused on important things. We spend a great deal of money on building extremely ugly-looking structures. I prefer open grounds to ugly buildings, particularly for primary schools. We should spend as little as possible on buildings. There must be some place to store equipment, etc. But the emphasis should be on good teaching and paying the teachers well.

There is one thing more. I feel that the textbooks that we produce are so useless that I am surprised how they are used to teach children. Others have also pointed this out and you will forgive me for saying this. I do not have much experience in this matter. The production of textbooks has become a commercial work which is bad and should not be permitted. Apart from this, I feel that enough thinking has not been done about this matter. It is not enough to invite tenders and approve one out of five or ten of them. It is not a bad procedure. But the entire syllabus and the reading material have to be prepared carefully for students of different age groups. Mere story-telling is not enough, though lives of great men do inspire students. It is not a scientific method of teaching little children. The best brains in the country must be roped in for the task of producing textbooks for children. We must not allow a matriculate or a graduate to write books for students of classes two or six. Important issues of psychology are involved in teaching little children. The best and the most talented people in the country and, if necessary, people from outside the country must be asked to help in the task of preparing textbooks. We must learn from others how to go about this task. It does not matter in which language the books are written. They can be later translated. Different approaches are needed to teach children in the rural and urban areas. As the imagination of the child has to be captured, so the books must bear some relation with their surroundings. For instance, a child in a rural area will be able to relate a thing readily to something connected with farming. If you talk to him about England and America, it will make no impact on him at all. The illustrations and the text must be closely related to what a child sees around him in his daily life, which would be different in different provinces. There must be a link between education and the day-to-day life.

These are all extremely complex problems which cannot be resolved by passing a resolution. We must give this matter a careful thought. This resolution has been placed before you not as a criticism but to point out the difficulties because the problem needs greater attention. After all, education is the foundation for nation-building.

16. Objectives before Congressmen¹

I am not here before you in my personal capacity. I am here on your behalf and on behalf of all the delegates who are attending this Congress. It is a tradition in the Congress for one of the delegates to propose a vote of thanks at the end of the plenary session. My task has become difficult because Mahendra Mohan Choudhury² has already given thanks to everyone he could remember. The names of those he could not remember were brought to his notice through chits or whispered to him by his colleagues. So they were also included. Now, I cannot understand whom to thank except Mahendra Mohanji himself. It is a fact that there have been many difficulties in holding this session here. The Reception Committee has taken a great deal of trouble and carried out its duties very well. The Chairman of the Committee and his colleagues and the volunteers all worked very hard. Apart from them, there was a great burden on the former Chief Minister, Shri Bisnuram Medhi, not as the Chief Minister, but as a prominent Congressman.³ The present Chief Minister, Chaliha⁴, also extended full cooperation and the whole thing went off very well. You may have heard that there was some problem about drinking water as a couple of pumps went out of order. However, new pumps were flown in from Calcutta and the water supply was restored. There is no problem of water now. You can drink as much water as you like or can even take a bath.

Anyhow, many of you must have come to Assam earlier also, but some of you have come here for the first time and seen this beautiful province in the north-eastern corner of India. Assam is a border State. There is a strange combination of the Himalayas and a huge river, which is not to be found anywhere else. Nowhere will you find such high mountains and a vast river like the Brahmaputra, which is one of the oldest and famous rivers of India. You would not have seen a combination of heat and cold too anywhere else. Here it is very hot during the day-time and cold at night. So all these things are found here together. The climate is that of a hill station and at the same time you find here trees which normally grow in the semitropical climate. So it is a very beautiful place. There are different types of people who live here—mountain

1. Speech while moving the motion of thanks at the conclusion of the Congress session, Pragjyotishpur, Gauhati, 19 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, and Chairman, Reception Committee, Gauhati session.
3. Medhi resigned as Chief Minister of Assam on 20 December 1957.
4. B.P. Chaliha was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Assam on 28 December 1957.

folks, plainsmen, etc. I have great love for them and am interested in them. I feel they are a special part of India and I want them to progress in their own way. We should not try to impose our values on them, as they will neither understand them nor remember them. They will only get confused, which would be very dangerous. I always tell my people that they should serve the people and learn from them and not impose their values on them.

You have not come here to see Assam but to take part in the Congress session. This is the 63rd session of the Congress which was born about 72 years ago in 1885. It has had many ups and downs in these 72 years. There are very few organizations in the world that are as old as the Congress, which is a party of national stature. Not only is there no other party which is so old but which has done the kind of work that the Congress has done. Ultimately, the Congress became successful. So the Congress has borne a tremendous burden during the last 72 years and become a vast storehouse of experience. Sometimes it tends to get bogged down in superficial matters. The question is how far an organization can rejuvenate and infuse new spirit into itself. The most dangerous thing that can happen to any organization is to succeed in the task for which it is founded because success leads to complacency and creates a tendency to relax. This sort of feeling came into the Congress too. But I think after facing difficult problems once again in the last few years this feeling has gone. We have realized once again that there is a difficult task before us which requires a tremendous amount of hard work to be done. People have begun to realize this which is something very good.

The Congress has taken a new turn over and over again during the last 72 years. In a sense, the history of the Congress is the history of India. The Congress has changed over the years internally and externally. Occasionally, there were internal feuds and some people left the party and new people came in, and in this manner it has grown. It has not become what it is today by magic. You must remember that it grew gradually after a great deal of hard work and struggle. It is an old institution of ours but there are some childish, immature elements in it. At the same time, with advancing years, it has gained maturity and its thinking about the larger national issues shows seriousness, not impetuosity. The real burden of the Congress is the responsibility to carry on the administration at the Centre and in the States. Therefore, mere enthusiasm is not enough. We need to think seriously about what we have to do and take a pledge to discharge our responsibilities faithfully. This is the way we look at these matters. This sometimes leads people to think that we are becoming slack as there are no heated debates and wranglings. They feel that the Congress is losing its grip over the situation, as it has developed the habit of not indulging in heated discussions and fighting and writing in strong language about the

issues. But the fact is that the national issues as well as the critical situation through which India is passing just now are quite clear in our minds. The problems are extremely complex and though we may not understand all of them, there is a feeling of confidence that we can solve them. Therefore, our attitude towards these problems has become different, and we do not indulge in fiery speeches but are constantly trying to see what we have to do to resolve them and succeed in domestic as well as international spheres. We need to think seriously about these matters.

All the resolutions that have been passed in this session are businesslike rather than for show. They do not contain high-flown words. I would like to say that the last resolution which was passed approving of certain amendments is very important. I want to tell you quite frankly that I have been feeling greatly disappointed with the working of the Congress for a long time. I want the Congress to go to the people of India because I have never been disappointed till today with them. The nearer we have gone to them, the greater has been our strength. The Congress owes all its achievements to this. Therefore, I consider the amendment to the Congress constitution a very good step, and, as our President told you, *mandals* will be constituted and below them there will be other bodies. This will help the Congress to strengthen its hold over the masses and there is no doubt about it that our contacts with them will increase. It is for us to implement it properly, but now the way is clear. Most of the District Committees which did good work in the past have now become quite useless. This is absolutely clear, and so it is now essential for the Congress to reach out to the masses. Therefore I feel that the step that we have taken this year to amend the Congress constitution will provide new strength to the organization, strengthen its foundation, and enable all of us, Congressmen, to work with a new zeal and determination.

Once again, on behalf of all of us, I thank Shri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and his colleagues and all other workers. You will carry many memories with you but I would like you to carry two special memories which are always fresh in my mind—first is the Himalayas and the second is the Brahmaputra. Both are symbols of India's strength, for they have existed for millions of years and have tremendous vitality in them, especially the Brahmaputra. I have seen it often becoming a source of danger too. Just two years ago, I saw it devouring Dibrugarh before my eyes. It literally devoured the whole city, with its houses and trees and everything else. It was a tremendous energy which no man could stop at that time. But man has conquered even the Brahmaputra and succeeded in building a dam over it and diverting the course of the river a little. But whenever I look at these big mountains and rivers, India's history of thousands of years comes before my mind's eye

and I feel heartened. Once again we prepare ourselves for a long, long journey, for thousands of years to come.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind!*

17. Advice to Delegates¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the delegates present. In his speech he observed that the real test was to find out the programme of work and the method of implementing the same. He pointed out that the Congress organization was democratically based and it was quite likely that some lapses crept into the organization since these were concomitant factors of the system of democratic elections. As such, the Congressmen should be vigilant and try to guard themselves against all lapses that might weaken the organisation itself. Despite the occasional difficulties that cropped up in the process of election, the fact must not be ignored that these organisational elections created an atmosphere of confidence and faith and, except in cases of emergency, elections should not be stayed and the process of nomination should be sparingly used.

Continuing his speech Shri Nehru said that sometimes the overenthusiasm of the followers of some leaders was apt to bring down the prestige of the organization itself and at the same time affect the purpose which the leader wanted to serve. This form of personal authority stood on a weak base and the democratic functioning could only be possible if the collective will was allowed to find expression freely.

Shri Nehru further remarked that it was desirable to have change in the leadership in the organisation and, in this connection, he mentioned that in U.P. the office-bearers changed by turn and it had been found really effective. Thereby the organization got scope for growth and was in a position to exert itself fully instead of clinging to personal leadership. Shri Nehru was strongly of the opinion that the spirit of complacency brought in deterioration in the organization itself and the idealism which found the guiding factor of its origin and development was lost sight of and, as a result, the persons owing allegiance to the organization also were devitalized. It was, therefore, essential that the organizational base must be strongly founded and its policy and programme must take into account the development of social forces and means must be devised to tackle the same.

1. Speech at an informal meeting of Congress delegates at Gauhati on 20 January 1958 as printed in *Congress Bulletin*, January 1958, pp. 98-100, 104-105 and 112-113.

In his concluding remarks Shri Nehru expected the delegates to carry the message of Gauhati to their respective areas of work and interpret its proper significance to the people.

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Shri Jawaharlal Nehru also addressed the delegates at this stage. He said that now that more than 15,000 Mandals had been constituted in the country it would be quite possible for the office-bearers and the members of these Committees to come in closer contact with the people and attend to the public grievances which had seemingly been overlooked. The Mandal Congress could really turn itself into an useful agency, ministering to the comforts of the people in general, if it started taking genuine interest in public affairs. It would be possible for the Mandal Congress Committee to issue literature in the local language in easy style so that the common man could know the development processes that had been started in the country through different sectors and thereby a link could be established. He mentioned that the publications such as *Yojana*, *Gram Sevak*, *Kurukshetra* were really useful and conveyed information which could be found interesting to the people in the rural areas and the Mandal Congress Committees could use the materials from these publications with profit provided these were used in the language which could be within the grasp of the common man. In the alternative, some arrangements might be made to have occasional gatherings where extracts from useful and informative literature could be read out and questions asked, thereby evoking real interest in the matters which concerned the people.

Shri Nehru further suggested that a graph chart of the Plan and posters depicting the several projects and development works could also be circulated so as to capture the imagination of the public.

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Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in his concluding remarks said that the task of creation should serve as a sufficient incentive and should never be considered as a burden. The Congress workers should approach the people without assuming any superiority complex. It was a friendly approach that evoked response from the people and brought out the best in them. It was the spirit of self-fulfilment that persuaded the people to take to nation-building work and if given proper guidance they were sure to respond to the call. Shri Nehru, continuing, said that he endorsed the view expressed by some members that there must be some form of '*adda*'—a Central Office, a reading room, a

simple place where people could gather together and discuss their day-to-day problems and at the same time know something beyond their local interests. It might be called a *Mandal Graha*. Some form of literature or weekly organ should be made available to them which would, even if read to them, be helpful in expanding their knowledge of men and matters. The workers should see that the guidance which they were expected to give to the villagers should not be construed as advice or instructions. In that case the entire meaning would be lost.

Shri Nehru further suggested that the delegates, when they returned to their respective areas would only create interest in the minds of the people by giving graphic description of the land they visited, the route they covered in reaching the site of the Congress session and the people they met. After the proper enthusiasm was roused, the people could be in a mood to understand the implications of the resolutions and it was through such steady and sympathetic approach that they could truly interpret the resolutions in all their bearings.

Shri Nehru further remarked that the villages should be encouraged to know and see the new light and it was through the spread of literacy that they could remove the darkness that blocked the passage of their mind. In organising the study-circles the workers must take account of the class to which the people belonged and it was only by right appreciation of their aspirations that they could be brought together and the inquisitiveness in them be satisfied. The literature used for this purpose must be simple and direct and special care should be taken in producing these leaflets and literature. Lastly, Shri Nehru stated that a big task had been undertaken in the rural areas through the Community Development Blocks which were expected to cover two and a half lacs of villages within a short time and the Congress workers could hardly keep themselves aloof from that nation-building work. He expected that all of them would lend their fullest co-operation to the people who were carrying on this work in the different parts of the country.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

1. Contributions to the Party Fund¹

It has now been decided that all members of the Congress Parliamentary Party should give a lump sum of ten per cent of their salaries for Congress funds. The salary of an MP is Rs 400/- per month. Ten per cent of this will be Rs 40/- per month, i.e., Rs 480/- per annum. This will include subscription to the Congress Party in Parliament as well as subscriptions to the PCC or the local Congress Committee.²

It has further been decided that the same rule should apply to Ministers and for this purpose they will pay Rs 480/- a year. This sum should be sent to the Congress Party office in Parliament. After deducting their subscription, they will forward the rest to the AICC office.

Please verify this from the Party office.

If this is so, then a cheque for Rs 480/- should be sent to the Congress Party stating that this is in accordance with the new decision and includes not only the subscription to the Party here but for other Congress purposes and they will presumably send the balance to the AICC office.

Inform the AICC office of this, as well as the PCC and the Allahabad City Congress Committee. In future no separate subscriptions will be sent. But, apart from this, I shall contribute from time to time directly to the AICC funds. A cheque for Rs 1,000/- should be sent to the AICC office.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, the Private Secretary, New Delhi, 3 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. A circular issued by K.P. Madhavan Nair, General Secretary, AICC, on 9 January 1958 informed the members that the ten per cent contribution would be calculated on salaries only and not on the daily allowance or the travelling allowance.

2. To Raghunath Singh¹

New Delhi
25th January 1958

My dear Raghunath Singh,²

This morning's paper states that you have again given notice of your desire to move a resolution for the severance of India's connections with the Commonwealth. I do not know if this is correct. If so, I am surprised.

You remember the talk we had during the last session. I pointed out to you that in an important matter of policy about which Government have repeatedly stated its position it was not proper for any Member casually to propose a resolution opposed to that policy.³ Anything can be discussed in a Party meeting but in Parliament for a Congress Member to bring in such a resolution is also tantamount to bringing in a vote of no confidence. It plays completely into the hands of the opposition. Where is the Congress discipline then?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Banaras City.
3. Earlier in November 1957, Raghunath Singh's resolution that India should quit the Commonwealth was not included in the final agenda of the Lok Sabha for 29 November and thereafter was withdrawn with the Speaker's permission.

3. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
4th February 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

I enclose a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur about her membership of the Rajya Sabha. I do not know what the position is. But, on the whole, I am inclined to think that she should be allowed to continue, more especially if Partap Singh is of that opinion.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was Member of Rajya Sabha from 20 April 1957 to 2 April 1958 and 3 April 1958 to 6 February 1964.

4. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi

February 4, 1958

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

I have been much concerned about your health. I do hope you are better. I returned from Bombay this afternoon.

I am writing to you especially about a disconcerting piece of news that has reached me. There has been big scale smuggling of gold in the Bombay State, more especially on the Saurashtra side. A gang of smugglers have been arrested. The leader is a Muslim, named Talab Haji Hussain of Saliah. He was granted bail and he misused this. Thereupon his bail was cancelled by reference to the High Court of Bombay. He has appealed to the Supreme Court.

In connection with this case, the name of K.K. Shah,² President of the Bombay PCC is being mentioned as having some connection with this group of smugglers. I do not know what the nature of the evidence is, but it appears that K.K. Shah is in some ways connected with Talab and it is alleged that he has received some monies from him. He is apparently helping in the defence of Talab through well-known advocates. His son, V.K. Shah, is supposed to be one of the junior counsels engaged for Talab.

I do not quite know what you or I can do in the matter, but I thought I should inform you.³

I am sending a copy of this letter to Morarji Bhai.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Kodardas Kalidas Shah (1908-1986); lawyer and politician from Bombay; participated in freedom struggle; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1952; General Secretary, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, for many years, its Vice-President, 1955-57, and President, 1957-60; General Secretary, AICC, 1961-63; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1960-71; Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, 1967-69, and Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development, 1969-71; Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, 1969-1971.
3. Dhebar replied on 6 February 1958 that he "shall make immediate enquiries in the matter". He had suggested to K.K. Shah that he might relinquish his legal practice so long as he was the Bombay PCC President. Dhebar wrote that Shah agreed to do so but did not know if he had declared it.
4. Morarji Desai was Union Minister of Commerce and Industry at this time.

5. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
30th March 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Yesterday the Pondicherry Assembly was to have met and to have been formally opened by our Chief Commissioner² there. As a matter of fact, as there was no quorum, it could not meet. This lack of quorum was due to the fact that ten members of the Congress Assembly Party deliberately kept away. They are opposed to Goubert³ and want a change in the Executive Council. This was their way of exercising pressure. The Assembly meeting was thereupon adjourned to next Tuesday, 2nd April.

The fact that the Assembly was adjourned does not create any crisis, as in fact the Assembly has very little power to do anything. Nevertheless, it is indicative of the inner troubles and frictions. Our Chief Commissioner in Pondicherry telephoned from there yesterday suggesting that someone might go down from Delhi to talk to these people and he further mentioned Shriman Narayan's⁴ name for this purpose. Obviously, it is far easy for people from Madras to go there. But some of the Pondicherry people, and especially Goubert, are rather allergic to the type of persons who come from Madras and more especially to Kamaraj Nadar.⁵

There is no question of sending Shriman Narayan from here all the way to Pondicherry for this business. I think, however, that it would be a good thing if someone went from Madras—not Kamaraj Nadar—and just talked to these people quietly and told them that the attitude they had taken is not helpful to them or to anyone else. As a matter of fact, we have been held up in Pondicherry by the great delay in the ratification by the French Parliament of our treaty with them about Pondicherry.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. M.K. Kirpalani.
3. Edouard Goubert was a member of the Executive Council of Pondicherry Assembly.
4. General Secretary of the Congress and Member of the Planning Commission.
5. Chief Minister of Madras.
6. A treaty ceding full sovereignty to India over French territories in India was signed in New Delhi on 28 May 1956. The treaty was ratified by French Parliament in May 1962 and the instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi on 16 August 1962.

1. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
January 11, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I have just received your letter of the 10th January.² I have read the press accounts of Sheikh Sahib's release and his conversation with newsmen.³ Some of these newspapermen also met me for a few minutes today at a party given by the Vice-President⁴ to Macmillan, the UK Prime Minister, and gave me their impressions. It appears clear that Sheikh Abdullah is likely to adopt an aggressive attitude. What the consequence of this is likely to be and what other development might take place, I do not know. But, from such accounts, as I have had, you have the situation well in hand and he is not likely to succeed to any large extent.⁵

Yesterday Kashyap Bandhu⁶ came to see me. He had asked for an interview long ago, before Sheikh Sahib's release. I was too busy then and fixed yesterday.

1. JN Collection.
2. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, had informed Nehru that Sheikh Abdullah had been released from jail at Kud instead of at Srinagar, on Abdullah's insistence, on 8 January at 5.40 p.m. He contradicted Abdullah's statement that no arrangements for transport for him were made at Kud, and said that he had declined to avail of the offer of government transport, saying that he did not feel safe in the hands of government drivers. Bakhshi further said that Abdullah was given three hundred rupees for journey expenses.
3. Talking to pressmen at Kud on 10 January, Sheikh Abdullah reiterated his stand that the issue of Kashmir's accession should be resolved by holding a plebiscite, and said that the existing Government of Kashmir had no "legal or constitutional status". He added that it was he who had linked Kashmir with India but the Central Government had neglected the interests of Kashmiri Muslims, particularly in the Army. He also expressed his warmest regards for Nehru and stated that "probably the forces of the situation were such that to bring about a speedy solution he put me into prison."
4. S. Radhakrishnan.
5. Bakhshi had written that preparations were afoot to hold public meetings on the arrival of Sheikh Abdullah at Srinagar, but there were no signs of any big demonstrations coming off. Bakhshi also wrote that Abdullah had "repeated what he used to say in 1953. This time, however, his statements are characterised by a good deal of acrimony and bitterness."
6. Tara Chand popularly known as Kashyap Bandhu (1899-1985); freedom fighter, social reformer, journalist and environmentalist from Kashmir; organized Kashmiri Mazdoor Board in Lahore; joined Hindustan Socialist Republican Army and was arrested in Saunder's case; returned to Kashmir, 1931, involved in organizing Yuvak Sabha, the springboard for his political and social reform activities.

His general trend of conversation was that an effort should be allowed to be made to bring Sheikh Abdullah round to a reasonable view. This should not be ruled out, though of course it is possible that it will not succeed. If it did not succeed, the situation would be clearer and we would know where he was. If it did succeed, then the situation would be easier. Further that, in any event, nothing should be said or done which was likely to make Sheikh Sahib more hostile, that is, that he should be treated with courtesy even though he let out a lot of hot steam. Probably after a week or ten days he would quieten down and take a more realistic view of the situation. But if some action was taken against him or if he was publicly condemned and abused, this would have a bad effect.

I told Kashyap Bandhu that it was certainly not our intention to treat Sheikh Abdullah with any discourtesy and, so far as I knew, these were your instructions. Nor was it anybody's intention to take any action against Sheikh Sahib. Perhaps it would be a good thing to allow him to blow off steam, but, obviously, I could not say what would happen in the future. That would depend on what Sheikh Sahib did.

Kashyap Bandhu suggested that an attempt should be made for Sheikh Sahib to see me. I replied that I could hardly invite him; but if he came here and wished to see me, I would do so.

Then Kashyap Bandhu told me that Sheikh Sahib's three sons⁷ were in Delhi and were leaving that night for Srinagar to meet their father. They wanted to see me for a few minutes, but were afraid that they might not be allowed to enter our house. I told him that if they so wished, they could come to see me, but that it would only be for a few minutes as I was terribly busy with Macmillan. There was no question of their not being allowed to enter our house. Last evening, Farooq, Tariq and another boy came to see me and were with me just for about five minutes. They thanked me for the release of Sheikh Sahib and were very happy about it. I asked them to convey my *adab* to their father.

Obviously, you cannot come to Delhi for the National Development Council meeting, nor can you go to Gauhati for the Congress session. Your place is in Kashmir. We shall of course be closely following developments in Kashmir and you can rest assured of our support. I think, however, that it would be a wise policy not to interfere with Sheikh Sahib as far as possible and allow him to blow off steam.

I am leaving for Gauhati on the 14th January morning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Farooq Abdullah, Tariq Abdullah and Kemal Mustafa Abdullah.

2. Message to A.V. Pai¹

Maulana Azad telegraphed to me that after release of Sheikh Abdullah, Mridula Sarabhai² as well as Pir Sahib Gilani,³ who is in Delhi, can both be permitted to go to Kashmir. Previously situation was different and they were rightly not allowed to go there. Now when everybody is seeing Sheikh Abdullah there is no point in refusing Mridula or Gilani permission to go to Kashmir.

2. I have consulted the Home Minister. Both of us agree that you should allow these two persons to go to Kashmir, but Bakhshi Sahib should first be informed and his views obtained. If he agrees, then necessary steps should be taken.

3. Please telephone to Vishnu Sahay⁴ giving him this message and asking him to consult Bakhshi Sahib and inform you of his decision.

4. You can also inform Maulana Azad of the steps you are taking.

1. Gauhati, 15 January 1958. JN Collection.

A.V. Pai was Home Secretary.

2. A freedom fighter, worked for rehabilitation of refugees and abducted women.

3. Gilani was arrested with Sheikh Abdullah in August 1953 but had been released later. According to an account by Director, Intelligence Bureau, B.N. Mullik in his book entitled *My Years With Nehru, Kashmir* (New Delhi, 1971), Gilani used to convey Abdullah's wishes and requirements to the Pakistanis and after gathering their reply communicate to him in jail. He was in contact with Pakistan along with others with the aim of carrying on an incessant propaganda against the Bakhshi Government and the Government of India by means of posters, pamphlets, newsheets and wall writings. He figured prominently later as one of the 25 conspirators in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case but managed to escape to Pakistan.

4. Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs.

3. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

January 21, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I returned from Gauhati this afternoon. While there, we tried to keep in touch with developments in Kashmir. Apart from the newspapers, we used to receive some intelligence reports also.

I have just received your letter of the 21st January. Thank you for it. I shall be seeing Vishnu Sahay tomorrow morning, and he will be able to give me any

1. JN Collection.

additional information about conditions there.

When I saw Sheikh Sahib two or three months before his arrest in 1953, I came to the conclusion that he had lost his balance of mind. Reading his statements and reports of his speeches now,² I am even more convinced of this. Whatever his views might be, no one in his proper senses could behave and speak in the manner he has done since his release. I need not, of course, tell you what the reaction has been among our people here. But, so far as I can find out, even the reaction among foreign journalists has not been favourable to Sheikh Abdullah. You quote a report by Taya Zinkin³ in the *Manchester Guardian*. I had previously seen this. I have seen other reports too in foreign papers. Even those who are very anti-India have criticized Sheikh Sahib's utterances and general behaviour.

I think that you have been completely right in the way you have allowed him freedom to say what he likes. You tell me that the initial response has already begun to wear off. This process will probably continue, and it is as well to allow it to continue without giving him an opportunity of exploiting a new grievance. What he will do after he finds that the response is poor, I do not know. He is so unbalanced that it is difficult to predict his future actions. It would appear that his present attitude is pretty close to Pakistan's.

The real question is not so much what he will do, but rather what the public reaction to it might be. Therefore, the thing to aim at is for the public to get tired of him and his speeches. If that happens, then Sheikh Sahib will function in a somewhat isolated way and will not be able to do much mischief.

I am glad to know that you will be coming here for meetings with the Planning Commission. In view of all that has happened, it will be good to meet you and have full talks with you about the future.

I understand that Vishnu Sahay will be going to Srinagar day after tomorrow. I shall give this letter to him to carry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. At a press conference held at Kud on 10 January, Sheikh Abdullah criticized the Indian Government for adopting "anti-Muslim" policies, and in his subsequent speeches in Srinagar, he laid stress on his demand for the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. He also said that the Kashmiris were not bound by the decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly as it had lost its representative character with his arrest in 1953.
3. Correspondent of *Manchester Guardian* in India, 1950-60, and wife of Maurice Zinkin, ICS.

4. To Lakshman Singh Charak¹

New Delhi

January 25, 1958

Dear Thakore Lakshman Singhji,²

I have your letter of January 24. I entirely agree with you that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir State is a delicate and difficult one and should be dealt with with tact and goodwill. As you know, I have had the greatest regard for Sheikh Abdullah and I do not think I have, at any time, said anything derogatory to him. The most I have said once was that I thought he was mistaken in a policy that he advocated. Unfortunately he has taken up an attitude since his release which can only add to the difficulties of the situation.

You refer to the press correspondents going to Kud. They were not sent there by the J & K Government. What the J & K Government did was to invite these correspondents, foreign and Indian, to go to Srinagar. In fact there was a demand for this from the press and the J & K Government felt that they should not refuse this permission. From Srinagar the press correspondents went on their own initiative to Kud.

I am always happy to meet Maulana Saeed.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1912-1983); Captain and Recruiting Officer for Indian Army in Jammu, 1934-36; elected to Kashmir Constituent Assembly in 1938; Parliamentary Under Secretary to Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1939-43; Refugee Relief Officer in Jammu and Kashmir, 1947-48; retired from Indian army in 1950; Member of All Jammu and Kashmir Conference; Nominated Member of the First Lok Sabha from Kashmir.

3. Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoudi, former General Secretary of the Kashmir National Conference, was a Nominated Member of the First Lok Sabha from Kashmir.

5. Record of a Talk with Frank Graham¹

Dr Graham began by asking PM for his assistance in clarifying the question of Indian garrisons on the trade routes in the northern areas of Kashmir now under Pakistan occupation and of Indian garrisons along the international frontier between Pakistan and Kashmir after the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from Azad Kashmir under Part II of the 13th August 1948 resolution. Dr Graham read out various extracts from the UNCIP² reports and ended by stating that the last report by the UNCIP on the subject was that the Indian forces should remain behind the ceasefire line, there will be no Pakistan forces in Jammu and Kashmir and that the United Nations will watch over Pakistan forces to see that they did not re-enter Kashmir. Dr Graham also asked whether India would accept stationing of United Nations forces in Pakistan territory—not in any part of Pakistan-occupied territory, from which they will withdraw. Dr Graham asked whether this will reassure India that Pakistan forces once withdrawn will not re-enter Kashmir. On this point PM replied that this was a matter for the Pakistan Government. Defence Minister added that for all we know, there may be some non-Pakistani forces in Pakistan at present. This point was not further discussed, particularly the UN attitude.

2. PM took up the main point raised by Dr Graham and stated that the clarifications he had asked for could be given but he himself did not see what useful purpose would be served by going through the voluminous old records of negotiations which were all provisional. He said that he himself would like to ask how India could deal with Pakistan in the context of Pakistan's narrow religious bigoted approach and all the talk about jihad. It was impossible to negotiate with a view to a peaceful settlement in the context of this atmosphere. PM briefly mentioned the pre-1947 policies of the Muslim League and stressed that even after Pakistan became sovereign independent State, the same narrow religious and negative approach has been maintained by Pakistan. He referred,

1. New Delhi, 29 January 1958. File No. 14 (1)-KV/58, pp. 33-34/note, MEA.

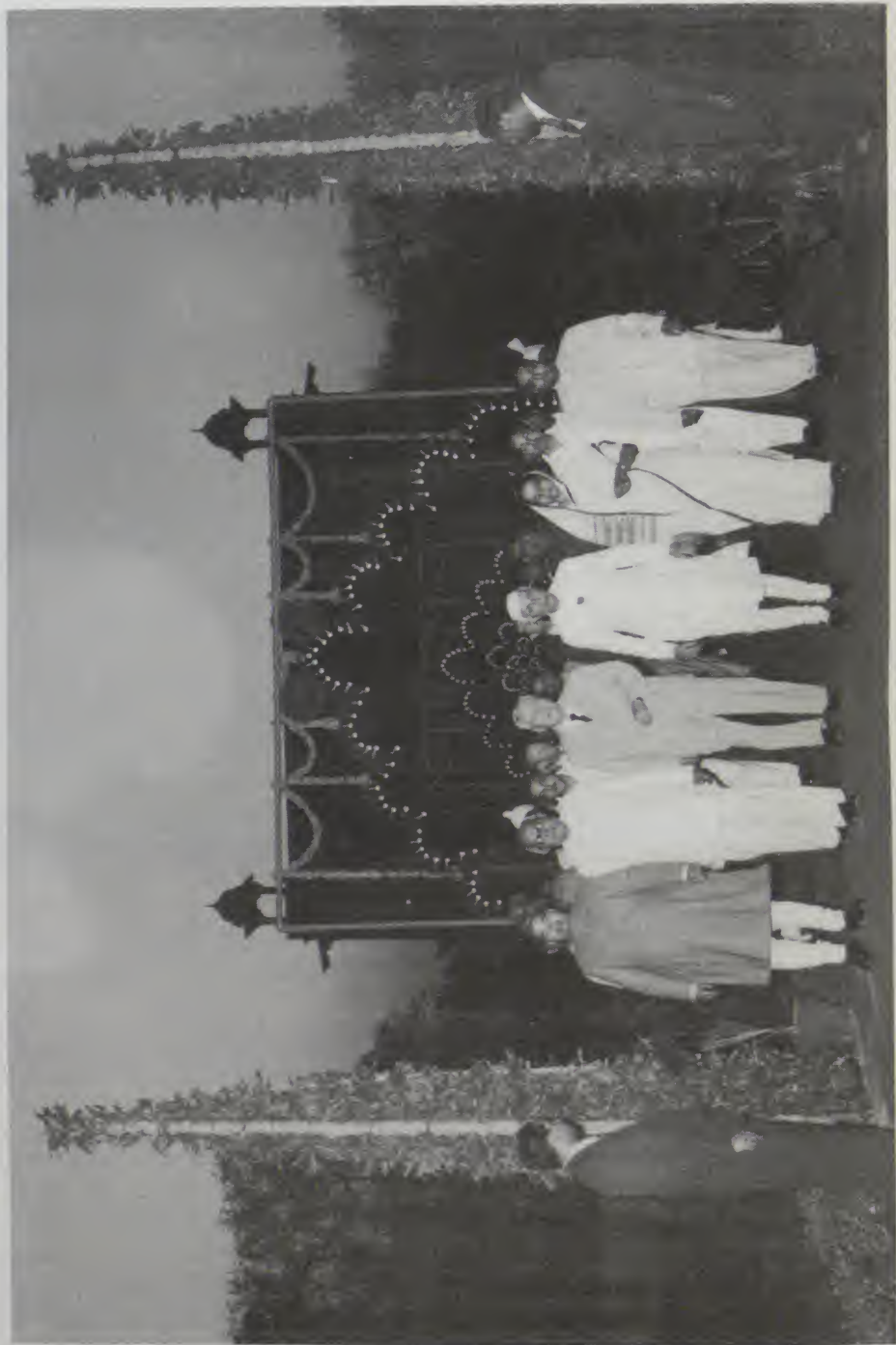
The talk was recorded by the Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai on 30 January 1958. V.K. Krishna Menon and Graham's advisors J.F. Engers and Elmore Jackson, were also present in the meeting.

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on 2 December 1957, Frank Graham, the UN mediator in the Kashmir dispute, reached Delhi on 12 January 1958 and met Nehru on 13 January. No record of this talk is available with us. Graham went to Pakistan on 17 January and returned to Delhi on 23 January. After meeting Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, on 25 January, he met Nehru on 29 January.

2. UN Commission for India and Pakistan.



WITH WALTER NASH, PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND, NEW DELHI, 18 MARCH 1958



AT A CIVIC RECEPTION TO PRIME MINISTER WALTER NASH, RED FORT, DELHI, 18 MARCH 1958

in this connection, to the controversy over separate and joint electorates going on in Pakistan and the allegations regarding Indian intrigue made by various Pakistani leaders. He stated that we in India had no interest in Pakistan's internal affairs but India and the Indian National Congress had insisted on the secular approach throughout and the Government of India had definitely decided to enforce its secular policies. With over 45 million Muslims, 10 million Christians and over 10 million Sikhs and several million others, India cannot accept a religious approach on political questions and cannot negotiate with Pakistan as the approaches of the two Governments were entirely different. There was also the changed context since 1953: the US military aid and Pakistan's military pacts.

3. PM stated that the Government of India had decided some years back that they should stick to their position and not negotiate any further, as no progress towards peaceful settlement could be made in view of the continuance of the narrow religious approach, Pakistan's pacts and alliances, Pakistan's policy of taking the favourable aspect of the negotiations and using its pacts and alliances to press for more and generally its policy to negotiate from strength. PM in this connection referred to the demand made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan for atomic weapons in the Baghdad Pact Conference at Ankara, which figured in the afternoon press reports.³ He also mentioned the statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan about putting Indians in concentration camps and employing them to build mud roads made a fortnight back to show Pakistan's approach to things Indian.⁴ He summed up by saying that, despite 10 years of independence, Pakistan has not developed a national approach, there have been no elections, there is no social or economic progress and a small group of feudal magnates continue to control Pakistan policies.

3. For Firoz Khan Noon's speech, see *ante*, p. 19.

4. See *post*, pp. 659-660.

6. Sheikh Abdullah's Speeches¹

In regard to this Notice under Rule 197, Mr Speaker should be informed that we do not think it will be desirable or necessary to make any statement in regard to Sheikh Abdullah's speeches. The matter is essentially for the Kashmir Government though, of course, the Central Government is interested. We do not desire to curtail in the least the right of freedom of speech even though what he says is not to our liking. Ministers of the Central Government have clearly stated our position in regard to these speeches and there is nothing more to be said on the subject.

Send a copy of this note for information to the Home Minister in regard to this notice.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 4 February 1958. JN Collection.

7. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

February 10, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

The other day, when speaking in Delhi at a public meeting, you said something² about Mridula Sarabhai and her father Ambalal.³ I do not know exactly what you said, but evidently you referred to her father and some Sarabhai Trust which provides large sums of money for propaganda against us. I received a message from Ambalal Sarabhai expressing his distress at the statement in which he was involved, and stating that he had absolutely nothing to do with this kind of thing.

1. JN Collection.
2. At a public meeting held in Delhi on 2 February 1958 under the auspices of the All Party Kashmir Committee, Bakhshi had said that lakhs of rupees of the Ambalal Sarabhai Trust were being spent in Kashmir to help saboteurs and Pakistani agents and that "certain people in Delhi were carrying on Pakistani propaganda."
3. Ambalal Sarabhai (1890-1967); industrialist from Gujarat; Director of several commercial concerns, including Sarabhai Agencies (New York) and Kampala General Agency Limited (Kampala); President, Ahmedabad Millowners' Association; Member, Ahmedabad Municipality; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal which he returned in protest against Mahatma Gandhi's arrest in 1930.

Yesterday Maulana Azad spoke to me about this and said that he had mentioned it to you also.

We all know of course that Mridula has been functioning in a highly objectionable way, but I was not aware at all that Ambalal Sarabhai had anything to do with such matters and indeed I should be very much surprised to learn that he is giving any money to Mridula for this purpose. Having known him for long, I know that he does not like getting entangled in any political matter, nor does he like spending much money. I can, therefore, hardly believe that any money could have come from him for this type of agitational purpose.

I should like to know what you said about Ambalal and whether you have any kind of evidence for connecting Ambalal in any way, directly or indirectly, with this agitation about Kashmir. Maulana Azad told me that you had said to him that you had evidence.⁴ If so, please let me know what it is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru also wrote to Ambalal Sarabhai on 11 February 1958 saying that he had not seen the report of Bakhshi's speech. He told Ambalal that he was sorry that any report of this kind should have been made and wrote that he had not given any importance to it.

8. Permit to Pir Maqbool Gilani¹

You might telephone Shri Vishnu Sahay and tell him that he need not mention to Bakhshi Sahib about any message having been brought to me. There was no written message. It was just a kind of vague oral message which had no particular meaning. I attach no importance to this and, therefore, this need not be mentioned to Bakhshi Sahib.

2. I should like Shri Vishnu Sahay to tell Bakhshi Sahib that in my opinion Shri Pir Maqbool Gilani should be allowed to go back to Kashmir. In fact that normally people should be allowed to go there unless there are very special reasons to the contrary. I feel that it will not be right to refuse a permit to Shri Gilani. But this is a matter for the decision of Bakhshi Sahib and having heard my views he can decide as he chooses.

1. Note to the Defence Ministry, New Delhi, 12 February 1958. JN Collection.

9. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
February 15, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

In the course of the last week or so, three persons have had interviews with me in regard to Kashmir affairs. These three are Pir Maqbool Gilani, Kashyap Bandhu and, this evening, Maulana Masoudi.

What they told me was slightly varied in content but, generally speaking, it was on the same lines. They said that when Sheikh Sahib came out of his detention, he did not meet anybody who could acquaint him with the real facts and prepare his mind to meet the present situation. Some petty incidents also happened, which irritated him still further, and he made rather foolish statements in his anger. To some extent, his subsequent statements were misrepresented, though it is true that he did make a number of statements which it would have been far better if he had not made. He has evidently been in a state of extreme excitement and mental upset. There is still some chance of his quieting down and realizing what the situation was. It would be a good thing if I met him.

This was the purport of what they said, although the actual stress varied with different persons. All of them stressed, of course, that they earnestly hoped that nothing would be said or done which will make the situation worse.

I told them that I could understand a state of resentment and even anger after a long term of confinement. Nevertheless, Sheikh Sahib had said things which I did not expect of him at all and which had made his position very difficult. So far as I was concerned, I am always prepared to meet anybody, and if at any future time Sheikh Sahib wanted to see me here, I would, of course, meet him. But I did not think this was a suitable time for that. He was much too excited, and conditions had deteriorated, and a meeting now would serve no purpose. It might even do some harm. I had no business to offer advice, but if I was to suggest anything, it would be that matters should be allowed to calm down, so that Sheikh Sahib might become a little more normal. As far as possible, speeches, etc., might be avoided for some time.

On the whole, they seemed to agree with me that the present was not the right time for a meeting. None of them conveyed any direct message from Sheikh Sahib to me, except his 'salaams'. They merely told me briefly of what they had gathered from his talks with them separately.

Some days ago, Pir Maqbool Gilani said that he would like to go back to Kashmir and would like a permit for that purpose. Thereafter, I wrote to the

1. JN Collection.

Defence Ministry here and told them that so far as I was concerned, a permit could be given to him, but that you should be consulted before this was done. Later, I was informed that you did not like the idea of giving him a permit, as there were some rumours to the effect that some kind of negotiations were taking place and you did not wish these rumours to be encouraged in any way. I realized that there must be some such rumours, although there was little justification for them. I still thought, however, that it would be better to allow these people to go back to Kashmir. It is always better, I think, to allow normal procedures to be followed, unless there is very strong reason to the contrary. The policy you have broadly pursued in regard to Sheikh Sahib, that is, allowing him full freedom to function as he wanted, has not only been right, but has been successful. Therefore, it would be better, I think, to allow these people to go back or to come here. But I left the final decision to you.

I find some criticism being made here that while some of these people are not allowed to go to Kashmir, Jan Sangh people like Vajpayee,² are allowed to go to Jammu and deliver objectionable speeches. N.C. Chatterji.³ I understand, is going there. I suppose that it would be difficult to stop him, but Vajpayee is a highly objectionable person and can do much mischief in Jammu, and upset thereby the policy that you are following.

You must have seen the grave consequences that have followed the enquiry into the insurance matter. Although nobody makes any personal charges against anyone, least of all, against the Finance Minister, still, on grounds of principle, I have very regretfully accepted his resignation. I thought that we must set an example of high standards in the public conduct of business. Some of the senior officials concerned will also be dealt with.

This has put a very great burden on me, but there is no help for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (b. 1924); member of RSS since 1941; arrested during the Quit India movement in 1942; founder-member of Jan Sangh and its President, 1968-73; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62, 1967-84 and 1991-2009; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-67 and 1986-91; detained during Emergency, 1975-77; founder-member of Janata Party, 1977; Union Minister of External Affairs, 1977-79; Founder-President, Bharatiya Janata Party, 1980-86; Prime Minister of India, May 1996 and 1998-2004; works include *New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy*, *Four Decades in Parliament* (collection of speeches) and *Amar Balidan*; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1992.
3. A prominent leader of the Hindu Mahasabha.

10. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi

February 15, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to Bakhshi Sahib. As you must have realized, I do not at all like the idea of persons like Pir Maqbool Gilani, Maulana Masoudi or any others like them, to be prevented from going to Kashmir from here. On the whole, the Kashmir Government have functioned well during the past months or so. Why should they do something which lays them open to criticism and puts them in the wrong?

Also, I do not like men like Vajpayee being allowed free entry.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

11. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

February 22, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of February 17 about Ambalal Sarabhai has just reached me.²

We all know about Mridula's objectionable activities. But I do not know what ground you have for thinking that she has obtained vast sums of money from her father, Ambalal Sarabhai, for this purpose. I had never heard of this before and I would doubt this. So far as I know, Ambalal Sarabhai made some trusts long ago in favour of each of his children. Mridula is one of the beneficiaries of one such trust and draws some income from it. I do not quite know what

1. JN Collection.

2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 10 February (see *ante*, pp. 638-639) Bakhshi wrote that his Delhi speech of 2 February did not contain anything to which Ambalal Sarabhai could take objection to. He asserted that for the past four and a half years Mridula Sarabhai had been carrying on a vicious campaign of vilification against his Government by circulating thousands of pamphlets. This had encouraged the anti-national elements both within and outside the State. Bakhshi alleged that Ambalal Sarabhai had been financing these activities and "has not till today made any public statement disapproving of the activities of Mridula."

this income is, but my recollection is that it is about Rs 1,500.00 a month. Possibly it is open to her to sell her shares in some of her father's concerns. After making the trust, her father has no control over this trust money.

The point is that there is nothing to show her father's connection in this matter. If you have any proof about this, I shall be glad to have it.

As for Ambalal Sarabhai not issuing any statement denouncing or disapproving of Mridula's activities, I do not think you can expect him to issue any statement of this kind. Throughout the long period I have known him, he has tried to avoid issuing any political statement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Help to an Indigent Kashmiri¹

This morning when I was near the Jama Masjid a man came to me and handed the attached letter. In this he says that he is a Kashmiri who lost a great deal because of the floods and snow and came in search of an employment. He has not been able to get it and now he wants to go back to Kashmir and wants his journey expenses to be paid.

2. I know nothing about him, but if he is a bona fide case, I am prepared to pay him his journey expenses. Someone might be asked to see him if he can trace him.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 26 February 1958. JN Collection.

13. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi
28th February 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I enclose a copy of a telegram which I have received today from Maulvi Mohammad Saeed Masoudi from Srinagar.² As usual, I suppose this is a highly one-sided and exaggerated account. Personally, I have little doubt that the first part of it is not correct, that is, the origin of the disturbance at Hazratbal.³

You can show this telegram, if you like, to Bakhshi Sahib. I suppose the letter from Masoudi will follow.

While I have no doubt that action must be taken to suppress this violence, I hope that the steps taken will not overreach their mark and will not give cause to neutral people to complain.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In his telegram dated 27 February, Masoudi had stated that on 21 February some of the ruling party workers deliberately attempted to create trouble at the Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar to find a pretext to involve their opponents in criminal cases, wreak vengeance upon them and vitiate the atmosphere. Failing in their first attempt, they again tried to create disturbances in the city on the 24 and 26 February in order to spread large-scale panic and get an excuse for using the Central Reserve Police and other forces to harass the people indiscriminately. Large-scale arrests were made and those arrested included prominent leaders of the Kashmir freedom movement who had worked with Nehru for years. They were kept huddled in cold, dirty lock-ups. Masoudi requested for Nehru's personal attention and appealed for an impartial enquiry, justice and fair play.
3. According to newspaper reports, some National Conference volunteers went to Hazratbal to offer prayers on 21 February. After the prayers they went to Rajbagh, located about half a mile away from Hazratbal, to attend a National Conference workers' rally. Just at that time 500 pro-Pakistan Political Conference and Plebiscite Front workers attacked the audience with sticks and stones and set vehicles on fire injuring 15 persons. Four persons were arrested, having been caught red-handed while destroying jeeps and cars.

14. Talk with Frank Graham¹

Atal Bihari Vajpayee: Sir, under Rule 197 I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and request that he may make a statement thereon:-

“Talks held with Dr Graham on the Kashmir issue, during his recent visit to India.”

Jawaharlal Nehru: On 2nd December 1957, the Security Council adopted a resolution,² copy of which is being separately laid on the Table of the House.

The Government of India did not accept this resolution and India's representative in the Security Council³ made our position clear in the following words:-

“I am, therefore, authorized by the Government of India to say that, as on previous occasions, even on the occasion of the resolution which enabled Mr Jarring to go to India,⁴ there was no question of our acceptance, no question of our acquiescence to what has been put in this resolution. We shall offer the traditional hospitality of our country to Dr Graham, if he goes there.”

Dr Graham arrived in Delhi on January 12, and left for Karachi on January 17. He came back to Delhi on January 23 and left for Karachi on the morning of February 1. He paid a third visit to Delhi from February 7 to February 13.

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 3rd March 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol.XII, cols. 3122-3123.
2. On 2 December 1957, the Security Council adopted the resolution put forward by the British representative, Pierson Dixon, and supported by the USA, Australia, the Philippines and France. In its amended form the resolution (a) proposed that the Indian and Pakistani Governments should refrain from any statements or actions which could serve to worsen the situation, and should call upon their peoples to help create and maintain an atmosphere conducive to further negotiations; and (b) directed Frank Graham to make every possible recommendation to India and Pakistan for furthering a peaceful settlement and the implementation of the resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949. In this form the resolution was adopted by 10 votes to nil, the Soviet Union abstaining.
3. V.K. Krishna Menon.
4. On 21 February 1957 the Security Council adopted a resolution sponsored by the UK, USA and Australia which enabled Gunnar V. Jarring, the Swedish representative in the UN Security Council, to visit India and Pakistan for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Jarring was in India from 24 to 28 March and from 6 to 9 April 1957. For his talks with Nehru, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 428-435.

During his stay in Delhi Dr Graham and his officials had several talks with our officials and with the Minister for Defence. Dr Graham also saw me on three occasions.⁵

Throughout these talks, we reiterated our position as stated during the discussions in the Security Council and elsewhere and stressed that action has to be taken by Pakistan to vacate the aggression in terms of the Security Council resolution of 17th January 1948⁶ and the UNCIP resolutions as defined in detail by our representative in the Security Council. So far as the Government and the people of India are concerned, they have fully complied with, and continue to adhere to, the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 17th January 1948, Part I of the UNCIP resolution of 13th August 1948⁷ and the Ceasefire Agreement,⁸ the provisions of which have been consistently violated by Pakistan during the last ten years. We expressed the hope that the UN representative and the Security Council will take necessary action for the rectification of these violations, for the vacation of aggression by Pakistan and for future compliance by Pakistan with the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 17th January 1948, Part I of UNCIP resolution of 13th August 1948 and the Ceasefire Agreement.

5. See *ante*, pp. 636-637.

6. The resolution called upon the two Governments to immediately take all measures to improve the situation and to refrain from doing or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation and asked them to inform the Council of any material change in the situation.

7. According to Part I of the resolution, the two Governments were required (a) to issue separately and simultaneously a ceasefire order at the earliest practical date, (b) to refrain from augmenting the military potential of the forces under their control, and (c) to confer regarding any changes in local disposition of the troops. The UNCIP would appoint military observers who would supervise the observance of the ceasefire. In this part was also contained a provision that the two Governments would appeal to the two respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere of friendly relations.

8. India and Pakistan had agreed to a ceasefire at 12 midnight from 1 January 1949 to put an end to the fifteen months of fighting.

1. Meeting with Sikkim State Congress Delegation¹

I received a delegation today from the Sikkim State Congress. This was led by Shri Kashi Raj Pradhan,² Executive Councillor, and consisted of seven others. Among these seven were two or three Lepchas or *Bhutias*.

2. They spoke to me of the coming elections³ and pointed out that the present method of primary elections for the Lepchas and *Bhutias* was highly unsatisfactory.⁴ They had no objection to a certain protection being given to the Lepchas and *Bhutias*, but under the existing method only some vested interests could be represented and quite a number of people were prevented from standing for election as they did not fall into any of the two communal categories. Thus there were a number of people descended from a mixed marriage, Chinese-*Bhutias* or Indian-Lepcha or *Bhutia*, whose families had been there for several generations. But they did not come in the Nepali or the Lepcha-*Bhutias* categories. They had the vote, but could not stand for election.

3. They spoke to me for some time pointing out their difficulties. They had no desire, they said, to create any kind of trouble and had tried hard to cooperate with the Maharajkumar.⁵ But they had not been encouraged and, in effect, some vested interests controlled the situation entirely.

4. I told them that logically I agreed with them completely but it was difficult to be very logical always, and one had to take into consideration various factors. Among these factors was the fact that the original inhabitants of Sikkim were greatly outnumbered by the Nepalese, and the Maharajkumar (who himself was of Tibetan origin) was anxious not to be swarmed in a democracy which will be controlled by the Nepalese residents. As a matter of fact, the proportion of Nepalese and non-Nepalese in Sikkim was continually changing in favour of the Nepalese because their rate of population growth was bigger than that of

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Gauhati, 19 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. (1905-1990); journalist and politician of Sikkim; taught at Tashi Namgyal High School, Gangtok, 1930-47; Cabinet Secretary of Sikkim, 1949; Member, Dewan's Advisory Council, Sikkim, 1949-53; Vice-President, Sikkim State Congress, 1949-56; and its President, 1957-67; Member, Sikkim Planning Commission, 1950-53; Executive Councillor, in charge of Education, Excise, PWD and Transport, 1953-58; Senior Executive Councillor, in charge of PWD, Excise, Agriculture and Transport, 1959; founder-editor of Nepali magazine, *Kanchanjungha*, 1957-72.
3. Elections were held in Sikkim on 17 November 1958.
4. *Bhutia* and Lepcha candidates could be declared elected only if they secured highest votes from their community and at least 15 per cent of the total votes cast by the other community.
5. Palden Thondup Namgyal.

the *Bhutias* and Lepchas.

5. I was surprised to learn from these people that the present population of Sikkim was only about 1,50,000, and of this about 1,20,000 were people of Nepali origin and 30,000 Lepchas and *Bhutias*.

6. This was a big enough difference between the two groups and it was likely to grow bigger and bigger. I was most anxious that every protection and encouragement should be given to the original inhabitants, the Lepchas and the *Bhutias*. But I could not conceive that the great majority of the population could be prevented from playing their full part in the State for long.

7. I said that while I sympathized with their wishes in this matter of representation my own advice to them would be to come to a friendly arrangement with the Sikkim authorities and especially with the Maharajkumar, and to avoid any conflict. A conflict of any kind in the little State of Sikkim, which was also a frontier State, would be harmful to all concerned. We in India would not like it at all. It would come in the way of the implementation of the Five Year Plan and create other difficulties. Therefore, they should avoid such a conflict and seek some accommodation. Even a small step forward for them now would be better than any kind of conflict. It may be that three years later a further step could be taken. For the present, they should concentrate on the Five Year Plan, etc.

8. I asked them if they had thought of any middle way which might be agreeable to the Sikkim Durbar, such as only one election with a certain number of seats reserved for the Lepchas and *Bhutias* and a certain fixed percentage of votes to be obtained from the Lepchas and the *Bhutias* for the reserved seats before they could be elected. They said that some such talk was taking place with the Dewan, Shri Rustomji.⁶ I said that this might well be a good way out and a step forward.

9. They further said that it would be desirable if two seats were added which could be thrown open to everyone in a general electorate. This would enable some people who were not included in either of the present two categories to stand for election. I said that if this was agreed to, it would be welcome. But so far as I was concerned, I was anxious to avoid a tug of war between the State Congress and the Sikkim Durbar. That would be against the interest of Sikkim as well as of India and would delay progress.

10. One member of the delegation hinted at Sikkim being a part of India like any of the old Indian States. I said that we were entirely against this idea. I could not say what might happen in the distant future, but for the present we

6. N.K. Rustomji was the Dewan of Sikkim from 1954 to 1959.

were anxious that the existing situation should continue. Otherwise people all over the world would say that we had compelled Sikkim to join India and that would be to our discredit. Also if Sikkim was a part of India, it would be lost in hundreds of millions of people and the help Sikkim would get for development might well be very little. Today it got a great deal of help as we treated it as a special case.

11. I have told them to confer with the Maharajkumar and the Dewan, Shri Rustomji, and try to find a way out and anyhow avoid any kind of conflict at this stage. They did not give me any assurance, nor did I ask for one, but I think my words impressed them.

12. It seems to me that the best course would be what has been suggested, that is, one general election with reservations for Lepchas and *Bhutias* and those elected from the reserved seats to get a certain prescribed proportion of Lepcha and *Bhutias* votes. I do feel that something should be done also to enable persons who are voters, but who cannot stand from any of the categories, to be able to stand. It would be a good thing if, say, two persons were elected from general electorate, which was open for all to stand.

13. I am sending a copy of this note to Shri Apa Pant, our Political Officer in Sikkim.

2. To Apa B. Pant¹

Gauhati

January 19, 1958

My dear Apa,

I enclose a copy of a note I have just dictated to the Foreign Secretary.² I need not add anything to it as it is a full note.

I am convinced that we should not bring too much pressure on the Maharajkumar or compel him to do anything against his wishes. At the same time, I think that the Maharajkumar's attitude in this matter is too rigid. It is obvious to me that he cannot maintain that attitude for very long. If changes have to come in the future, one should gradually prepare for them and proceed step by step in that direction. Otherwise, when the change comes, it is much more upsetting.

Anyhow, all we can do is to advise him in a friendly way and try to seek a way out. The elections should be held soon. They should not be postponed.

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

The State Congress people talked to me in a very reasonable way and I think that if they were approached in a friendly way, one could gain their goodwill and consent.

You may show these papers to Rustomji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.P. Chaliha¹

Gauhati
January 19, 1958

My dear Chaliha,²

You know that Shri N.K. Rustomji has been functioning as the Dewan of Sikkim for the last three years. I understand that the Assam Government is anxious to have him back. Rustomji's term in Sikkim has been extended year after year.

It is our intention to relieve him of his present post and appoint some other officer in his place. I have now received a letter from the Maharaja of Sikkim³ requesting me most earnestly to allow Rustomji to continue as Dewan. He points out not only that Rustomji has done very good work there, but he is personally and intimately connected with the development schemes there under which Sikkim has made very good progress. Further that if a new man comes, there is bound to be some dislocation in regard to these development programmes.

I paid a brief visit to Sikkim two weeks ago,⁴ and I have myself seen this development work which was satisfactory. What I noticed specially was the way Rustomji had fitted into rather a delicate situation very satisfactorily. He had the confidence of the Maharaja and the Maharajkumar and was, at the same time, popular with the people. He had been able to prevent some conflicts, which might otherwise have occurred between the people there and the Maharaja. I felt then that it would be desirable for Rustomji to continue for some time at least.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Assam.

3. Tashi Namgyal was eleventh consecrated Chogyal of Sikkim, 1914-63.

4. For Nehru's visit to Sikkim, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 511.

There is another very important reason for this. In the course of the next two or three months, Sikkim is going to have elections. There is already some trouble brewing about these elections. Today I received a deputation here at Gauhati from the Sikkim State Congress, which demanded some radical changes in the election rules. The Maharajkumar rejects these proposals and there is some risk of the State Congress creating trouble. I have advised the deputation not to do so, although I sympathized with their demand.

In view of all these factors I think it is very necessary for Rustomji to continue in Sikkim. I do hope that your Government will agree to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Situation in Sikkim¹

I have seen these papers. I have written a letter to the Chief Minister of Assam, copy enclosed. I shall answer the Maharaja's letter on my return to Delhi after we have had a talk.

2. I am strongly of opinion that Rustomji should continue as Dewan in Sikkim, though for how long we need not decide now. Meanwhile I think we should send an answer to the Maharaja on the lines you have indicated.

3. My own present view is that we should change the 1951 arrangement as contained in the letters that were exchanged then.² But we might perhaps inform the Maharaja that while the old arrangement remains, we should like in the future for the Maharaja to choose his Dewan himself.³ We do not think it will be right for the old arrangement, which had been arrived at after much discussion,

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Gauhati, 19 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. According to the letter written by the Political Officer on 25 February 1951 to the Maharaja of Sikkim, India promised to provide economic and technical assistance, give educational scholarships, and help in realizing outstanding revenues. India also accepted Sikkim's existing arrangements with Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal although, according to the treaty of 1950, India was responsible for the external affairs of Sikkim.
3. Under the 1951 arrangement, the ruler was required to appoint as his principal adviser and executive officer a Dewan nominated by the Indian Government. Any difference of opinion between the Maharaja and the Dewan would be referred to the Government of India for advice. India also assumed the responsibility for developing self-governing institutions in Sikkim. Pending approval of a constitution, there would be an advisory council and later, an elected council by village panchayats; the entire process supervised and implemented by the Dewan.

to be altered. It need not, however, be acted upon unless some particular necessity or emergency arises. The development programme and the Seven Year Plan would require the closest cooperation between the Government of Sikkim and the Government of India.

4. I am afraid that the Maharajkumar will get into trouble in future if, as Shri Apa Pant indicates, he wants to go back to personal rule. I mentioned in a note to you today what the Sikkim State Congress delegation told me. I am sure they would not agree to the restoration of personal rule. They, in fact, want progress in the other direction. If they are threatened with personal rule, they might even agitate for Sikkim being merged with India.

5. To Tashi Namgyal¹

New Delhi

January 28, 1958

My dear Maharaja,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th January. I am glad to know that you have such a high opinion of Rustomji's work in Sikkim. As you may know, he is an officer of the Government of Assam but has been serving outside the State for a number of years. The Government of Assam who are short of senior officers have been wanting him back for some time. However, we recognize the special circumstances of Sikkim and I am happy to be able to inform you that the Government of Assam have agreed to Rustomji's continuance in his present post for the time being.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

6. People of Mixed Descent in Sikkim¹

The previous note I wrote was dictated soon after I received the delegation from Sikkim.² I cannot recollect any details now or add to that note. The point they raised was that there were some people there who, although they were voters, were not allowed to stand for either of the two major groups of communities. In fact one of the persons who came was of mixed descent, Chinese Lepcha and his family had been there for several generations. It was said that he could not stand, although he was a voter, as his name was not with the Lepcha-*Bhutias* or obviously with the Nepalese. That is to say that the Government of Sikkim had not agreed to put him in the Lepcha-*Bhutias* group, although he was half-Lepcha. Thus he was left out, though apparently he had a vote. I was told that there were a number of people of mixed descent like that. Maybe there were some half-Indians and they were also left out.

The question was how to give them the right to stand for election. They can either be included in one of the existing groups or a separate seat or two provided for anybody in which they could stand.

I do not therefore quite understand your note. I have not suggested that reservation should only be for Lepcha-*Bhutias*, I had suggested that either it should be possible to include everybody in two of the existing groups or to provide some other avenue for them. I do not know what the best method would be. But Shri Rustomji can investigate this matter. Shri Apa Pant has already received a copy of my previous note and he can find out what the exact position is. My point is that if we can accommodate these people who have been left out without upsetting the careful balances that have been created, one major grievance of the Sikkim Congress could be removed. I cannot suggest any precise way of doing it. The matter has to be left to our Political Officer and Shri Rustomji there to consider if this is possible.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 30 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 649-651.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. BILATERAL RELATIONS

(i) Pakistan

1. To Ila Palchaudhuri¹

New Delhi
13 January 1958

Dear Ila,²

Your letter of the 12th January about Firoz Khan Noon's statement.³ That statement as reported is certainly very extraordinary and objectionable. We have asked our High Commission in Karachi to ask for an authentic report of what Firoz Khan Noon said. It is only after that that we will take such action as is necessary. I can well understand the resentment of the people on this statement. But I do not think we need be distressed about it. Firoz Khan Noon makes wild statements and then quietly withdraws them. Anyhow, you can tell your people that our Foreign Office is dealing with this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Nabadwip, West Bengal.
3. Ila Palchaudhuri and N.C. Chatterjee had, in separate letters, written to Nehru that Pakistan Prime Minister Firoz Khan Noon had, at a press conference in Karachi on 11 January 1958, stated that he had instructed the East Pakistan Government to round up the vast numbers of Indians there, put them in concentration camps and make them build mud roads in villages. He added that East Pakistan's border with India had been sealed, and that Pakistan was ready to sign a no-war pact with India if the Kashmir and canal waters disputes were settled.

2. Noon's Statement on Indians in Pakistan¹

I do not think it will be proper for us to avoid making a statement on this subject. There has been much excitement in India, especially in Bengal, over this matter. It is true that the matter can hardly be considered of very urgent public importance, more especially as it will not come up for another three weeks, however, we should be prepared to make a statement.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. You might send an answer to the Lok Sabha Secretariat to the following effect:

“The Prime Minister is prepared to make a statement on this subject, although thus far he has not been able to get much information about it and a request made to the Pakistan Government has elicited a reply that there is no authentic version of Prime Minister Noon’s statement. What he said was off the record to some Pressmen and was rather casual. He did not intend to refer to changing any law or to vary any agreement existing between India and Pakistan.”

3. As I spoke to you today, you should ask our High Commissioner at Karachi² to pursue this matter further and point out to the Pakistan Government that this subject is going to be raised in Parliament here and we shall have to make a statement about it. We should, therefore, be grateful if the Pakistan Government will inform us exactly what Prime Minister Noon’s statement meant.

4. Is it possible for us to find out somehow about the number of Indian nationals who might be in Pakistan? Obviously, we cannot get any precise figures, more especially about those who have gone there without papers. But still, we can make an estimate of our own for the purpose of the answer.

2. C.C. Desai.

3. Visit of Cultural Troupe to Pakistan¹

I have seen all these papers. I think that in the balance it is desirable for us to agree to subsidize the visit of this cultural troupe to Pakistan. I am not sure that the particular troupe that is being sent will be the most suitable from the point of view of Pakistan. But I am not much of a judge of this and in any event things have gone too far to think of changing the personnel.

There is a definite advantage in the arrangements suggested. I would not have recommended that the Government of India should directly send any such troupe to Pakistan as we have done to some other countries. But an arrangement arrived at between an organization in Pakistan and Kalakshetra of Madras and subsidized by us, to some extent, stands on a different footing.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, Union Minister of Education and M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 10 February 1958. JN Collection.

I think that this type of approach to Pakistan, that is, cultural, sports and the like, is a desirable approach. Obviously, as Dr Shrimali² says, the basic problems between India and Pakistan are not solved merely by such visits, but what is more important is that a friendly atmosphere is progressively created and that counts.

I am all for economy, but this is a type of thing on which I think some money will be well-spent. I am not aware of any substantial body of intelligent public opinion that objects to this kind of thing. Individuals may of course object. We are a great nation and we cannot function in a petty way even though we may have difficulties.

The sum involved is not big from the point of view of what is normally spent on such missions.

I, therefore, recommend that this proposal might be accepted.

2. Union Minister of State for Education.

4. Construction of Mangla Dam¹

Rameshwar Tantia and others:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether the Government of India are aware that Pakistan has signed a contract with a UK firm for the construction of Mangla Dam;²
- (b) Whether it is also a fact that an American engineering firm is also taking part in the construction;
- (c) If so, whether the attention of UN has been drawn to this fact; and
- (d) Whether any protest has been lodged with the Government of Pakistan as well?

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N.G. Ranga: Have our Government made any enquiries or representation to UK and US Governments in regard to this particular matter, that a UK

1. Reply to questions in Lok Sabha, 14 February 1958. Extracts. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XI, cols. 754-757.
2. Work on Mangla Dam project over the Jhelum river in Mirpur district in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir began in June 1957. This was in violation of the UNCIP resolutions. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 634-635 and 639.

firm is getting itself interested in the construction of the Mangla Dam and a US engineering firm is also there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, there has not been any such representation except to the Security Council.³

N.G. Ranga: Enquiry?

JN: There is no question of enquiry. Of course, the Pakistan Government is dealing with private firms in the United Kingdom and United States of America. It does not seem to me to be appropriate for us to inquire into their private dealings. The major question is, of course, one of principle. It is not a question of details of offers made by some firm or a contract. It is a major question of principle as to what Pakistan should be permitted to do in terms of the Security Council Resolutions, that is, what it can do in its occupied area of Jammu and Kashmir State. According to us, first of all the territory is not theirs at all. It is ours. Secondly, in any event, they ought not to make any change there. It is a question of principle with which the firms have nothing to do.

H.C. Dasappa:⁴ May I know what has been the result of this representation to the Security Council? Have we had any reply?

JN: I hope it has been circulated. They normally circulate it. The Secretary General cannot come to any decision. If the matter is subsequently considered in some other context then the Security Council may or may not pronounce upon it.

N.R. Munisamy:⁵ Are Government aware that the Pakistan Government had placed about Rs 50 lakhs in the hands of one Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim, President of the Kashmir occupied area, with a view to silence popular opposition by doling out monthly hush money to all the people with a view to establishing feudal lordship for himself in that area?

3. A copy of the letter dated 21 August 1957 from Arthur Lall, India's Permanent Representative in the UN, to the President of the Security Council expressing India's protest against Pakistan's decision to build the Mangla dam, was laid on the Table of the House.
4. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Bangalore.
5. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Vellore, Madras State.

JN: I am not personally aware of this fact. It is quite possible that they may have spent that money.⁶

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6. Nehru answered some more questions on the same issue in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958.

5. To Firoz Khan Noon¹

New Delhi
March 12, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd February, 1958,² which your High Commissioner³ handed to me when he saw me on the 4th March.

I am sorry to learn that, in your view, C.C. Desai's presence in Pakistan has done nothing to improve the relations between our two countries. We have ourselves been impressed with the keenness and personal initiative he has shown in developing closer cultural and economic ties between India and Pakistan. The relations between the two countries have unfortunately not grown as friendly as we would have liked them to be, more particularly, in the last fifteen months or so. But, throughout this period, it has been, we know, his constant endeavour, in spite of current difficulties, to bring about a better understanding between the two countries.

You have, in your letter, referred in particular to his address on "Problems between India and Pakistan" to the Society of Goodwill and Culture in Bombay on the 15th December, 1957.⁴ On seeing reports of this address in the press, we had asked him to give us an accurate account of what he had said. He told us in the third week of December 1957 that he had been misreported, and that all he had said was to reassure his audience that, despite the large volume of military

1. JN Collection.
2. Firoz Khan Noon had written that India's High Commissioner, C.C. Desai's presence had done nothing to improve the relations between India and Pakistan, that his frequent utterances on the internal affairs of Pakistan had created deep resentment in the people and Government. Noon added that any extension of Desai's term would not be acceptable to the Pakistan Government.
3. Mian Zia-ud-Din.
4. Noon pointed out that Desai's comment about the American hold on Pakistan's military, intelligence and secretariat was a most unjustified aspersion on Pakistan's sovereignty.

aid Pakistan is receiving from the USA, there was no possibility of an armed conflict between Pakistan and India.

In your letter you say that you have no doubt that it was at C.C. Desai's instance that active canvassing was done in some by-election in Dacca by Basant Kumar. I do not know what Basant Kumar did on that occasion and whether you are merely acting on a presumption that C.C. Desai must have been a party to it. I find on an enquiry that Basant Kumar is a Pakistan national working as a local employee in a clerical post in the visa office in our Deputy High Commission at Dacca. It is difficult for me to believe that C.C. Desai would encourage interference in any way in the internal affairs of Pakistan. It would be indeed odd for a petty clerk in Dacca to be instructed, as you suggest, by our High Commissioner for this purpose.

I would like to add, for your information, that C.C. Desai completes his 35 years of service and is due to retire this year. We understand that he is taking some leave preparatory to retirement and will probably proceed on leave sometime about the middle of this year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Occupation of Charland by Pakistan¹

D.C. Sharma:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 562 on the 27th November, 1957³ and state:

- (a) whether any reply has been received from the Pakistan Government with regard to the protest lodged with them against the occupation of charland along the Surma River opposite Levarputa camp near Karimganj by the Pakistanis under armed protection; and
- (b) if so, the nature thereof?

Sadath Ali Khan:⁴ (a) and (b). The Pakistan Government have acknowledged receipt of the protest. Their final reply has not yet been received.

1. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 13 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 4664-4668.
2. Congress Member from Gurdaspur, Punjab.
3. On 27 November 1957, Sadhan Gupta and others enquired whether there was any occupation of charland along the Surma river by Pakistan.
4. Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs.

D.C. Sharma: May I know if there has been any meeting between our political officer and on the East Pakistan side to decide this issue?

Sadath Ali Khan: Yes, Sir, on two occasions a meeting was arranged between the Deputy Commissioner, Sylhet, and the Deputy Commissioner on our side at Cachar, in November 1954 and March 1956. Certain agreements were arrived at, but they were broken no sooner than they were made by the Pakistani nationals.

D.C. Sharma: May I know whether any part of the Surma river is in the Indian territory and how much of it is in Pakistan territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: These difficulties arise annually because the rivers change their course, which is a great nuisance. Sometimes the change of the course is in our favour, sometimes in Pakistan's favour. Sometimes it changes its course in our favour in one place, and in their favour at another place. Naturally, people living on either side of the river either in Pakistan or in India are very much put out if one person's land is covered up. And subsequently, when an island or charland occurs in the middle of the river, he considers it his own. Sometimes both parties consider it as their own. So all these difficulties arise which really are not, if I may say so, international difficulties but border difficulties which frequently occur where these riverine changes take place. They can be settled only locally this way.

S.C. Samanta:⁵ Is it not a fact that half the portion of the river on the Pakistan side belongs to Pakistan?

Mr Speaker:⁶ He means generally with respect to all navigable rivers. The honourable Member wants to know whether half of the river on the Pakistan side does not belong to Pakistan.

JN: That depends. In some cases it may be half, and in some cases it may be that the whole of it belongs to us.

Hem Barua:⁷ In view of the fact that this Charland occupied by Pakistan serves as a springboard for Pakistan vandalism on the Assam border, which

5. Congress Member from Tamluk, West Bengal.
6. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
7. Praja Socialist Party Member from Gauhati, Assam.

ran into as many as twenty-seven in number during the latter half of 1957, may I know if Government have considered a proposal to dislodge them from this unauthorized occupation, if necessary with arms?

JN: The question that arises is whether it is unauthorized or not. It is unauthorized, in our opinion; it may be authorized in the other person's opinion—I am not just talking about this particular case, but there are so many other cases. Every year a new patch of land or new islands appear in the middle of the river. And we have a case about it. Pakistan has a certain demand upon it. We have to appoint some machinery to decide it. We do not decide every question by sending an army, which is rather a crude way of dealing with such things.

Sir, I take it that it is on the basis of well-recognized practices that these questions are discussed. I cannot definitely say whether they refer to a particular convention or rule—I mean what the honourable Member has referred to. But the two parties, the two Commissioners or others on either side, discuss it on the basis of the practices in the past with maps and charts.

7. To Ataur Rahman Khan¹

New Delhi

March 15, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,²

Thank you for your letter of 18th February about Nazrul Islam *Sangeet Sammelani* being organized in Dacca under the auspices of Bulbul Academy of Fine Arts.

We got in touch with the West Bengal Government with a view to ascertaining whether it will be possible for Kazi Nazrul Islam³ and his wife,⁴

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of East Pakistan.

3. (1899-1976); Bengali poet, composer, actor, radio artiste and freedom fighter; wrote over 500 devotional songs; rose to fame in 1920s with the publication of his poem *Vidrohi (The Rebel)*; edited *Dhumaketu*, a journal; went on hunger-strike for 40 days in Hooghly jail in April 1923 in protest against the mistreatment by the British Jail Superintendent; contracted brain disease in 1942; went to Dhaka in 1972 and honoured by the Government of Bangladesh as the national poet; works include *Agnivina*, *Kuhelika*, *Mrityukshudha* and *Yugavani*.

4. Pramila Sen Gupta.

despite their ill health, to undertake long journeys and to participate in the proposed function. The West Bengal Government could not contact Nazrul Islam and his wife, as they were out of Calcutta. The West Bengal Government feel, however, that it will not be possible for Nazrul Islam to undertake long journeys and to participate in any functions due to his mental condition and his wife's ill health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. M.A. Gurmani's Correspondence on Bahawalpur¹

The Pakistan High Commissioner came to see me this evening. He said that his Prime Minister, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, has especially asked him to see me immediately. This was in connection with the libel action that Shri Gurmani² had brought. Malik Firoz Khan Noon would be grateful if we could let him have any correspondence that took place between Shri Gurmani and our Government in 1947.

2. The High Commissioner said that when Shri Shuaib Qureshi³ was Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi, Shri Gurmani had delivered a speech violently attacking India. Thereupon, someone in the Government of India, probably in the External Affairs Ministry, had said: "Here is this man attacking India, and this is the man who wanted Bahawalpur to accede to India and had written to us about it". Apparently, some paper was flourished at the time.

3. I told the High Commissioner that I did not know about this particular incident, nor had I any dealings with Shri Gurmani at the time. I had heard of some correspondence, but I had not seen it. I would have this matter looked into and find out if there was any such paper. Probably, we would have no objection to supplying copies to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

4. I think you spoke to me about this matter some days ago. You had already had an enquiry made about this correspondence and had seen one or

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State from 1947 to 1948, was Governor of West Pakistan from 1955 to 1957.
3. Shuaib Qureshi started his career as a Congressman and after 1947 served for a short while as High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.

two letters.⁴ Could you kindly show them to me, so that we can decide what to do about them?

4. Nehru, in another note (not printed) to Commonwealth Secretary on the same day, said that a copy of Gurmani's letter of 14 August 1947 addressed to C.C. Desai might be given to the Pakistan High Commissioner.

9. Demarcation of Indo-Pakistan Border¹

Gajendra Prasad Sinha² and others:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the progress so far made in regard to the demarcation of Indo-Pakistan border; and
- (b) the time by which it is expected to be completed?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, the boundary has been marked, to begin with, over areas where there is no dispute necessarily; the disputed areas are for the moment left over to be decided upon. Therefore, the regions of trouble remain regions of trouble.

Hem Barua: May I know if Government are aware of the fact that on 21st December, 1957, three of our officials engaged in joint international survey work on the border areas were arrested near Tripura by Pakistan military forces and if so, may I know what steps we have so far taken to ensure security to our workers engaged in survey work?

Mr Deputy Speaker:³ The question refers to demarcation of boundaries. This is a different thing, security and all that.

JN: I have a recollection that a question to this effect was put and answered very

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 21 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols 5993-96.
2. Congress Member from Palamu, Bihar.
3. Hukam Singh.

briefly. We are aware of this incident and ultimately the Pakistan Government expressed its regret immediately after this. But this delayed the work there for some time.

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D.C. Sharma:⁴ May I know if the machinery entrusted with the work of carrying out the demarcation will be augmented, so that the demarcation may be finished in the shortest possible time?

JN: Quite apart from the question of any dispute, it is a very complicated process—trigonometrical surveys and measures by two parties, one on that side and one on this side. Even when there is complete agreement, it is a complicated process. It is not a question of putting in pegs here and there. So, it does take time and it may be that we can add to the strength of our team, but then a similar addition has to be made on the other side too.

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Mahavir Tyagi:⁵ May I know if the demarcation line on the western border is being drawn on the basis of the Radcliffe Award or on the basis of mid-stream system or the basis of possession, as they are factually today?

JN: Obviously it is drawn on the basis of the Radcliffe Award. If any minor variation has to be made, because of the river changing its course, that has to be by consent. The mid-stream question arises where there is no other indication. Where there is some other indication, the mid-stream idea would not be applicable.

4. Congress Member from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

5. Congress Member from Dehradun, Uttar Pradesh.

10. Kidnapping of Indian Boatmen¹

I wrote to you a day or two ago about the kidnapping of our boatmen in East Pakistan.² I am not satisfied at the leisurely way in which we were dealing with this matter. The draft answer to the question³ about them brings out forcibly this leisurely approach.

2. The kidnapping occurred on the 6th March. I am supposed to answer a question on the 26th March, that is, twenty days afterwards and to say that the West Bengal Government has lodged a protest and asked for release of the kidnapped persons. Further, the Indian High Commission has also been asked to take up the matter with the Government of Pakistan.⁴

3. A host of supplementaries suggest themselves to me. Has in fact the Indian High Commission raised the matter? In what manner did they do so? What answer did they get? Are the people still in detention? Have we satisfied ourselves by merely lodging a protest and done nothing else and so on and so forth?

4. I really think we shall have to do something very quickly before the 26th March in order to give a more satisfactory reply. I suggested in my last note that you should send an immediate telegram to our High Commission in Karachi, asking them to demand the release of these people, and expressing

1. Note to M.J Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 23 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. In a note to the Commonwealth Secretary on 21 March 1958, Nehru stated that the detention of Indian boatmen was a serious matter and "the first thing to be done is to get them released. Enquiries can come later."
3. The question raised by Renu Chakravarty and others was answered in the Lok Sabha on 26 March 1958.
4. In fact, Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, informed the Lok Sabha on 26 March 1958 that on 6 March 1958, some Pakistani Military personnel trespassed into Indian side of the river Kalindi in a motor launch and kidnapped four Indian boatmen, who were coming to Hingulganj, District 24 Parganas, in their boat with 22 *maunds* and 36 seers of jute, and took them to Leksa Border outpost. The next day, the Pakistan Military men again crossed the river in a steam launch near Sigarkathi, P.S. Hasnabad and kidnapped three more Indian nationals with their boat loaded with 20 *maunds* of paddy and one cycle. The Government of West Bengal lodged a protest with the Government of East Pakistan regarding the incident and asked for immediate release of the kidnapped persons and return of the articles seized. The Indian High Commissioner in Karachi and the Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka also took up the matter with the Pakistan Government and pressed *inter alia* for immediate release of the seven kidnapped Indian nationals.

our grave concern not only at the incident itself but at the delay in dealing with this very serious matter. Also a direct message from us to our Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca to the same effect.

5. Further you should telephone to Karachi about it.

(ii) China and Tibet

1. Advice to the Tibetans¹

The ex-Prime Minister of Tibet came to see me this evening. He read out a long story of the sufferings of the Tibetans and their wanting independence and India's help to obtain it. This itself took a long time and I had no more time to spare. I told him briefly that it was folly to think of defeating China by armed force, that India could not supply any arms, that Tibet had become so backward that change had become imperative. If the Tibetans did not change themselves, the change would come from outside. There was no possibility of putting the clock back and reverting to the previous State of Tibet remaining there. Briefly my advice was that the Tibetans should keep united and claim full autonomy. They should not challenge China's overall sovereignty. If they stood for autonomy and were united, they would be able to retain their way of life and at the same time they should try to introduce reforms.

I told him that he could speak at greater length to the Foreign Secretary. I understand he is seeing you tomorrow.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 13 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Cable to R.K. Nehru¹

Please refer to your telegram 12 of January 13. Visit to Tibet.

2. Please inform Premier Chou En-lai that I shall be happy to visit Tibet in response to the invitation of the Dalai Lama which he has kindly conveyed to me. I would particularly welcome meeting him there. It is difficult, however, to fix any date at present. I should like to know what possible dates would be considered suitable. Presumably some time late in summer or early autumn will be suitable from the point of view of climate.

3. I suppose that I will have to make this journey by air.²

1. New Delhi, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.

R.K. Nehru was India's Ambassador to China.

2. In a note to Foreign Secretary on 27 January 1958, Nehru asked him to inform India's representatives at Gangtok and Lhasa that Chou En-lai had conveyed the Dalai Lama's invitation to Nehru through India's Ambassador in Peking. Chou En-lai had said that he would be happy if Nehru could go there and that Chou En-lai intended joining Nehru there as he had never been to Tibet previously.

3. Problems between India and China¹

I have read these papers.

2. So far as I can remember, there was no reference to Sino-British relations during my talks with Mr Macmillan.² I think I did say something generally about trade with the communist countries being improved and, possibly, I might have referred to the absurdity of keeping China out of the UN.

3. I think it would be desirable if Premier Chou En-lai's major points in regard to the UK were conveyed to the UK Government through the UK High Commissioner.³ You may mention to him that probably it was Premier Chou En-lai's intention that these matters might be mentioned by me to Mr Macmillan when he was here. But I received the note after Mr Macmillan's departure.

4. As for outstanding problems between India and China, a note should certainly be prepared. Thereafter, the Chinese Ambassador⁴ might be informed

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 24 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, was in India from 8 to 12 January 1958. For details, see *post*, pp. 677-690.

3. Malcolm MacDonald.

4. Pan Tzu-li.

about them and told that we are anxious to settle these outstanding problems as soon as possible. I do not quite remember what the question is about the wireless station in Tibet. I have a faint idea that we were asked to remove it and we pointed out that this would cause us grave inconvenience.

5. So far as the question of the Hoti area is concerned,⁵ we have been waiting for a long time to discuss this with the Chinese representative.

6. Kalimpong Tibetans. When Premier Chou En-lai spoke to me about this a year ago, I told him that we realized that there were many undesirable elements in Kalimpong.⁶ In fact there were all kinds of spies there from many countries and there were, no doubt, some people who wanted to carry on anti-Chinese activities. We have made it clear to them that we would not tolerate any such public activities. We could not take any action against them unless they committed some offence under our law. If I could have any concrete evidence, we would consider the possibility of action (Premier Chou En-lai has mentioned this in his talk with our Ambassador).

7. I think you might enquire from our Intelligence and Bengal Intelligence what their latest information is about anti-Chinese activities in Kalimpong.

8. About the invitation for me to go to Tibet, I have already sent an answer thanking Premier Chou En-lai for this and asking him what date would be suitable.

5. In July 1954, India received a protest from China against the presence of Indian troops in Bara Hoti, called Wu Je by the Chinese, in Uttar Pradesh bordering Tibet. The Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade between India and Tibet Region of China of 1954 had specifically mentioned Bara Hoti as one of the Indian posts for trade with Tibet. The Chinese troops intruded into the Indian territory in June 1955 in violation of the 1954 agreement.

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 596-599.

4. Reconnaissance of the Sino-Indian Border¹

I shall gladly discuss this matter² with you, JS and Gopalachari.³ Meanwhile, my reaction is that we should send a reconnoitering party there in spring with clear instructions that they should not come into conflict with the Chinese. I do not think it is desirable to have air reconnaissance. In fact, I do not see what good this can do us. Even a land reconnaissance will not perhaps be very helpful. However, it may bring some further facts to our notice.

2. I do not see how we can possibly protest about the alignment of the road without being much surer than we are. What we might perhaps do is that in some communication with the Chinese Government in regard to the points of dispute which have to be decided, we should mention the Aksai Chin area.

3. It is suggested that our maps should be sent to the Chinese. Certainly they can be sent through our Embassy. But I think it would be better to do this rather informally.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 4 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 3 February 1958, S. Dutt had written that there seemed little doubt that the newly constructed "1,200 kilometre road connecting Gartok in Western Tibet with Yeh in Sinkiang passes through Aksai Chin," which was now being used by the Chinese. Dutt favoured Joint Secretary B.K Acharya's suggestion of sending a reconnoitering party in the coming spring to find out if the road passed through Aksai Chin. However, if the Chinese opposed, the party could come back and the matter could be taken diplomatically. Dutt wanted Nehru to take a final decision after discussing the matter with him, Acharya and Gopalachari.
3. K. Gopalachari, Deputy Director, Historical Division, MEA.

5. Indians Going to Chinese Sanatoria¹

I agree. The question of selection of persons to be sent to China for T.B. treatment should be taken out of the hands of any non-official organization. Personally, as I said before, I do not understand this business of a number of people going from here for long-term treatment in China, which is by no means better than India for treatment. In fact, I think facilities in India are probably greater.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 4 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. I can understand odd individuals going for special treatment. Anyhow, we should take this matter in our own hands. I see no harm in our telling the Chinese Ambassador informally that we had reports of some measure of conflict about the Communist and non-Communist students in these sanatoria and attempts made by the Communist Indian students to harass the non-Communists. Some hint might be given to him of this.

3. As Shri R.K. Nehru is coming here soon, this matter might be discussed with him.

6. Air Services to Lhasa and Peking¹

When Shri Patnaik² saw me regarding an air transport service to Lhasa and to Peking,³ I told him that we had no objection to it if the Chinese Government agreed. Naturally, this would be entirely a matter for him to settle with the Chinese Government. I have an idea that a message to this effect was also sent to our Embassy in Peking.

Later, I was informed that the Chinese Government was not agreeable to this service to Lhasa. As regards the other one, there was no clear reply either way. Later still, I heard that he was invited to go to Peking to discuss this question with the Chinese Government. I think I told him that he was free to go there for this purpose.

There is no question of our sponsoring his visit to Peking, but we should raise no objection to it. Indeed, I shall be glad if he manages to get permission from the Chinese Government, provided our Government is not brought into the picture at all. It is quite true that Shri Patnaik is apt to indulge in general talks and sometimes drag in the Government's name into it. I told him not to do so and you might also tell him this. Apart from this, we have no objection whatever to his coming to any agreement with the Chinese Government about the air services.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 24 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. Biju (Bijoyanand) Patnaik, pilot and industrialist, became Chief Minister of Orissa in 1961.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.39, pp. 697-698.

7. A Gift from Tibet¹

In view of the behaviour of Shri P. Tsewang, nothing more can be done about him. It does not appear from your note or the other papers as to what the advances to him have been and what his explanation was in regard to them. If we had known this, we might have been in a better position to decide as to whether we should give him a month's pay or not.

2. As for the present and the letter accompanying it, I think we should enquire further into this matter. Therefore, a letter should be sent to our Consul-General in Lhasa,² with which should be sent a copy of the letters received by me and a description of the gift. The Consul-General should ask Shri Chengi Rinpoche for the facts. He might also contact the alleged writer of the letter, Shri Gymzo Ling, and find out from him what the facts are.

3. In the event of the letter and the gift being genuine, he should express my thanks for them and say that I appreciate their good wishes very much. I am quite safe and they need not worry about me. It is very good of them to send this image, but normally I do not keep such gifts with me and they become government property or are placed in a museum.

4. As for the construction of a residential house for the Dalai Lama at Varanasi, this would involve some complicated and difficult considerations, both national and international. At any time the Dalai Lama chooses to pay a short visit to India, we would of course gladly make arrangements for his stay.

1. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA, 13 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. S.L. Chibber.

(iii) The United Kingdom**1. Civic Reception to the Macmillans¹**

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the citizens of Delhi, it is my privilege to welcome you and Lady Dorothy Macmillan to this city,² whose beginnings go back to the dawn of history, and which has seen many empires rise and fall, and today bears a new look and is the modern capital of the Republic of India. We welcome you especially as the high representative of a great country which fate and circumstances associated with our country for a considerable period. That association was both happy and unhappy and it brought cooperation as well as conflict. It has left in many ways its powerful impress on our institutions and on our people.

Indian nationalism, with its urge to freedom and self-expression, came into inevitable conflict with the British power in India, and the changing phases of that long drawn-out struggle and its happy culmination have an element of drama which is unique in the long annals of history. Our great and beloved leader in this struggle, Mahatma Gandhi, even while opposing the British power, never spoke the language of hatred and violence, and sought the friendship and cooperation of England on the basis of a new relationship, that between free, equal and independent countries.

The way of peace triumphed and the two countries came to a friendly settlement, bringing credit to both, and setting an example to others. On a date which has become historic, August 15, 1947, India became free and independent and the British Empire in India gave place at first to the Dominion of India and soon after to the Republic of India. This Republic agreed to continue its free association with the Commonwealth and thereby a unique feature was introduced into the Commonwealth. Since then the Commonwealth has become an association of free nations, some of which are monarchies and some republics, and which include peoples of Europe and of European descent as well as those of Asia and Africa.

1. Drafted by Nehru on 7 January 1958, this welcome address was read out by R.N. Agrawala, President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, at the civic reception given to British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and his wife Dorothy Macmillan at the Diwan-e-Khas in the Red Fort in Delhi on 10 January. JN Collection.
2. Harold Macmillan, the first British Prime Minister in office to visit India, was in Delhi from 8 to 12 January 1958.

This multinational and multiracial association of independent nations, free to follow the policies of their choice and yet conferring together in the larger causes which are common to them, is a worthy example in this world tormented by fears and conflicts. We cannot say that within the Commonwealth there are no problems or difficulties. Unhappily they exist and, more especially, the denial of racial equality in some countries strikes at the very foundations of the Commonwealth.

We earnestly trust that at this moment of world peril when great countries arm themselves with terrible weapons, which can destroy the human race, your great country as well as the other countries of the Commonwealth will throw their great weight on the side of peace and disarmament and the peaceful coexistence of nations.

We thank you and Lady Dorothy Macmillan for your gracious acceptance of our invitation and we trust that your stay in this city will be a happy and fruitful one. We have pleasure in presenting to you some examples of Indian craftsmanship to remind you occasionally of this old-new city of Delhi and the goodwill it has for you and your people.

We are,

Your sincere admirers,
Citizens of Delhi

2 Welcoming Harold Macmillan¹

You are very welcome today. You would have been welcomed at any time as any Prime Minister will be welcomed from the United Kingdom. You are welcomed both in your official capacity and in your personal capacity. Once we came very near welcoming a Prime Minister of the UK here; only he became Prime Minister a few days after he left India.²

You are doubly welcome because the relationship between India and the United Kingdom has been rather unique in the past, in the distant past, in the near past, and in the present, and so while very many distinguished persons have come here from other countries—and we have deemed it our high privilege to welcome them and confer with them because we seek friendship everywhere

1. Speech at the Delhi airport, 8 January 1958. *The Hindu*, 9 January 1958.

2. Anthony Eden was in India from 2 to 4 March 1955 as Secretary to State for Foreign Affairs and took over as Prime Minister of the UK on 7 April 1955.

and we are glad we found them—your coming here because of this unusual relationship between India and England in the way in which it has evolved, makes it a double pleasure to welcome you, to confer with you in regard to many common problems which interest us, and which are of importance to the world. We seek ways of cooperation for our mutual benefit and to help in so far as we can in the solution of those tremendous problems which involve not only us but the peace of the world.

Mr Prime Minister, you are very welcome.

3. Psychological Moment for World Peace¹

Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,
We have met here, as you know, to welcome and do honour to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. This may be considered some kind of a formal welcome, but you, Sir, Mr Prime Minister, have already received many informal welcomes during your brief stay here till now of a day and a half, and you have seen the welcome in the eyes of large numbers of people in Delhi city as well as in some villages round about.

In any event our people would have liked to honour you as the holder of a high office, but apart from that, there is a good deal of the dramatic element in the relations of India and the United Kingdom. Those relations lasted some hundreds of years; they brought conflict and it may be that your view of that relationship may not be quite in line with our view. But the fact is that, during that fairly long period, the impress of that relationship was left upon us in many ways, in institutions, in language and literature and many other ways, many other ways which are rather basic, not superficial, and which, as one sees, have survived even a radical change in that relationship, and are likely to survive, but above all the chief thing, which I think strikes people not only in India and the United Kingdom but in other parts of the world, is the manner that change was brought about. It was not only rather unique but, as I said, strangely dramatic, and which, after these long years of conflict, rather suddenly, almost as if by a magic wand, put an end to that spirit of conflict and in its place there came a desire to cooperate, and a wish to cooperate, in spite of very considerable differences in opinion, or in our reaction to events. I think that

1. Speech at the State Banquet given in honour of Harold Macmillan and Dorothy Macmillan, New Delhi, 9 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

was not only remarkable in itself, but in some measure, if I may say so, set a pattern from which perhaps others might profit, because in this world today opinions differ as they always have differed. The main thing is how to be friendly, even though one differs; how to cooperate in the large field where cooperation is always possible, even though in some matters there are these strong differences of opinion. Because I do believe that I am not talking for the moment about England and India, but about the world at large, that while we talk so much about differences, the ground, the area, of common thinking or common objectives, is much larger than people imagine, but it is overshadowed often by the differences, with the result that, instead of that feeling of amity and cooperation, which should be encouraged, other feelings take their place.

We welcome you also at this particular juncture, Mr Prime Minister, because of the deep crisis in human affairs, and the urgent necessity for resolving it, and in this crisis, you, Sir, have played and can play a very important part indeed. A few days back, just before you came to India, you said something in a broadcast about a non-aggression pact between what are today called rival powers or rival groups of powers.² You will have noticed what a warm reception that suggestion of yours received in a great part of the world, certainly in India, certainly, I think, in every country of Asia, and I think elsewhere too, in Europe and America. That warm reception came because people all over the world hanker after some lessening of tensions, hanker to be rid of this ever present fear of the dangerous possibility of wars and terrible disaster. I earnestly hope that your suggestion in some form or other will reduce the tensions. It will become possible to give effect to it or take some steps in that direction, because the past few years have shown many good things, and many bad things, but broadly speaking they might be said to have been barren of any substantial results, insofar as this tension in the world is concerned. All that can be said is that we have carried on and avoided the ultimate danger. That is true, but we have had the possibility of this ultimate danger shadowing us and embittering the lives of people, because fear is a bad companion, and always to have to shape our actions and our policies because fear of some country or something happening cannot be good for those actions or those policies. It is

2. In a broadcast on 4 January 1958, on the eve of his departure for a six-week tour of the Commonwealth countries, Macmillan suggested renewal of Western attempts to seek agreement with the Soviet Union, which, he said, might start with "a solemn pact of non-aggression". He added: "This has been done before. It will do no harm. It might do good. We must reach an agreement about the testing of nuclear weapons, their manufacture, their use and their numbers, but we must also deal with what are called conventional arms. Yet peace can't be secured just by words—we need deeds as well."

true that sometimes there are basic differences; they are so, and yet I believe firmly that given the chance there is an enormous fund of goodwill in the world, there is a very great degree of commonness of purpose, certainly in regard to the avoidance of war, and also I believe in regard to the lessening of these great tensions, and I believe also that owing to various factors, partly the tremendous development in technology, and in weapons of mass destruction, this question has become much too urgent to be postponed. Now, more especially, a psychological moment seems to have come when people expect big things to happen, people expect a big step towards a peaceful solution, but it may not come suddenly, that is, the result may not come suddenly, but moves in that direction would certainly fit in with the temper of the age, and if unhappily they are delayed, there might well be tremendous disappointment and frustration, and again that continuance and perhaps an aggravation of that fear that has shadowed the world. So if I may say so, Mr Prime Minister, we in India, in this matter, I think, I speak for large numbers outside India too, warmly welcome what you said the other day, and we earnestly hope that this will lead to results so that this shadow of war may at last disappear from the face of the earth.

I mentioned to you just now about the peculiar history of our relationship, the relationship of our two countries. We have learnt much from you, perhaps you may have learnt something from us, and yet it was odd that England and India should come together in this way or in the sense that in many ways they differed so much from each other, and the oddness of it also came out when we chose, for our leader, a man the like of whom probably would not be a leader in any other country in the world. He was not to be called a political leader although he was a great politician, essentially he was something else, and we chose a person who went about half-clad, with no position, no power behind him of money or arms, and yet a great power over the hearts and the minds of people, and in that sense he represented India, not only the long past of India, but the present and the future much more than any of us gathered round this table now or later are likely to do or can do. That shows something which people are likely to forget in regard to India, something about the standards India puts and the value she attaches to people.

We, like others, naturally value the material things of life. We labour to raise our standards, we are working hard to that end and we will continue to work hard, determined to achieve our objectives; that is true. We naturally realize in the world today strength counts, even armed strength makes a difference. All countries keep armies and navies, some small, some very big, and yet in the final analysis India has paid homage and still I believe pays homage to the man of spirit, neither to the man of arms nor to the man of money. Whether it is good or bad, I do not say but what I venture to submit is

largely true, and therefore, if I may say so, in this world today, we in all humility want to appeal to the spirit of man, neither to the money nor to the arms, and I do believe that the spirit of man will triumph in the world, if approached properly, and not through fear and threats and armed might, which unfortunately has been the case for many years now, chiefly because of fears and apprehensions. We are a big country in size but we do not presume to tell others what they should do, and we do not presume to think that we can influence the larger policies of the world. But even small voices count, if they are earnestly felt, and we do feel earnestly and, if I may say so, passionately, in regard to these problems, and we, and I repeat that, we hope with all our heart that what is in the minds of so many millions of people all over the world today, that is, the assurance of peace and goodwill and how to lessen tensions, and move away from this atmosphere of fear and hatred, how that thing, that is in the minds of millions and millions, should be given shape by the activities of those great statesmen who are in a position to do so, and because you, Sir, are among those who are in a position to do so, I would make this earnest appeal to you.

May I ask Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of Mr Macmillan, and Lady Dorothy Macmillan.

4. Indo-British Relations¹

Mr Prime Minister, Members of the Municipality, ladies and gentlemen,

Please do not be under any misconception that I have also been given a citation today. My memory is not very good anymore. But I cannot remember when I was given a citation by the Delhi Municipality.

Well, we have met here at the Red Fort, which was built exactly three hundred years ago. I am told it was built in 1658. Now it is 1958. Now I do not know if the construction was begun or completed in 1658. Anyhow, it is well known that three hundred years have gone by since it was built. At the time when it was built it was the symbol and centre of a great empire, of the Mughal Empire. Ambassadors came from distant countries and were received in the Diwan-e-Khas in the Red Fort. It is one of the innumerable monuments which came up in Delhi, Agra and other places and remind us to this day of the

1. Speech at a civic reception given in honour of Harold Macmillan and Dorothy Macmillan by the Delhi Municipal Committee in the Red Fort, Delhi, 10 January 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

grandeur of that era.

That was the age of the Mughal Empire. Gradually the power of the Mughals declined and ultimately disappeared altogether. But it was a gradual process. Invaders came, armies came to Delhi; in the process Delhi was partly ruined and sometimes captured. The beautiful Peacock Throne was carried away from here. The great wealth of the empire was plundered and looted. Yet the Mughal emperors lived on but in name and their power dwindled gradually.

The British came and gradually spread themselves all over the country. Initially, they were regarded as subordinate to the Mughals and were given *Diwani* rights over some territories. But that was a facade. The real power behind the throne was the British. Then a time came when the Mughal emperor's rule was confined to the walls of this Fort. Soon even that came to an end. A hundred years ago, there was a revolt, a revolution and great bloodshed in the Red Fort and the British Empire was formally established in India. Those who had dared to raise their heads in rebellion against the British were brutally suppressed.

More time went by and another kind of movement began against British rule in India. Our freedom struggle had begun, peacefully, under a great leader who commanded no ordinary forces, weapons or money. He trained us gradually over the years, there were ups and downs, and ultimately he led us to victory and freedom. The victory that he won was the kind that was described by a great soul in this country a long, long time ago. Gautam Buddha had said that the best kind of victory is one in which neither side loses. The voice of India of 2,500 years ago was once again echoed in our lifetime by a great human being. He showed us a path which we followed and gained a victory in which neither side had to face the humiliation of defeat and a new relationship was established. The old one was intolerable. So a new relationship between two independent nations was forged.

The Red Fort was the symbol, first of a great empire, the Mughal Empire, then of ruin and downfall, and then became the symbol of the British Empire. During the freedom struggle, all of us would occasionally sing a song which urged us to go to Delhi, to the Red Fort and fly the flag from the Red Fort. That day also dawned, ten and a half years ago, and our beloved tricolour was unfurled from the ramparts of this fort. Even at that moment there was no bitterness or enmity in our hearts and we came to an agreement peacefully. It was a unique event in the history of the world when, in the city of Delhi, two opponents, one a great imperial power and the other the people of a great nation, brought to a close their struggle by reaching an agreement by peaceful, non-violent methods. India became free once more.

Even in the moment of victory we shook hands with those against whom

we had struggled for so long and established a new relationship befitting two independent nations. All of us have been witness to the events of those days. Today all these thoughts come crowding into our minds as we sit here to welcome our honoured guests. The thought that strikes me is that if after centuries of struggle, India and Britain can establish friendly ties, why can other nations not do the same instead of engaging themselves in a terrible arms race. They prepare for war though they know that it can lead to total annihilation.

As you know, it is an old habit of ours in India to indulge in debates and arguments which persists to this day. But we find that great debates are held in Europe and the United States about the issues of war and peace with no results, though the whole world looks on expectantly in the hope that a solution will be found to rid the world of terrible uncertainty. We would like to point out in all humility that we in India have settled the matter of our independence by a friendly agreement and forged a strong, new relationship as is becoming of two independent nations. We are free to follow the path of our choice and at the same time we have tolerance, affection and respect for the other side.

This is a very good example which some people have failed to understand in India and in other countries. They think of our new relationship with Britain as one of inferiority. They are mistaken, because the history of the last ten years shows that we have often held different views and followed divergent paths. It shows that that is no obstacle to having mutual respect and affection for one another.

We have forgotten many of the things taught by Mahatma Gandhi. But there are some lessons which have become deeply ingrained in us and are not easily forgotten. One of those lessons is that war does not solve anything. We must always keep the doors of friendship open even for our enemies. It is a noble ideal which we often forget in our conduct even among ourselves. We are often led astray and try to drag down others. We must strive to remember that lesson because it is by following that path that we won freedom. That is the only way also which will lead to progress; otherwise we will be ruined. It is the only path for the world too to follow.

Well, the Red Fort has been witness to great pomp and glory. It has been the centre of great power. Today it is no longer the symbol of a great empire, nor do we want imperialism of that kind any more. The world has changed and so have we in India, 38 crores of human beings. These are some of the thoughts which come to my mind and the future unfolds itself before me. There are bound to be great difficulties and problems ahead. But there is great hope too, and confidence in ourselves, in India and in her 38 crores of human beings. We have faith that if we follow the right path without giving in to despondency and panic, and hold our heads high, India will come out with flying colours. We

will achieve a great victory, not over another nation but by overcoming our own weaknesses and we will progress by leaps and bounds. We follow a policy of friendship towards all, towards Britain and the other Commonwealth countries, including one or two among them with whom we have some disputes. Even then we observe restraint without giving up our fundamental principles, because we know that war can solve nothing.

Well, we are happy to have the British Prime Minister as our honoured guest here today. We hope that the friendly relations between the two countries will be strengthened without any thought of exerting pressure or interference in one another's affairs.

5. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
January 12, 1958

Nan darling,

I had been looking forward so much to seeing you. At the last moment, your coming fell through, and we were all most disappointed. Apart from seeing you, I should have liked you to be here when Macmillan was here. I do hope that you have got over your cold now.

These last few days have been very happy indeed for me, and I feel quite exhausted. In another day's time, I go to Assam for the Congress session there. We recently had the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia,² Dr Soekarno³ and, of course, Macmillan, with all manner of engagements, apart from my normal heavy work. Today, we had the National Development Council meeting.

The Macmillans were tremendously pleased here with their welcome. Indeed, they were quite overcome by it and never expected anything like it. When they meet you on their return to London, they will no doubt express themselves in fulsome language.

I had one or two long talks with him. There was no talk about Kashmir or, indeed, about any of our problems, except something about the Five Year Plan.

We discussed chiefly international affairs and, more particularly, the recent messages of Bulganin.⁴ I have also received several messages from Bulganin during the last few days. He has sent me also copies of the messages he has

1. JN Collection.

2. Viliam Siroky.

3. President of Indonesia.

4. N. Bulganin, the Prime Minister of the USSR.

sent to Macmillan. It is clear that the Soviet Government is making every effort to have some kind of a top-level meeting to consider the cold war, disarmament, etc. The latest messages from Bulganin have been very moderate in tone and well-argued. Indeed, he makes out a strong case. I pointed all this out to Macmillan and said that there could be no doubt that all over the world, people wanted some steps taken to break the deadlock and some advance on disarmament. Merely to say 'no' to this, as Dulles⁵ was saying, seemed to me quite unreasonable and unacceptable. What the form of a high-level meeting might be, might be considered separately. But to carry on a polemical argument blaming each other, led nowhere and was certainly opposed to world opinion today.

I think that Macmillan was influenced somewhat by my talks and by the general atmosphere here. He raised the usual arguments, but he felt that something had to be done. His chief difficulty was Dulles. I do hope that some step forward will be taken. Otherwise, I am sure that the Western Powers will lose credit even with their own people and certainly, much more so, in Asia and elsewhere.

I arranged a brief meeting at lunch in my house between Soekarno and Macmillan. It seemed odd that both should be in Delhi and should not meet, even though Soekarno was supposed to be here informally for rest. There was very little talk at lunch about the West Irian situation. But even the meeting had some good effect. Soekarno repeatedly asked about you.

The weather here has been much milder than usual. One might almost think that the climate in India is changing slowly. The summer was mild also.

I shall be returning from Assam on the 21st January, and then we have our Republic Day celebrations.

Tara has sent me her new book,⁶ and I am looking forward to reading it on my journey to Gauhati.

Indu has not been very well. But she is carrying on as usual and will be going to Gauhati with me.

Sheikh Abdullah was released a few days ago. He has taken up a very aggressive attitude and I am afraid he will be up to a great deal of mischief.

Love,
Jawahar

5. John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State.

6. Nayantara Sahgal, second daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, had sent to Nehru her book, *A Time to be Happy*, her first novel published in 1958.

6. To Harold Macmillan¹

New Delhi

21 January 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

I have returned only today from my visit to Assam where I went for the annual session of our National Congress.

Thank you for your personal letter of January 13.² You have yourself seen the reaction to your visit to Delhi and the warmth and cordiality of the welcome you received here not only from members of the Government but from the people. To me it was a great pleasure to have you and Lady Dorothy as our guests for your brief stay.

I am sure that your visit here has done good in many ways. I was happy to have informal conversations with you. It is true that we do not agree about some matters, but the chief thing is to understand each other and to approach our problems in a friendly way. It is this friendly approach which makes all the difference and the Commonwealth association is most valuable because it encourages such friendly contacts.

I hope that your visits to other Commonwealth countries have not tired you and Lady Dorothy too much and that both of you will return to London full of pleasant memories and in good health.

With my regards to Lady Dorothy and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. HC(S)-28/57, P.15/Corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Macmillan wrote from Karachi that the arrangements made for his stay in Delhi had "enabled us to have just the kind of informal conversations together which are most valuable between colleagues in the Commonwealth." He added: "It would be useless to pretend that there are not subjects on which we disagree; but I do believe that our talks resulted in each of us having a better understanding of each other's point of view. I was particularly glad to have had the chance of hearing from you and your colleagues some account of domestic affairs in your great country and of seeing for myself the results of the tremendous efforts you are making."

7. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear Dickie,²

I have received today your letter of the 23rd January.³ Thank you for it.

It is perfectly true that the visit of Harold Macmillan here was a great success. I expected it to be a success and of course we tried to make it so. But it went a little beyond even our expectations and I was glad of this.

So far as the general public was concerned, there was very little of the personal element in it as they did not know much about him. The reasons for the cordial welcome were, therefore, two, which were really closely allied to each other. We made it clear to the public that we wanted a good welcome to be given and they responded to this, more to show their friendship with England than for any personal reason. Oddly enough, this desire to welcome him was partly due to the fact that we differed from him or from British policy, that is, we wanted to show that even though we differed in many ways, still we wanted to be friends and to give him a good welcome.

We have grown rather lavish with our welcomes and the people of Delhi especially like to show off in this respect. We have had a succession of dignitaries and VIPs from abroad, belonging to different countries and groups. It is true, however, that there was rather a special element about our welcome to Macmillan which indicated our desire to keep friendly terms with the United Kingdom. This indicated how basically the old complex of conflict has been wiped off. There are individuals and groups who still function differently. Curiously enough, these belong to the two opposite ends of our public life—the communists and the communalists.

I had two or three fairly long talks with Macmillan. They were satisfactory only in the sense that we talked frankly and I told him how I felt about internal affairs. I told him, of course, about our present economic position and our Five Year Plan, etc. We did not discuss at all the Kashmir issue or the canal waters or in fact any issue relating to Pakistan.

1. JN Collection.
2. Louis Mountbatten, last Viceroy of India and first Governor-General of independent India.
3. Mountbatten wrote that he had heard from friends in Delhi that Macmillan's visit to India was "a great success and that the citizens of Delhi gave him quite a remarkable demonstration of friendship." He added that this would help strengthen Macmillan's feelings of friendship towards India.

I have been definitely worried at the drift in the international situation and the attitude of the United States which becomes more and more illogical and unreasonable. I have no doubt that vast numbers of people in every country, including the United States, disapprove of this rigid attitude which can take us nowhere. Macmillan to some extent agreed with my analysis, but only to some extent. Every argument led to the conclusion that nothing must be done to irritate Eisenhower, Dulles and company. Within that limitation, efforts might be made. Also, Macmillan referred to his apprehension at Russia's military might and more particularly their having hundreds of submarines of the latest type.

I am a layman and should not venture into expert fields. But I feel more and more that those who draw up military and defence policies have lost all touch with reality. All this talk of "deterrents" may satisfy some people, but has no meaning now. The more rigid the policy now, the more difficult it will be to change it later, and change will inevitably have to come. A later change may be less advantageous.

The American effort to establish missile bases in various parts of Europe and distribute atomic weapons did not come off at the last NATO meeting⁴ because of the growing distaste for this kind of thing among many European nations. Now, as I write, the Baghdad Pact people are meeting at Ankara and some countries there talk about having such bases. If any such thing occurs, this will have a powerful and angry reaction in other countries in Asia.

How curious is the mind of man! It makes amazing discoveries into the secrets of nature and then it cannot adapt itself to the very things that it has discovered. The same old gestures are repeated, the same old arguments are trotted out and every few months a meeting is held of the NATO or the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO. Hundreds or even thousands of newspaper correspondents gather and there are movie cameras and televisions and tremendous publicity. There is feasting and set speeches with sonorous phrases, and the net result of all this is precious little.

There is one matter I should like especially to mention. When Macmillan was here, the British newspapers were full of the Queen visiting India some time later on this year. Even approximate dates were suggested and, to the reader, it appeared that something must have been decided. My sister telegraphed to me from London asking what all this meant. As a matter of fact, there had been no mention of this subject in my talks with Macmillan or elsewhere, and I just wondered who was at the back of this publicity.

4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 604 and *ante*, p. 19.

On his last day here, Macmillan had a press conference and in the course of this he was asked about the possibility of the Queen visiting India. He replied something to the following effect: this was a matter for the Indian Government to consider and he would be happy if this could take place. I do not remember his words. That night Macmillan mentioned this to me. I told him that I would personally be glad if the Queen visited India and I was sure that she would get a very good welcome. But there was also the possibility of some opposition groups creating incidents. Normally, I would not mind such incidents, but, in the case of the Queen, I would not like them. Therefore, I did not think it advisable to invite the Queen to come to India in the foreseeable future.

I mentioned to him (he did not know this) that there was some chance of Prince Philip coming here to our Science Congress next January.⁵ That would be good from every point of view.

Our Republic Day parade and pageant this year was better and bigger than ever and everybody present was most impressed. In the fly past, towards the end of the parade, there were about 75 aircraft, including the new Canberras. Two of the aircraft swooped down breaking the sound barrier and the loud bang could be heard everywhere. There was one Gnat too and this was perhaps liked most of all as it came low down and went at terrific speed a little over the heads of the crowds.

We are carrying on in spite of our troubles, but the troubles are many. Somehow Finance Ministers get into difficulties. Our Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, is now indirectly involved in an enquiry taking place about some investments by the Life Insurance Corporation, which is a state-owned affair.⁶ There is no question of mala fides, but wrong judgement and rather hasty action.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. The forty-sixth session of the Indian Science Congress commenced in New Delhi on 21 January 1959. Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, also attended it.

6. See *ante*, pp. 343-420.

(iv) Sri Lanka

1. To Y.D. Gundevia¹

Gauhati

January 20, 1958

My dear Gundevia,

I have received your letter of January 16th about the request for a loan or other help for rehabilitation in Ceylon.² This raises a difficult issue for us. Naturally we want to help, but all the world knows the tremendous crisis through which we are passing. It is odd that we should be trying to raise money in Europe and America and at the same time should offer loans and credits to others. If we did this, there is not much justification for our asking other countries to help us. A relatively small sum would not have mattered much, but what is asked for is a big sum.

I do not wish to compare calamities. Ceylon, having been relatively free from major calamities, is no doubt hit hard by what it has experienced recently. We have had bigger calamities almost every year. Even last year, the enormous floods and drought have cast a tremendous burden upon us.

However, we shall naturally examine this matter with every sympathy and I am consulting our Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry as well as others.

I am writing this from Gauhati where I came for the National Congress session. I am returning tomorrow to Delhi.

You can tell the Governor-General that as soon as I received your letter about this matter, I had taken steps to have this examined even while I was in Gauhati. Naturally we are full of sympathy for Ceylon and would like to help wherever we can. At the same time, our plight is a very difficult one. As he knows, we have been trying to get credits and loans from other countries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Gundevia, the Indian High Commissioner to Ceylon had written that Oliver Goonetilleke, the Governor-General, had called him and said, among other things, that he wanted a loan of three to four crore of rupees on easy terms from India to be spent, over a period of three or four years, on reconstruction and rehabilitation of the flood victims due to breach in the Parakrama Samudra dam. He also pointed out that Ceylon always had an adverse balance of trade with India. The Governor-General Goonetilleke also gratefully acknowledged the magnificent job done by the Indian Air Force during the floods.

2. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
January 21, 1958

My dear T.T.,²

Thank you for your letter of January 21, about the request from Ceylon. You suggest that we might give a gift of some commodities even up to the value of Rs 50 to 75 lakhs. That is quite a high sum. If we are prepared to give such a large gift, surely it would be better to give them a loan, which might be a little larger. I think Ceylon is in a much better financial position than Burma and there is little likelihood of a default. I believe it was indicated that they would buy commodities from us. In effect this would be a credit for buying commodities from India. That would cover your gift plus some more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. T.T. Krishnamachari was Finance Minister at this time.

3. To Y.D. Gundevia¹

New Delhi
January 24, 1958

My dear Gundevia,

I wrote to you on January 20th from Gauhati acknowledging your letter of January 16th, in which you communicated to me a proposal from the Governor-General of Ceylon. This was about a loan to be given for rehabilitation.

I referred this matter immediately to our Finance Minister who had it fully examined by our senior officers and more particularly by the Department of Economic Affairs. They have gone into it thoroughly. In fact, a special meeting was held of representatives of the Ministries of Economic Affairs, Commerce and Industry, External Affairs and Food and the Planning Commission.

The very first thing that they pointed out is that we are so terribly short of both internal and external resources that we are trying to raise loans and credits all over the world. Our whole Five Year Plan, and in fact our economy, is

1. JN Collection.

endangered and, as you know, we have made every conceivable effort in the United States, Canada, England, Germany, a number of other European countries and Japan to get loans and credits. We have been promised some such credits from the United States and some accommodation from Germany. These are not even enough to bridge the gap that faces us, and so we have cut down our own expenditure very rigorously. So far as foreign exchange is concerned, it is totally stopped. Anything involving it is taboo. In two days' time, B.K. Nehru² is going to America about this loan business. Another Finance Secretary is going to Germany. A third team has gone to Japan.

How then are we to give loans or extend credits to any country when we are asking for them wherever there is a possibility of getting them? Are we to give a loan out of what we receive from the United States or some other country? That surely would be odd indeed. Apart from this, how can we ask other countries to give us loans when it is known that we ourselves are prepared to give loans to Ceylon? It does not fit in at all. Obviously a loan of some lakhs of rupees is not worthwhile. Crores are utterly beyond our capacity.

At the same time, we are anxious to help Ceylon to the best of our ability and, indeed, beyond our ability. Anything involving foreign exchange is utterly out of the question. So far as internal resources are concerned, we are now facing the painful ordeal of cutting down our Second Five Year Plan because of the lack of internal resources. At the same time, there is demand for higher wages and allowances from not only the Central Government employees, but the State Government employees also. The Pay Commission has recently suggested an increment to all Central Government employees drawing small salaries. We have had to accept this even though it was a hard knock. As a result, the State Government employees, who are worse placed, are becoming more vigorous in their demands. Logically, there is no answer except that we just cannot afford it, whatever our wishes might be.

Still, we want to help, but that help cannot be in the shape of long-term credits of any respectable size. We would rather give direct aid even though that too is very difficult. However, the proposal is to give aid to the tune of ten lakh or one million rupees. This would be in the shape of certain specific commodities which could be sent from India. Those commodities can be chosen from the following:

- (1) Cement
- (2) Handloom cloth (including lungi and coarse and medium mill-made cloth)
- (3) Raw sugar

2. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

(4) Small power looms (each loom costs Rs 1500/-).

(5) Sewing machines (cost of each machine is Rs 250/-).

As to the quantity of each commodity, that will depend partly on the choice of the Ceylon Government and partly on the availability here.

This is the offer we make. If you think it very necessary and important, you could add a little more to this, always in the shape of commodities from India. But I feel on the whole that one million rupees worth of goods as gift is adequate in the circumstances. There is no point in our thinking of a loan of a small sum, which only creates difficulties in the future. Obviously, we cannot compete with the richer countries.

In your letter you have referred, or rather the Governor-General referred, to our loan to Burma.³ It is true that we gave them a loan because of their grave financial situation. We gave it even though it hurt us to give. Anyhow, we were in a somewhat better position then. I might mention that there is no talk of the return of that loan and I do not know if we shall get it back even. By and large, Ceylon's financial position is far better than that of Burma and, indeed, comparatively better than that of India, considering its size.

You might convey this offer to the Governor-General in appropriate language, pointing out our great difficulties.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Governor-General Goonetilleke had told Gundeia that he knew how even at the worst of times, India, in her generosity, had more than once assisted Burma with loans.

4. Stateless Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon¹

Hem Barua: Sir, under Rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“Reported statement of the Prime Minister of Ceylon² about stateless persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.”

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 17 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIII, cols. 5191-5192.
2. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the Prime Minister of Ceylon made a speech recently in winding up the debate on a resolution dealing with the Indo-Ceylon problem at the annual session of his political party, namely, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. No authorized report of his speech is available, but from press reports, it appears that in the course of his speech, the Prime Minister pointed that the problems of nationalization and citizenship were intertwined and if estates were nationalized first, Government would be obliged to look after the estate workers who were non-nationals. This would, in turn, create more problems for the Government. Suggestions that non-nationals be denied the right to join trade unions or to hold any post, were dismissed by the Prime Minister, who said that these methods were contrary to democratic practice.

In the course of his speech, the Prime Minister said that the problem of stateless persons of Indian origin had become deep-rooted and a satisfactory solution seemed well-nigh impossible. Nevertheless, he said that any approach to the solution of the problem would necessarily have to be based on maintaining goodwill and friendly relations existing between the two countries. He laid particular emphasis on the need to undertake a solution of the problem in a manner that would not cause undue hardship to the stateless persons and also ensure that no disadvantage would be caused to Ceylon nationals. He said that justice requires that those who have been there for many years and who have made that country their home, should be assimilated.

The Prime Minister's general approach to this problem was that it was essentially a human problem and should be dealt with as such.

(v) Nepal

1. To Gobinda Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana¹

New Delhi

February 9, 1958

Dear Col. Gobinda Shum Shere Jung,²

Thank you for your letter of the 5th February.

I need not tell you how very much concerned we are about conditions in Nepal. We would gladly help the country and her people in every way possible.

1. JN Collection.

2. A resident of Darjeeling.

But from the very beginning, we have made it our policy to treat Nepal as an independent country and not to do anything which might come in the way of that independence. This was not only in keeping with our broad policy but I believe that no country and no people advance if they are spoon-fed and cannot rely upon themselves. It is true that outside help is often needed. We are prepared to give that. But we cannot impose it upon Nepal. Gradually, I suppose the Nepalese people will appreciate our attitude. Unfortunately, some of them are carrying on anti-India propaganda even though we do not interfere with the internal politics of Nepal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Procedure for Inviting Foreign Delegations¹

Reading through these papers about the delegation from Nepal I feel that we were not quite correct in the steps we took. No delegation should be invited from any country except at the instance of the Government concerned or at least with their prior and full approval. We cannot take this for granted, nor can we casually mention these matters.

In the present case we really had a protest from the Ambassador of Nepal.² The reply sent by our Ambassador³ is hardly satisfactory. All this says is that he had mentioned this matter to the King⁴ and to the Foreign Secretary orally a week before the delegation left Kathmandu and that neither of them had any comments. Surely we cannot proceed in this casual way and interpret silence as acquiescence. The letter that we sent was after the delegation had left.

Apparently this procedure was adopted a year before too. I do not know if the Nepal Government's permission had been taken then.

This is not the normal way to function in an independent country and I can very well understand some resentment on the part of the Government of Nepal or of other people there. I realize that our relations with Nepal are close and intimate. That is all the more reason why we should be a little more careful about these matters.

A copy of this note might be sent to our Ambassador in Kathmandu.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 22 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Lieut-Gen. Daman Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana.
3. Bhagwan Sahay.
4. King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal.

3. Construction of Roads in Nepal¹

Nawab Singh Chauhan:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a tripartite agreement was concluded early in January this year between India, the United States of America and Nepal for the construction of roads in Nepal;
- (b) if so, the amount to be spent by the Government of India in this connection and the manner in which it will be spent; and
- (c) the mileage of roads proposed to be constructed in Nepal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Yes, Sir. An agreement has been reached for the construction of some specified roads.

(b) The total estimated expenditure on the construction of roads, under the agreement is 10,700,000 dollars. The Government of India's share is 2,631,578 dollars or Rs 125,00,000. The Government of India have, however, committed for only Rs 83,33,000 for the next three years (the remaining period of our Second Five Year Plan). This expenditure will be met out of the overall aid of Rs 10 crores already pledged to Nepal.

A Regional Transportation Board will be established by the Government of Nepal to supervise the road construction programme. The representatives of the Governments of US and India will be included on this Board. The actual execution of the road construction programme will be undertaken by the Office of the Chief Engineer which will consist of one Chief Engineer from each of the participating Governments. This body will be responsible for the preparation of plans and estimates. It will submit annual and supplementary budgets to the Regional Transportation Board for its approval. Deposits, as mutually agreed upon between the Board and the representatives of India and USA, will be made to the account of the Office of the Chief Engineer, upon the basis of the approved budget. The manner and procedure of expenditure shall be drawn up in a Manual of Directives which will be mutually agreed upon by the participating parties.

- (c) It is proposed to construct about 900 miles of roads in Nepal.

1. Reply to questions in Rajya Sabha, 25 February 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XX cols. 1407-1409.
2. Rajya Sabha Member from Uttar Pradesh.

4. To Bhagwan Sahay¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1958

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,

Heavily occupied as I have been, my mind has often turned to Nepal, though it is no comfort. I am much worried about the continuous drift downwards there.

The other day, a message was sent to you about the activities of the Nepalese representative at Geneva at a conference being held there. This man is thoroughly bad and, both publicly and privately, is constantly defaming India and opposing us. Whether he is instructed to do so or not, I do not know, possibly not. But anyhow, he is not pulled up. It is open to the Nepal Government to function as they like, but I do object to double-faced attitudes, and I think the time has come when one should be clear as to where we stand and where the Nepal Government stand. Therefore, I want you to make this absolutely clear to the King and to others there.

This is only part of the story. From what I can gather, there is a continuous downhill trend in Nepal, in spite of promises of elections² and the like, and the reactionary elements are having their way, encouraged, no doubt, by foreign money and promises. I used to have some faith in the King. That has faded away. It is quite absurd for a few odd persons like the King's brother being put in charge of the Planning Commission and all kinds of things without the least competence. People apparently are out to make such money as they can, and Nepal goes to pieces.

I know that you have done good work there, and this is certainly no fault of yours. Indeed, I have a high regard for your work there. But the circumstances appear to be all against us and all against Nepal's progress. I think that it would be a good thing for you to come here for a full talk about these matters. I do not want you to come just yet, as I am much too tired and exhausted, but some time in the near future might be fixed for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. On 30 September 1957, the Nepalese Government postponed indefinitely the first general elections scheduled to be held on 8 October 1957. On 10 October 1957, a nationwide civil disobedience campaign was launched by major opposition parties demanding early elections. However, King Mahendra declared on 17 December 1957 that the elections would be held in February 1959.

(vi) Algeria**1. Terrible Happenings in Algeria¹**

Please see the attached letter.² You might have a reply sent to it by the Joint Secretary or the Deputy Secretary. This should be to the effect that we are fully conscious of the terrible happenings in Algeria, and the Algerian people have our fullest sympathy. I have both publicly and diplomatically referred to this question repeatedly. I shall certainly continue doing so.

I am glad that there is a possibility now of the death sentence of Djamila Bouhired³ being commuted.

Yesterday I sent a note to you asking to send a message to our Ambassador in Paris about Djamila Bouhired.⁴ That perhaps is not necessary now. But I think you might send a message about some of the facts mentioned in the attached letter, more especially the proposal to evacuate 350,000 people.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 6 March 1958. File No. 2(4)-WANA/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Narrating the atrocities being perpetrated on the people of Algeria, Cheril Guellal of the Algerian Front of National Liberation, New Delhi Bureau, wrote to Nehru on 6 March 1958 that 27 prisoners had been murdered in cold blood and six girls had been awarded death sentence. He added that the French decision to create a no-man's land on the eastern side of Algeria would lead to forced evacuation of 350,000 people, creating a situation similar to that faced by the Palestinian refugees. In the circumstances, he requested Nehru to ask UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, to intervene immediately. He also thanked the people of India and particularly Nehru for their continued support to the cause of Algerian independence, which, he wrote, had brought about a change in the attitude of the western powers towards the problem of Algeria.
3. (b. 1935); Algerian feminist and nationalist charged with planting bombs which led to several deaths; tortured in prison and sentenced to death in 1957, but the sentence was commuted in 1958; imprisoned till the end of the Algerian struggle in 1962; held demonstration against discriminatory Family Code of the Algerian National Assembly in 1981.
4. In his note, Nehru had asked the Foreign Secretary to write to K.M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador in Paris, expressing Nehru's hope that Djamila Bouhired would not be executed, and to tell him to convey India's feelings on this issue to the French Government.

2. Message to Habib Bourguiba¹

Dear Mr President,²

I have received your letter of February 28.³ We in India have been greatly concerned about the tragic happenings in Algeria and the sufferings to which large numbers of people are being subjected. Our sympathies are with these people who are struggling to secure their freedom. We have publicly expressed our views about Algeria on many occasions. We earnestly trust that the combined wisdom of the leaders of France and Algeria will find a way out of the present tragic situation and secure for the Algerian people the inalienable right to justice, human dignity and freedom.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. New Delhi, 13 March 1958. JN Collection.

This message was sent through India's High Commissioner to UK, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who was asked to communicate it to President Bourguiba through the Tunisian Ambassador in London.

2. President of Tunisia.
3. Bourguiba wrote that the Algerian war was "assuming a demonical form contrary to morality and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." Hundreds of thousands of civilians found themselves condemned to internment, exodus or massacre, and were flooding Tunisia. He appealed to the world leaders to put an end to this and expected Nehru to influence world opinion.

3. French Atrocities in Algeria¹

I agree that we should inform the Ghana Government that we are very much concerned about the present situation in Algeria and particularly at reports of atrocities and tortures which are being practised by the French.² Indeed, this is not merely a matter of concern for Algeria, but of deep anxiety for a human tragedy on a big scale.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 31 March 1958. File No. Con-3/58-AFR-II, Vol.-1, p. 10/ note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The matter related to sending a message to the Ghana Government which was holding a Conference of African States in Accra on 15 April 1958. In his note on 31 March 1958, Dutt wrote that the Bandung Conference expressed itself on Algeria and a conference of the African States could do no less. According to Dutt, Nasser and others would certainly insist on a strong resolution being passed on Algeria. He also wrote: "For various reasons one has to take note of the French feelings at New York on the subject of Algeria. These considerations do not apply at Accra."

(vii) Czechoslovakia**1. Civic Welcome Address to Viliam Siroky¹**

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the citizens of Delhi, it gives me great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to you.² This ancient city has witnessed the changing phases of India's history from the earliest times. It has been the capital of great empires and is now the capital city of the Republic of India. Delhi thus is an epitome of India's past and present and looks forward to the future which is being built by the labours of the Indian people with hope and confidence.

The people of India followed with deep interest and sympathy the many tribulations of the people of Czechoslovakia before and during the last World War. Even as our people were devoted to the cause of freedom and equality, the struggle of the people of Czechoslovakia for freedom appealed to them. Thus, a common bond grew up between our two countries and in recent years this had been strengthened by the visits of our Vice President and Prime Minister to the famous and beautiful capital city of your country. We welcome your visit to India as a symbol of these friendly relations and a promise of greater cooperation.

The trade agreement between our two countries³ is helping to develop trade and commercial relations, and the Air India International connects your capital with ours.

The political and economic structures of our governments differ in some ways. But, believing as we do in peaceful coexistence and cooperation between countries, this difference does not come in the way of our friendship and cooperation. Both Czechoslovakia and India have proclaimed their adherence to the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and we earnestly hope that this ideal will be firmly adhered to and will spread to other countries of the world, so that peace may be preserved and the bonds of freedom, both national and individual, might spread.

1. Drafted by Nehru on 2 January 1958, this welcome address was read out by R.N. Agrawala, President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, at the civic reception given to Viliam Siroky, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, at Diwan-e-Khas, Red Fort, on 5 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. Viliam Siroky arrived in Delhi on 3 January 1958 on a twelve-day visit to India as part of his South Asian tour.
3. The Government of India and Czechoslovakia signed a trade agreement on 30 September 1957 enabling payment in Indian rupees.

In the grave situation that confronts the world today, it is of the utmost importance that these ideals should be pursued and the fears and tensions of the world reduced, so that world peace may be assured. In this vital task we have every hope that our two countries will cooperate.

Your Excellency will visit several parts of our country. We are sure that you will get a warm reception wherever you go. We wish Your Excellency and the people of Czechoslovakia happiness, freedom and prosperity in this New Year.

As a token of our friendship we venture to present Your Excellency a specimen of the fine work of our famous artisans.

We are,

Your sincere admirers,
Citizens of Delhi

2. Cooperation between India and Czechoslovakia¹

Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

We have met here today to do honour to you, Sir, Mr Prime Minister and to your country. And sitting here, again and again my mind went back to something that occurred nearly twenty years ago, when almost by chance I happened to be in Prague, the beautiful historic city, which is the capital of Czechoslovakia.² I found myself hurled unexpectedly into the very cauldron of history. At that time, Czechoslovakia was facing grave danger of invasion and was preparing to defend herself and daily nightly sirens went off to warn people of an air raid or rather to prepare them for an air raid.³ It was an extraordinary time of high tension, which produced a great effect upon me. I think of that, when I think of what happened afterwards, a year later, when the great war began with its terrible destruction and all that has happened, good and bad, since then. The world in many ways has made tremendous progress, especially in its scientific and technological advance, especially in the much mightier and more deadly weapons of mass destruction, and sometimes I felt again that there was that smell of war or preparations for war.

1. Speech at a State Banquet given in honour of Viliam Siroky, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, New Delhi, 4 January 1958. From *The Hindu*, 6 January 1958.
2. Nehru visited Prague on 17 August 1938. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, pp. 109-110.
3. Czechoslovakia was facing a threat from Germany.

In those days, one heard the tramp of armed men, vast numbers marching; today we hear the zooming of jet planes over our heads carrying a dreadful load of hydrogen bombs. So we make progress! I do not know what is going to happen, but the prospect of any kind of conflict is so horrible, not merely because of the vast destruction involved in it, but so horrible from any human point of view, that men should behave in this manner that one can hardly imagine that there could be such folly and yet fear drives people to all kinds of wrong actions and it is this fear that grips the world today. So that memory of what was happening in Czechoslovakia nearly twenty years ago comes back to me vividly today in these altered circumstances but in much more dangerous conditions. I do not, honestly speaking, believe that there can be or will be a war, but that is just a reaction, because I cannot believe that human beings can do any such mad act and yet I realize that many mad things happen, sometimes intentionally, often unintentionally, and people are driven by unseen forces or urges or fashions or passions or fears. And so we have to be alert, we have to be prepared and we have to prevent these dreadful accidents from happening.

So, I think that the first duty before all of us and every country, and more especially those who happen to be in positions of some authority, is to work for peace. We all talk of peace and yet while talking of peace, sometimes our gestures and even our voices are ill-attuned to peace and produce reactions, which are not helpful to peace. We have tried, in spite of our many weaknesses, at least to avoid such gestures and try to be friendly to all countries, even though we may not agree with them in their policies, because we have felt that only thus can we reduce these tensions and fears. It was in this connection that some years back our country and the great People's Republic of China issued a statement, which has come to be known as the *Panchsheel* or the Five Principles. Your country, Mr Prime Minister, also adhered to that statement and many other countries did so.

Recently in the United Nations, to our gratification, a resolution was unanimously adopted, a declaration which embodied those Five Principles.⁴ I do not say and do not think that the passing of a resolution solves problems, but I do think it is a very considerable achievement for the world and for the United Nations to have passed such a declaration unanimously and accepted in substance those Five Principles even though it might not solve problems. It helps people to think in the right direction and it shows what I believe is absolutely correct that people all over the world are passionately in search of peace, even though sometimes their leaders go astray. So we have to work for this peace, we have

4. For the text of the resolution on coexistence, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 572.

to work for disarmament, but behind it all is the kind of approach that we make, the friendly approach even to our opponents, the soothing approach or the approach of fear or hostility.

We, in our country, have failed often enough in history, and we have suffered for our failures. We are very far from being what we want to be. But whether we have failed or not, we have not quite forgotten some of the basic features, which perhaps distinguished our people in the past and in later years. That is a feeling of tolerance, a feeling that people can search for truth in many ways and that they should be allowed to do so; if they really search for truth they will converge, they will come nearer to each other. And so we have developed at least this theory of tolerance and we try to practise it, sometimes we fail to do so. Whatever may have been the virtue of tolerance in the past and it was great no doubt, in the world today it has become infinitely greater because the failure not to do so will land us into some deep pit of disaster from which there may be no coming out for humanity. The Five Principles represent that approach of tolerance, of non-interference, of living one's life, learning from others, but neither interfering nor being interfered with. I earnestly trust that the great nations of the world and indeed the small ones too—but the great count more because of their great power, that is why they are called great—will have the greatness to have tolerance and to try to get rid of their fears and try to think of how to settle their problems in a peaceful way.

Disarmament is the biggest problem of all. It may not be settled quickly as a whole, but any advance made towards disarmament, any area which is freed from the ever present fear of invasion or attack, is some step in that direction. So we endeavour to search for these avenues and we have often had in this search the cooperation of your country, Mr Prime Minister, in the United Nations and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, our chief occupation in this country is to try to serve our country and build it up to get rid of the many ills and the poverty it suffers from. It is a tremendous task, for we have to deal with a vast number of people to whom we have to supply their primary needs, before we can think of anything else. So we have to work hard and we have to face difficulties and we are glad that we have had the friendship and friendly cooperation of many countries in these tasks here and I am here to acknowledge the friendly cooperation of your country, Mr Prime Minister, in this our work of building up India.

It is a great pleasure for us to welcome you here as a representative of a country, famous in history, which has so often fought for freedom. And I hope that during your travels in this country, brief as they are, you will gain some insight into our work and into our many difficulties and, more especially, some insight into our minds.

We have many failings, I repeat, but I do not think we are people who are good at hatred. We may become angry, but anger passes. We do not like hatred, nor do we like violence even though in our folly we may indulge in it occasionally. That has been the old lesson for us and that was more particularly the lesson, in our own generation, of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi and, with faltering steps, we try to follow that lesson and we believe that it is only through the absence of hatred and violence that right thinking and right action can result. And, anyhow, we believe that this should be attempted whatever the consequence. We may not control great events, but we may direct them in the right channel somewhat and even that is something to the good.

I thank you, Mr Prime Minister, for your visit to our country and I hope that when you go back, you will convey our friendship and sympathy to your people. I ask your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic.

3. Joint Statement with Viliam Siroky¹

At the invitation of the Government of India, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Viliam Siroky, accompanied by the Foreign Minister² and other representatives, visited India.

During his stay in Delhi, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia had friendly and cordial talks with the Prime Minister of India covering Indo-Czechoslovak relations and current international problems.

The Prime Ministers note with satisfaction the declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States recently adopted by the United Nations unanimously. They firmly believe that the proper implementation by all countries of this declaration will contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the furtherance of world peace.

The Prime Ministers have repeatedly declared their adherence to five principles of coexistence, namely, (a) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (b) non-aggression; (c) non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons, economic, political or ideological; (d) equality and mutual benefit; and (e) peaceful coexistence, and reaffirm them.

1. Drafted by Nehru on 4 January 1958. JN Collection.

This joint statement, with minor revisions, was issued on 5 January and published on 6 January in *The Hindu*, *National Herald* and other newspapers.

2. Vaclav David.

They note with gratification that the declaration of the United Nations also affirms and supports these principles.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that the most urgent and vital problem of international concern is that of disarmament. They reiterate the view that the immediate cessation of the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be a first and concrete step, which can be taken forthwith. Such a measure will create that atmosphere in which progress can be made towards a generally agreed scheme of disarmament and abandonment of the use and production of nuclear, thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The Prime Ministers expressed the hope that, in the immediate future, discussions, including meetings on the highest level, will be held to achieve this end.

The results of scientific research have convincingly demonstrated the tremendous possibilities offered by atomic energy for raising the welfare of nations and the Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency for peaceful purposes.

The Prime Ministers reviewed the important international problems in different regions. They noted with satisfaction that recently peace was maintained in West Asia through the intervention of the United Nations and the support of world public opinion. They agreed that these problems can only be satisfactorily solved by means of peaceful negotiation and without any interference with the independence and sovereignty of the countries concerned. They are convinced that the creation of military pacts and blocs is one of the more important causes of international tension and distrust among nations and only serves to increase them. As declared by the United Nations in their unanimous resolution of December 14, 1957, policies of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States, irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development, will help to resolve tensions and promote peace.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that nations can fully develop their creative capacities and their resources only under conditions of freedom and independence. They expressed their sympathy with the struggle of peoples striving for freedom from colonial rule.

The Prime Ministers deeply regretted that the proper representation of China in the United Nations has not yet been achieved, thereby reducing the effectiveness of this great international organization. They will continue their endeavours to ensure that China is represented, without delay, by her true representatives. The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the development and the results of cooperation between their two countries in economic, cultural and technical fields. They are particularly happy that an agreement has been

concluded between their two countries under which Czechoslovakia will help to establish a foundry-forging plant in India, thus making a further contribution towards the fulfilment of India's planned development. They look forward to continued cooperation for the increase of trade between their two countries as well as for the growth of economic, industrial and technical relations between them.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the present opportunity of personal discussions. They felt certain that the personal contacts established would further strengthen the friendly relations existing between their countries.

(viii) Israel

1. To Mukul Mukherji¹

New Delhi
February 5, 1958

Dear Mukul,²

I have read the letter you sent me, which I return.³

Mrs Pandit has not come here because she was not well enough to travel. If some people want to start an India-Israel League, obviously we cannot come in their way. But I doubt if any important person would join such a league now. It would do little good to have a League which consists of persons who do not count much in the political or other spheres. On the whole, I think, therefore, that this matter should not be raised now, as it will not meet with much success.

1. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Mukul Banerjee nee Mukherji (1925-1991); Editor of *Women on the March* and *Mahila Pragati Ke Path Par*; helped Tunisia, Algeria, Zambia in securing a large measure of support from India for their liberation movement; Congress Member, Lok Sabha, 1971-77; works include *Our Countrymen Abroad*, *India-China problem in Retrospect*.
3. Mukul Mukherji had enclosed a letter dated 2 January 1958 from Yigal Allon, an Israeli MP and President of the Committee of the Indian-Israeli Friendship League in Israel. He referred to his discussions with Mukul and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit about setting up of a friendship league for keeping friendly cultural, economic and social ties between India and Israel. He wanted to pursue it through Mrs Pandit and Mukul Mukherji.

Apart from this, I agree that friendly cultural, economic and social ties should be kept up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

You can tell Elath,² the Israeli Ambassador, that I am glad to have his message and assurance.³ It is true that we had had some reports to the effect that some elements in Israel, not approving of the new Unions, were thinking in terms of some precipitate action. In view of what the Israeli Ambassador has told you, these reports were evidently exaggerated. We are naturally interested in peace in Western Asia and in the reduction of distrust and tension between Arab countries and Israel.

1. New Delhi, 22 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. Eliahu Elath (1903-1990); Israeli diplomat; President Emeritus, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Chairman, Board of Governors, Israel Afro-Asian Institute; Special Representative of Provisional Government of Israel in USA, 1948; Ambassador to USA, 1948-50; Minister in Israel, 1950-52; Ambassador to Great Britain 1952-59; works include *Trans-Jordan Israel and her Neighbours*, *San Francisco Diary*, *Zionism and the Arabs*, *Zionism and the UN* and *The Struggle for Statehood*.
3. Elath had informed Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit on 20 February in London that the general approach of the Israeli Government to the Arab Unions was that any steps which led to stability and progress in Arab countries were bound to have a healthy impact in the entire region. He also told her that the Israeli Government was distressed by Nehru's statement in Lok Sabha on 18 February 1958 "regarding ominous sounds coming from Israel in relation to two Arab Unions." He asserted that Israeli Government had not made any adverse comments on the two Unions. See also *post*, p. 722 and p. 726.

3. To I. Olsvanger¹

New Delhi

March 23, 1958

Dear Dr Olsvanger,²

I have today received your letter.³ I have read about your dream and your visions about the coming of the inter-planetary age. Thank you for it. I have no doubt that the next few years will see great developments, not only in the inter-planetary sense, but in the impact of this new dimension on human beings, that is, if human beings are not too stupid. Anyhow the impact will be there, whether we are wise or stupid.

Sometimes I feel that all our arguments about present-day problems are rather out of date and indicate the enormous hiatus between our politics and men's thinking and the new world that is gradually taking shape. And yet the problems of today bear down upon us. We cannot ignore them and take refuge in the future.

You know well our attitude to Israel and our difficulties. We have never been unfriendly to Israel, though we have not always approved of what it has done. We earnestly hope that these problems will be solved peacefully and cooperatively. How can we help in this? I have felt and I still feel that we cannot be helpful just by sending an ambassador to Israel.

I do not remember saying anywhere that Israel was a foreign body in the family of Asian nations. I may have said that Israel has looked to Europe and America more than to Asia, and it has therefore not fitted in with Asia. But what is Asia? I suppose there is something about the Asian concept, but it is vague and incapable of definition. There is vast variety in this great continent.

1. JN Collection.

2. A Zionist living in Jerusalem and a member of British Interplanetary Society since 1945.

3. Olsvanger had written about his conversation with Nehru in a dream and his vision about interplanetary age and asked Nehru to contribute to further the cause of peace and tranquility in the world. Olsvanger also referred to an interview in which Nehru was reported to have said that he, being an Asian, felt Israel to be a "foreign body" in the family of Asian nations.

He further wrote that the Jews had returned to their 'natural homeland' after having wandered for two millennia with an Asian soul on European soil. He added that without an exchange of ambassadors, India's recognition of Israel seemed to be "neither de jure nor de facto but de tacto" and urged Nehru to send an ambassador to Israel.

The inter-planetary age will come in, but perhaps you and I may not see it bloom. You will soon be 70 and I am very near your age. In another twenty months I shall be 70.

All good wishes on the anniversary of your birth.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) New Zealand

1. New Zealand, A Country Worth Emulating¹

Mr Prime Minister, sisters and brothers,
You have just heard our guest speak. We have received many distinguished guests and welcomed them, you have heard them too. However, I think the speech of our guest today made the same impact on all of you as it did on me, for he spoke not as the formal occasion demanded but straight from the heart. He spoke frankly of what he had seen and the impact it had made on him. I think very few Indians even would be able to speak with the love and respect with which he mentioned our great leader Gandhiji.²

He has come no doubt on a political visit but he has honoured us by showing his respect for India. We have extended a warm welcome to him. You can see from this that the bond which binds people together anywhere in the world is the bond of mutual love and respect.

New Zealand is an island which lies very far away from here, almost in another world. It is actually two islands. When it is summer in India, they have winter in New Zealand and vice versa. It is situated on the other side of the world. Long years ago, the English went there and settled down. There were some conflicts initially with the original inhabitants of the islands, the Maoris. But gradually they learnt to live together. For a long time now there has been no trace of racism in New Zealand. The newcomers were welcomed and in spite of

1. Speech at the civic reception given to Walter Nash, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, at the Red Fort in Delhi, 18 March 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Nash was in India from 17 to 21 March 1958. Nash went to Bombay on 20 March.

2. Nash said: "I wonder if one man has done greater service to his people than Gandhi did for India! I wish to see the triumph of his ideal of non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi's influence has grown since his tragic death and it extends beyond this country's frontiers."

problems in the beginning, everyone has learnt to live amicably together. This is something worth noting because it is not to be found anywhere else in the world.

The English settlers who went to New Zealand carried with them the culture of the old world, leaving behind old prejudices, taboos and social rigidities, and built a new world. New Zealand is not a small country in size but has a very low density of population compared to India. The total population of New Zealand is about 24 lakhs, a little more than the population of Delhi. But this is a great advantage to them. They are rich in resources and are hard-working people. So they have managed to build the kind of society which we are striving to build in the hope that it will come about some day in India. We want every man to enjoy a good standard of living, and all the basic necessities of life like food, clothes, health care, education, employment should be available to them. New Zealand has achieved all these things. The people enjoy good health and it is estimated that their average life expectancy is 70 years. As you know, in India, till 10 years ago the life expectancy was 24 years. Not that people did not live beyond the age of 24. But this was the average age based on child mortality, etc. We have made progress in the last 10 years and I think now the average life expectancy is around 32. I am sure it will go up. In New Zealand it is 70 years which means that people must be living far beyond that age to give an average of 70. It is obvious from this that the people are extremely well off and enjoy good health.

New Zealand is a beautiful country. They have some industries but basically it is an agricultural country. Their agriculture is extremely advanced. They maintain cattle and their milk products like butter and cheese are famous. In this field, New Zealand is one of the leading countries in the world. They have fruit orchards. We talk about milk and cow protection and what not. But we merely pay lip service to cows and cattle. We do not really care enough to look after them well. You will find that though in New Zealand cattle are not worshipped, they are extremely well looked after. As a result, it is among the two or three countries in the world which are leading in dairy products.

Soon we are going to forge yet another link with New Zealand. A huge dairy is going to be set up in Delhi with the aid from New Zealand. They have also given us plenty of help in setting up the All India Institute of Medical Sciences as a premier medical institution in India to teach as well as for research work.³ It is coming up just on the outskirts of Delhi. As far as I remember, New Zealand has given us 11 or 12 lakh of rupees; no, it is more. Anyhow, they have given a very large amount.

3. See *ante* p. 460 and p. 463.

New Zealand has given some aid for the dairy project in Anand in Gujarat also. We have received machines to produce milk powder, etc. You must have heard about the Aarey Milk Colony near Bombay which has also received aid from New Zealand. In short, a nation of 24 lakh people is helping this huge country of ours, for which we are very grateful. I wanted to tell you this because we have received many Heads of Governments in the past. Our guest today is the Prime Minister of a prosperous country. But there are neither princes nor poor in that country. There are only people who are well off. This is what we want in India; there should be no distinction, between rich and poor, with equal opportunities for everyone—a country where people live together in amity. New Zealand is an example of such a country which sees no need to go to war with any country. They are happy in their own world.

We are happy that he is here today, for it has given us an opportunity to meet him and to hear his affectionate words. For many years now I have been invited by the Government of New Zealand to visit their country. But I have not been able to go there because of the great distance. I always wanted to go there because I have great respect for that country and its people. I hope I shall be able to go some day to convey good wishes of the people of India and thank them for all the help they have given us.

2. Working Together for World Peace¹

Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

We have met here, Sir, to welcome you. You came here yesterday and this welcome banquet is also a farewell banquet. It is unfortunate because we would have liked to have you here for a longer period, chiefly to benefit from your presence here, and your very friendly and gracious personality, and also perhaps for you to see our country a little more and meet our people. However, we are happy to have you here for a variety of reasons, because we are fellow members of the Commonwealth, and have cooperated in many ways and hope to cooperate in the future, and also because you come from a country which has achieved much that we wish to achieve. We talk in this country of having a Welfare State. We are very far from that objective and ideal of ours, but you in New Zealand have got a Welfare State where there is no poverty, where every person has amenities, not only the necessities of life, but many other

1. Speech at the State Banquet given in honour of Walter Nash, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, New Delhi, 19 March 1958. JN Papers, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

things, and, above all, opportunity. I wish every child of India had nearly the same opportunities that every child in New Zealand has. I hope in time we shall achieve it but it will require hard work and take a fairly considerable period of time.

We welcome you also because you are a peaceful, freedom-loving community, seeking peace not only for yourselves but for the rest of the world. Long ago your forebears went from the old quarrelling world to a new world, taking no doubt much of the culture of the old world, but leaving the quarrels behind. And so, you built up in this far off land, far off from us, a new land, a community of free men living in peace and cooperation and developed into a prosperous, Welfare State of today. So, we look at your country not only with admiration but perhaps with a little envy also. I hope you will not mind it. We and you have tremendous problems to face in the world today because even though you might be far off in the southern hemisphere, you are as much tied to these world problems as we, who live in this congested central part of the continent. And because we have these common problems we have the opportunities and the urges to cooperate and work together, to help somewhat in their solution. The problems are many and appear to be very difficult, and it would be presumptuous on my part to say that we in India can do very much for the solution of those problems, but all of us can do a little and perhaps all the little steps that we and your country and other countries can take may together mount up to a good deal in the end, and actually influence the course of events. Among all these problems, the basic problem today which governs everything else is the problem of peace and security in the world. Today, we find fear as almost the governing emotion in the world as a whole—fear of one nation of another nation—and because of this fear, armaments pile up and the new discoveries of science are seen for the purpose of more and more dangerous armaments.

It is a curious world we live in, when the mind of man has discovered, invented, all manner of things and those things have undoubtedly brought great benefits to humanity, but they have also brought great dangers and it is a matter of choice for all of us whether we shall go on getting more and more benefits advancing the human race, or we are unable to control our very discoveries and inventions and the forces that man has realized and thus suffer destruction. Put boldly, there is only one answer to that question. Who can say that we want destruction? Everybody wants peace and prosperity and the possibility of utilizing these great forces for the advantage and progress of humanity. Everybody agrees with that, I have no doubt. And yet here we are caught in this terrible tangle and cannot easily get out of it. But looking at things in a longer perspective, one sees other moments of great crises in the world's history when people at that time

thought that perhaps the end of the world's civilization had come, and yet man or humanity managed to overcome those crises and difficulties and survived and progressed. So I hope and believe that the present age will also survive and get over these difficulties. But in order to do so, we have to apply ourselves to this task and not wait for some automatic development of destiny and this heavy burden falls on all of us in whatever country we may live. So we work for peace but I have always thought that working for peace means adopting the methods of peace, because it seems to me rather odd that we should work for peace, thinking of war, preparing for war, ever fearful of war; the two do not fit in.

I am sure that your country, Sir, is devoted to the work of peace, it is a friendly country, and your influence is not counted by the numbers of your population, just as our influence is not counted by the vast numbers of our population. It is the quality of one's thought and action that counts, not the quantity or the numbers.

And so I welcome you. You come from a nation of quality, a people of quality who have advanced in the work of peace, not so much of war, and I hope that your country's influence will help in solving these problems together with other countries' influence. And I welcome you also, Sir, in your personal capacity, because in these two days, while you have been with us, we have felt your charm and your wisdom. We would have liked to have you here much more to learn from you and to be charmed even more by you.

I ask your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

(x) Ghana**1. Technical Assistance to Ghana¹**

I spoke to you about this matter today. We should not of course link the two proposals.² But it is not necessary for us to make a special point of this in our reply.

So far as the proposed loan of ten to twenty million pounds is concerned, we should be clear in our own minds about it before we send any reply. Therefore, the matter should be fully discussed with our Finance Ministry and our High Commissioner informed of our views which he can later communicate on his return to the Ghana authorities.

As for the technicians required by Ghana, we can immediately send a reply to the effect that we shall do our best to meet their wishes. We can refer to the practice followed in regard to the Sudan and suggest that the same practice be followed in this case.

A reply might, therefore, be sent immediately saying this about the technicians required and thanking them about the offer of a loan about which we shall communicate later.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 1 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Government of Ghana had made two proposals through B.K. Kapur, India's High Commissioner, offering (i) to employ 233 Indian engineers, doctors, educationists, etc., in Ghana at an attractive remuneration and (ii) to give a loan of ten to twenty million pounds to India.

2. To Kwame Nkrumah¹

New Delhi

21 January 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

We were glad to have your colleague, the Honourable A.E. Inkumash, and other members of the Ghana Trade Mission with us, more so as this was the first Ghana trade delegation visiting us.²

As the members of the delegation expressed special interest in the organization of our cottage and small-scale industries, facilities were provided for visits to some of our commercial centres and industrial establishments, including cottage and small-scale units in and around Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Bombay and Delhi. During their discussions here, the delegation indicated that they would like to send some of their technical personnel for advanced training in the various technical institutions in India. We would naturally be glad to assist, in any way we can, in the execution of the development plans of the Government of Ghana.

I am confident that the visit of your trade mission will strengthen the many bonds that exist between our two countries and lead to further expansion of trade and economic exchanges to the mutual benefit of the people of our two countries.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The Ghana delegation was led by Minister of Housing, A.E. Inkumash.

(xi) Rhodesia**1. Rude Treatment of Diplomat in Rhodesia¹**

There was a notice of adjournment of the House in the Lok Sabha this morning in regard to this incident near Salisbury.² I received a copy of it, but the Speaker did not take it up. It is possible that it may come up on the 7th. If so, I shall make a statement on the lines of this telegram.

We must of course lodge an immediate and strong protest with the Government there. I think we should inform the UK High Commissioner here also.

I have long felt rather unhappy about our Diplomatic Officers being insulted and ill-treated in Rhodesia. My own reaction has been that we should withdraw them as a protest against this ill-treatment. I was prevailed upon not to do so on some previous occasion. But I do think that we must consider this matter more seriously now. Our withdrawal will have considerable publicity value about conditions in Rhodesia. It is true that such little help that our presence gives to people there will not be available later. However, we should consider this matter carefully and possibly even refer it to the Cabinet.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, and M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, 4 March 1958.

2. See the succeeding item.

2. Racial Discrimination Towards an Indian Diplomat¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: On the 2nd March 1958, Shri P.J. Rao,² Press Attache of the Indian Commission at Salisbury, with his wife, two children and a member of the staff of the Indian Commission went for a picnic near Mazoe dam, about 20 miles from Salisbury. They went to a nearby hotel³ at about 5 pm for tea. The African waiter in the hotel took the order and brought tea for the party. As the tea was being poured out, the Manager of the hotel walked up to Shri Rao's table and asked him to clear out. Shri Rao told the manager that he was a diplomatic officer of the Indian Commission, but the Manager curtly asked him to leave stating that he did not want any Indian in the hotel and the right of admission was reserved. Shri Rao and party thereupon left the hotel.

On the 3rd March, i.e., the next day, our Assistant Commissioner in Salisbury⁴ lodged a protest in writing with the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland asking for an apology from the Manager of the hotel and requesting the Government to take suitable action so that such incidents do not recur in future. The Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have formally apologized to our Assistant Commissioner for the incident and stated that they had always done all in their power to prevent incidents of this nature and that the Immunities and Privileges Act was to be brought into force.

We also took up this matter with the UK Government through their High Commissioner in New Delhi. We have expressed to them our serious concern at the occurrence of frequent incidents of this type and told them that in the climate prevailing in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, we felt that no useful purpose was likely to be served by our continuing our representation there as our representatives continue to be subjected to discrimination on racial

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 18 March 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol.XIII, cols. 5396-5398. Also available JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. (b. 1923); Assistant News Editor, AIR, New Delhi, 1948-1950; Assistant Information Officer, External Publicity Division, New Delhi, 1950-1953; Chief of Information Services, Consulate General of India, Pondicherry, 1953-1956; Press Attache, Indian Commission to the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1956-1958; And to Indian Commission in East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, 1958-1960. Worked as Information Officer in several Indian Missions abroad including to the UN; served in UNESCO in the Department of Studies & Programming, Paris, 1979-1981 and as Regional Information Officer for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, 1981-1986; author of *Anecdotes From a Diplomat's Life*.
3. Mazoe Hotel.
4. Surendra Singh Alirajpur.

grounds in violation of all canons of civilized conduct and of normal international practice in relations to diplomatic representatives.

(xii) Other Countries

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

January 21, 1958

My dear Amrit Kaur,

Your letter of January 21 about Hungary. I had not myself seen any report about the trial of Hungarian children. I do not know how far this is correct.

But some cases have been brought to our notice about young people being tried and sentenced, some even to death. We have repeatedly, though informally, brought this matter to the notice of the Hungarian Ambassador here² as well as through our Ambassador in Budapest³ to the Hungarian Government. I think that our views have some effect on the Hungarian Government, but in the final analysis, they do not make very much difference. Sometimes, I think, they have made a little difference. Some people who had been sentenced were released and sent away from Hungary.

I would suggest that you might, in your capacity as President of the Red Cross here, speak to the Hungarian Ambassador. You could also write in that capacity to the Hungarian Red Cross.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Peter Kos.

3. K.P.S. Menon, India's Ambassador to the USSR, concurrently accredited to Hungary.

2. Tribute to Ho Chi Minh¹

It is not through mere discussions or arguments that the hearts of the people can be won over. Dr Ho is a forceful personality and is a great example of how ultimately it is the individual and not discussion that generates love, friendship and harmony. I was greatly impressed by my first meeting with Dr Ho three and a half years ago in Hanoi on my way to China.² It has always remained fresh in my memory.

Dr Ho Chi Minh's story covering the last thirty to forty years, is a story of gallant struggle and sacrifice for his country's freedom. I recall the message of congratulations that I as the head of then Interim Government, had sent to Dr Ho Chi Minh in 1946,³ when the revolutionary leader passed through Colombo after signing an agreement in Paris with the French authorities on independence for his country.

India which had played some part towards the signing of the general agreement had to undertake the responsibilities of heading the Commissions set up for the three Indo-China States.⁴ India was assigned this task because both sides concerned had faith in her and there are few countries similarly placed today. If India refused to shoulder that task, she would have failed in her duty.

A small number of our troops have been there for the safeguarding of peace. So far as Indo-China is concerned, the responsibility that India has undertaken will continue.

1. Speech at a civic reception to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, New Delhi, 7 February 1958. From *The Hindu*, 8 February 1958.

Ho Chi Minh arrived in New Delhi on 5 February 1958 for a ten-day visit. Nehru and Ho Chi Minh issued a joint statement on 13 February 1958.

2. Nehru stopped over at Hanoi on 17 and 18 October 1954 on his way to China and on 30 October 1954 on his way back.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 1, pp. 519-520.

4. The reference is to the Geneva conference and setting up of three International Commissions on 21 July 1954.

3. Inviting a Mongolian Troupe to India¹

Taking every factor into consideration, I think that we should invite this Mongolian troupe to India.² Mongolia is very far off and it is not easy for them to send any representatives here. At the same time, as reported to us by our Vice-President³ and our Ambassador in Peking⁴ who went there, both the Government and people of Mongolia feel greatly attracted towards India. I have met one or two odd Mongolian scholars recently who also gave me this impression.

2. Normally, we would not have encouraged the troupe to come here, but since they are at India's doorstep, that is in Rangoon, and are anxious to come here, I think that it would be right to accede to their wishes. Such troupes are not likely to travel about often and thus we may not have a chance again for a considerable time. Negatively, if we do not invite them in these particular circumstances, it will almost be an act of discourtesy to the Mongolian Government and people.

3. The cost is relatively small, considering that it is a big troupe, and does not involve any foreign exchange. I am told that the Indo-Mongolian Society has even offered to meet the cost. I do not like this proposal at all. Indeed, I do not want to get mixed up with the Indo-Mongolian Society in this matter.

4. I would, therefore, suggest to the Education Minister to be good enough to give further consideration to this matter.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, the Minister of Education, New Delhi, 8 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. A Mongolian cultural delegation arrived in New Delhi on 2 March 1958.
3. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, visited Mongolia in September 1957.
4. R.K. Nehru.

4. Union of Syria and Egypt¹

The proclamation of the Union of Syria and Egypt is an historic event of great significance.² We welcome it and, on behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in offering to Your Excellency and through you to the people of Egypt our cordial congratulations and good wishes on this occasion.³

1. Message sent to Nasser, the President of Egypt, New Delhi, 8 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Union, formed on 1 February and ratified by a plebiscite on 21 February, was to be a republic with a single legislature, flag and army. Yemen joined the Union on 8 March 1958.
3. A similar message was sent to the Syrian President Shukri el Kuwatly, on the same day.

5. Non-European Workers in South Africa¹

Shree Narayan Das:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Government of South Africa has embarked upon a scheme of getting rid of non-European workers from industry;
- (b) if so, the nature of such a scheme; and
- (c) how many Indian workers have been affected so far and will be affected in all if the scheme is put through?³

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1. Extracts from reply to questions in Lok Sabha, 11 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, (Second Series), Vol. XI, cols. 54-57.
2. Congress Member from Darbhanga, Bihar.
3. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, replied that it was not possible to obtain any factual information since there was no Indian Mission in South Africa. He referred to the press reports that the South African Government had decided to reserve all skilled jobs in the clothing industry for white workers under the job reservation clause of the Industrial Solution Act, 1956.

Shree Narayan Das: May I know if any number of persons of Indian origin who have been thrown out of employment have expressed their desire to come over to India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are, although we cannot give the exact figures. Possibly a considerable number of people of Indian origin will be affected by this, especially in Durban where they are largely represented in the textile industry. But the only question is whether they want to come to India. Not that I am aware of.

Raghunath Singh:⁴ Is the apartheid policy of South Africa applicable only to the Indians and the Africans or are the Japanese and Chinese also affected by it?⁵

JN: So far as I know, this includes all non-white workers; that is, apart from Indians and Africans, presumably others come in too.

N.G. Ranga:⁶ Do we not have any arrangement with any other Government which is represented there in South Africa to give us information from time to time as to what goes on in regard to Indians and others?

JN: Broad information, of course, is available in the public press, and we may ask occasionally some Government. But in matters of this kind rather intimately affecting us, we do not normally want details particularly through any other Government. It must be remembered again that the position is that all these people are South African nationals that are affected. They are not Indian nationals. We can ask some other Government to take up the case of Indian nationals there. But all these people who are there are people of Indian origin and they are South African nationals so that we do not come into the picture in the strict legal sense.

Hem Barua:⁷ In view of the fact that South Africa is today in the box in the United Nations Organization for this discriminatory practice, may I know what steps are being taken to ensure justice to the cause of Indians in South Africa through this international organization?

4. Congress Member from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.
5. This question was asked in Hindi.
6. Congress Member from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.
7. Praja Socialist Party Member from Gauhati, Assam.

JN: May I again say that there are no Indians in South Africa?

Hem Barua: Nationals of Indian origin?

JN: None. They are people of Indian descent which is very different. They are South African nationals or South African citizens for whom the South African Government is or should be responsible. The steps we are taking have been public steps in the United Nations and elsewhere. I do not know what other steps we can take—a sort of declaration of war against the South African Government. We do not propose to do that.

K.T.K. Tangamani:⁸ May I know what is the status of Indians in South Africa who were born in the princely States of India and were British-protected before India became independent?

JN: Their status would be the same as of any other Indian. That is, the Indians who resided in the so-called princely States of India before Independence became all Indian nationals wherever they might be.⁹

8. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Madurai, Madras State.

9. In reply to another question in the Lok Sabha on 26 March 1958, Nehru said: "I do not know what the mood of the Government of the Union of South Africa is. But their actions are clear enough, and these actions raise a question for the world which, I think, is of the most vital importance—the apartheid, segregation and one dominant race ruling over another. It is a question which challenges the Charter of the United Nations: in fact, all civilized notions of behavior. We are up against something very important and vital; the whole world is. We are affected, the African population is affected, and the Chinese population is affected. But as the honourable Member knows, what we can do short of, shall I say, war, which of course is absurd, is to go to the United Nations. We do not even directly deal with the South African Government now."

6. Establishing a Private Cotton Textile Mill in Ethiopia¹

V.C. Kesava Rao:² Will Minister of Finance be please to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a private company has been floated for establishing a cotton textile mill in Ethiopia; and
- (b) if so, whether the Central Government has permitted the company to raise capital in India?³

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Bhupesh Gupta:⁴ May I know whether, before giving permission for the floatation of this company, care was taken to see that it does not involve much expenditure of foreign exchange on the part of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't think foreign exchange comes in at all. It is the Ethiopian Government that is asking for this. They have arranged to come to terms with some Indian industrialists. Naturally, they asked us for permission. We said 'Go ahead'. We don't come into the picture in this investment nor is any expenditure involved in it.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether this involves some flow of money capital from India to Ethiopia or not?⁵

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Kishen Chand:⁶ If the Birla Brothers are going to invest 49 per cent of the capital [in the company] does it not amount to a transfer of foreign exchange from India to a foreign country?

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1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 17 February 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XX, cols. 623-626.
2. Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.
3. B.R. Bhagat, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance, replied that Birla Brothers had floated this company.
4. CPI Member from West Bengal.
5. B.R. Bhagat replied that machinery would be bought in India and installed there. To that extent, there would be flow of capital to Ethiopia.
6. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.

JN: It involves the transfer of machinery from India there. The honourable Member may consider it constructive foreign exchange; actually it is not.

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Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, if, before coming to a kind of deal with the Ethiopian authorities, the Birla Brothers consulted the Government of India and then proceeded in the matter, I mean, after prior consultations with the authorities in India?

JN: The Ethiopian Government, Sir, right at the beginning approached us, that is, the Government, asking us for help in this matter, that is to say, they wanted some such plant to be started there. We said, naturally, the Government did not come into this very much and it was open to them to deal with any industrialists. Thereupon they got in touch with some industrialists – with Birla Brothers and I believe some people went from here to discuss this matter with them, to see the terrain, etc. That is to say, Birla Brothers took up this matter after reference to the Government.

7. Formation of an Arab Federation¹

We are glad to know that an Arab Federation is to be established between the Kingdom of Iraq and the Kingdom of Hashemite Jordan.² I am confident that this is yet another step towards the union of the Arab people. On behalf of the Government of India I wish success to the new federation and trust that the policy followed by it will contribute to close understanding and cooperation among the peoples of Asia and Africa and promote world peace.

1. Message sent to Prime Ministers of Iraq and Jordan, Nuri-el-Said and Ibrahim Hashim respectively, New Delhi, 24 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. King Faisal and King Hussein, the rulers of Iraq and Jordan, proclaimed on 14 February 1958, the merger of the two countries to constitute the Arab Federal State with common flag and army, joint defence, common foreign policy, single parliament and an economic union.

8. The Situation in Indonesia¹

The Soviet Ambassador² came to see me this evening at 5.30 p.m. He said that he had come to me under instructions from his Government to discuss the situation in Indonesia. This situation in their view was very complicated.³ They were interested chiefly in regard to the possibility of foreign intervention. It appeared that there was some degree of foreign intervention in favour of the rebels.⁴ This would have serious consequences as it threatened the sovereignty and integrity of Indonesia, and indirectly affected other Asian countries also. This was against the Bandung Conference decisions also.

2. The Soviet Government's sympathy was on the side of the people of Indonesia and the legal Government. At the request of that Government, they were giving them sea transport planes and apparently some ships, also food and armaments (It was not quite clear whether these had been given or would be given in future).

3. The Soviet Government wished to consult India and to have our opinion as to what steps we thought should be taken to help in improving the situation.

4. I said that we were naturally greatly concerned about the situation and about the independence and integrity of Indonesia. It was possible that some outside agencies might be encouraging rebels. We had no definite information but some sympathy had been shown with the rebels in other countries. But the real difficulty appeared to be the desire for a certain measure

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary and M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 26 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. P.K. Ponomarenko.

3. Continued deterioration in the relations between the Central Government of Indonesia and the military administration in Central Sumatra was attributed to the increasing communist influence in Java and dissatisfaction with non-participation of Dr Hatta, former Prime Minister, in the Government. The Central Sumatran Revolutionary Council gave on 9 February 1958 an ultimatum to President Soekarno to dismiss the Cabinet, abandon his policy of 'guided democracy' and appoint a new Government headed by Dr Hatta failing which it would no longer be bound to obey him as Head of the State. The Cabinet rejected the Council's demands on 11 February. Then the Revolutionary Council proclaimed a rival provisional Government on 15 February. This led to fighting between the Government and the rebel forces.

4. On 13 March 1958, the Indonesian Army Headquarters in Jakarta alleged that the rebel forces at Pekanbaru had been receiving arms dropped by foreign aircraft and stated that most of these arms had been captured by the Government forces. According to the official Antara News Agency, some of the captured arms were of the American make.

of autonomy in the various parts of Indonesia. Complaint was made against the domination of Java over the other islands. These islands number nearly two thousand and are widely spread out. Even Sumatra, one of the biggest of the islands, had a feeling of being neglected. We had felt all along that it was desirable for President Soekarno and Dr Hatta to cooperate and we had suggested this informally on several occasions.⁵ Our sympathy was with President Soekarno and his Government. It was however difficult for us to take any steps in such a matter. There was the danger of any action taken by us being considered as interference in another country's internal affairs. We had not been asked to do anything by the Indonesian Government or by President Soekarno.

5. The Ambassador said that if President Soekarno and Dr Hatta had cooperated with each other, the trouble would not have arisen there.

6. I repeated that I did not see what India could do in the matter with consequences embarrassing to us and to Indonesia. So far as Soviet help was concerned, any economic help given was of course desirable. But if any armaments were provided to the Indonesian Government, this might well lead to difficulties. The reactions of some other countries might be that the Soviet Union was interfering and even in Indonesia the Government there might be attacked on this issue.

7. The Ambassador said that economic assistance was according to a treaty⁶ and this anyhow was all right.

8. I referred to some of the parties in Indonesia. There was the Darul Islam which represented a very bigoted section of the Muslims there and which had been in a state of rebellion for some years past.⁷ That organization had been banned. As for the Masjumi Party, that was also communal, but moderately so, and had considerable influence.⁸ I said further that, as far as I could see, the military situation was not difficult. The real difficulty lay in other fields and the psychological background in the country. I added that Indonesians were very likeable people and they had a strange way of muddling through their difficulties without worrying overmuch.

5. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 520-522 and Vol. 39, pp. 713-714.

6. According to a treaty signed between Indonesia and the USSR on 15 September 1956, the USSR undertook to provide economic and technical aid to Indonesia by supplying capital goods, machinery and heavy industrial equipment on credit.

7. Darul Islam was an extremist Muslim group which aimed to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. It was strongly represented in west Java and Atjeh. Throughout 1950s, Darul Islam continued guerrilla war against the Government forces.

8. Masjumi or the Modernist Muslim Party, also based on Islam, reflected everyday life of the 90% of the Indonesian population alongside a political programme.

9. To Chester Bowles¹

New Delhi

February 27, 1958

Dear Chester Bowles,²

Thank you for your letter of February 10 and the copy of the letter from Mrs Downey³ which you have sent.

I have long been convinced that the American prisoners in China should be released.⁴ We have repeatedly approached the Chinese Government on this subject and in fact I have myself personally spoken to Chou En-lai on the subject.⁵ I regret that all our efforts have been in vain thus far. The answer always has been that we followed your advice and released some of them previously, but there was no response from the United States Government⁶ This is no adequate answer. Apart from the personal and humanitarian point of view, I am quite sure that the release of these young men would help in lessening tensions. I know that Krishna Menon has tried his best also and so has our Ambassador in Peking.⁷ If an opportunity offers itself, we shall again try.

I am glad, however, that Mrs Downey went to China and saw her son. This must have done good to both mother and son.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. US diplomat and author; Ambassador to India, 1951-53 and 1963-69.

3. Mother of one of the thirteen Americans prisoners by China on charges of espionage. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, p. 581.

4. Thirteen American prisoners were sentenced to prison terms ranging from four years to whole life by a Chinese military tribunal, as announced by Radio Peking on 23 November 1954. China alleged that these Americans had parachuted into the Chinese territory, some of them possessing wireless sets and other such material needed for espionage. The US and the UK held that their detention was a breach of the terms of the Korean armistice and the case was that of American planes flying over the Chinese territory getting shot down and their occupants captured. The UN Secretary General was requested on 10 December 1954 to secure their release.

5. On 1 January 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 606-607.

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 580-583.

7. R.K. Nehru.

10. Dispute between Egypt and Sudan¹

The Lok Sabha Secretariat may be informed as follows in regard to the attached notice.² Both Egypt and Sudan have agreed to discuss their outstanding points in dispute³ later after the elections in the Sudan are over. There is no danger of war between these two countries. It would be rather embarrassing for us to make a statement about the points at issue between these two countries with both of whom we have friendly relations. No question affecting us directly is involved. I would, therefore, submit to Mr Speaker that the matter is not of urgency and does not directly concern us and, therefore, it is not necessary or desirable for a special statement to be made on this subject.

1. Note, 28 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. The notice was received from Mahendra Pratap Singh, Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Brindavan, Uttar Pradesh.
3. A territorial dispute had arisen between Egypt and Sudan with regard to two areas lying in the north of the 22nd parallel administered by Sudan since 1902. The dispute was precipitated by the plebiscite held on 21 February on the formation of the United Arab Republic and the general elections that commenced on 27 February. Sudan had lodged a complaint with the Security Council against Egypt on 20 February.

11. Message to Lalji Mehrotra¹

Your telegrams to Food Secretary,² 20 dated 24th February and 22 dated 26th February. I appreciate the difficulties of Burmese Government owing to shortage in production of rice there. But we have to face very difficult and critical situation in India, which largely revolves round foodgrains and especially rice. All our calculations had been based on receiving at least four lakh tons of rice from Burma. If they are physically unable to supply this, then we cannot help it. But I still hope that they might be able to raise the figure from a quarter million as now suggested. Anyhow, the most you can do is to press them to give us as much as possible.

As for price, it is just not possible for us to go beyond the contract figure of £32/- per ton. I introduced our Budget estimates today. All these have been framed on the basis of strictest economy and would be upset if new prices have to be considered. The Burmese Government knows that we are always

1. New Delhi, 28 February 1958. JN Collection.
Lalji Mehrotra was the Indian Ambassador to Burma.
2. B.B. Ghosh.

anxious to help them in their difficulties. But at present our difficulties are very great indeed and I am sure they will appreciate this.

Therefore, we should try to get as much rice as possible from them. If it is not possible to get more than a quarter million tons, we have no option but to accept this. But in any event the price should remain at £32.³

Should you consider it necessary, you can speak to the Prime Minister and give him a message from me on these lines.

3. On 22 April 1958, the Burmese Government decided, contrary to its earlier decision, not to raise the price of rice to be shipped to India.

12. Explaining the Soviet Action in Hungary¹

Please reply as follows to the attached letter.

“Dear Mr Alexander,
Prime Minister Nehru has received your letter² of February 26th. He desires me to tell you that the report you have received about what he said, though substantially accurate, is not exactly what he is likely to have said.

What he has said on some occasions would be more or less on the following lines:

The events in Hungary were greatly complicated by the fact of the attack on Egypt by England, France and Israel.³ It is difficult to say what might have happened in Hungary if Egypt had not been attacked. It is possible that some developments, such as what took place in Poland,⁴ might have taken place, that is, a settlement or arrangement between Hungary and the Soviet Union. At the end of October, the Soviet Union issued a statement in which they promised to withdraw their troops from Budapest. A few days later, these troops came back in great force and suppressed the national upheaval in Hungary. A great tragedy took place, and the people of Hungary suffered terribly.⁵

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, 6 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.
3. For details of the events in October 1956, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 421-422 and 455-456.
4. For developments in Poland, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 397-398 and Vol. 35, p. 456.
5. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 452, 457 and 462-463.

There can be little doubt that the Soviet leaders were powerfully influenced by these events in Egypt. Presumably, they thought that England and France would not have taken such a dangerous step without the backing or approval of the United States. (In fact, of course, this was untrue, as the United States did not approve of this and actual invasion came probably as a surprise to them.) Coming to the conclusion that the United States also was an approving party to the invasion of Egypt, the Soviet leaders thought that this might well be the beginning of a world war. The fact that some of the then leaders of Hungary asked for the help of the United Nations and the Western countries, further led the Soviet Government to believe that Hungary was in danger of becoming a hostile country at a moment of crisis and on the eve of a possible world war. All this led them to take the very severe measures which they did and which brought in tremendous suffering to the Hungarian people.

All this, of course, is conjecture, and there is no proof for it. There was no question of invasion from Germany but rather the fear of a world war which might bring a hostile frontier much nearer to the Soviet Union. This cannot be considered an excuse for what happened. It may be a partial explanation."

13. Promotion of World Peace¹

Mr Prime Minister,² Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

Nearly two years ago, our Vice-President visited Romania³ and received a warm welcome there and now you, Sir, have come here as our welcome guest with your colleagues.⁴ You are all welcome. And thus we have, in the present age, put a seal to our cooperation and friendship.

1. Speech at the State Banquet given in honour of the Prime Minister of Romania, Chivu Stoica, New Delhi, 8 March 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Chivu Stoica (1908-1975); Romanian politician; Member, Parliament, 1946-48; General Manager, Romanian Railways, 1946-48; Minister of Industry and Trade, 1948-52; Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1950-54, First Deputy Chairman, 1954-55, Chairman, 1955-61; Secretary, Central Committee, 1961-65, Member, Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium, 1965-69; President, State Council of Socialist Republic of Romania, 1965-67; Member Secretary, Romania Communist Party, 1967-69.
3. S. Radhakrishnan visited Romania in May 1956.
4. Chivu Stoica, accompanied by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Emil Bodnarus, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Avram Buaciu, visited India from 7 to 22 March 1958.



WITH HO CHI MINH, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, AT PALAM AIRPORT, NEW DELHI, 5 FEBRUARY 1958



WITH PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH, NEW DELHI, 7 FEBRUARY 1958

I do not know very much about past contacts between India and Romania. I believe that, in early ancient times, there were contacts of trade and the like. And I am told the main routes from Asia, from India across Western Asia, led through Romania into other parts of Europe. Anyhow, for a long period there were no marked contacts because many barriers came in their way. For hundreds of years we were rather cut off. Presumably, you also suffered some kind of barriers. Anyhow, in the new age, we are developing these contacts and not only reviving old friendships but making new friends. And we are happy to count you among our friends, with whom we can cooperate in so many matters. During this long period of the past, we have had different courses, we have been conditioned in different ways and inevitably we have done many things in different ways. Even now, we may differ in some matters but I believe there are far more things in common between us and other countries than differences. We are engaged and you are engaged in building up our countries and our old countries have become new in a way. Ours is a new Republic although an ancient country. And we are engrossed in the task of building up this new India and of serving our people and trying to raise their standards. You have been engaged in that task also in your country. I believe that there are many profitable ways in which we can cooperate to our mutual advantage. I am grateful to you and your Government for the cooperation you have given us in the exploration and exploitation of oil in this country. I am sure this will lead to other avenues of cooperation.

But apart from these contacts, economic and cultural, there is one matter which affects you and us and I believe people in every country in the world and that is the question of peace in this world of ours, which seems to hover always on the verge of conflict. In that matter, I am quite sure that our passionate desire for peace is reflected in your mind too. I believe also that in spite of the great difficulties and dangers that confront us in the international sphere, the world is moving slowly towards peace. The world, the people of the world, are realizing that there is no alternative and merely to remain on the verge of war is not a state of affairs which any reasonable person can like, but still it is not enough for us merely to drift or try to drift towards lessening the tensions. We have to try to do our best to help that process, to help it in many ways, above all, in the minds of men. Even today, the great urge for peace in the world comes no doubt from Governments too, but in the main it comes from the people and sometimes Governments lag behind their peoples' urges. Problems are very difficult and we can hardly expect to solve them in some magical way, because they are rooted in people's fears, distrust and apprehensions. It will not be easy to remove these fears but I believe that every step taken helps in the process and makes the next step easier.

There is the tremendous danger today of atomic warfare. We have long been of the opinion that one of the first steps should be in restricting this and finally putting an end to it, putting an end to what are called test explosions, nuclear explosions, and leading up to the abandonment of the manufacture of these nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Also perhaps step by step we may go on enlarging the area in the world, which is supposed to be uncommitted in the military sense and sometimes called rather wrongly a neutral area, an area which is not armed to the teeth preparing for war but which wants to discard war as a policy to be pursued. There have been various proposals and suggestions in recent times to enlarge this area. It is true that a mere enlargement of that area does not solve the problem which confronts us, but every progressive step makes that problem a little easier of solution. If, on the other hand, there was no such area and all the nations of the world stood serried in armed strength facing each other, the position would be terrible indeed.

Therefore, if we cannot do very much positively, because we have no strength of arms, nor have any other way of influencing other countries by our wealth or might, we have at least this negative way of avoiding military commitments, keeping out of military pacts and trying in all humility to serve the cause of peace. We believe that at any time, and more particularly today, an attempt by force to impress one's will on another country is bad and indeed is bound to fail. We cannot ultimately change the minds of men by force. And so we believe in peaceful coexistence of countries even though they differ in their political or economic structure. You will remember, Sir, those Five Principles that are sometimes known as *Panchsheel*, principles of peaceful coexistence, when no country commits aggression on another or even interferes in its internal affairs and each country and the people evolve according to their own genius and friendship for others, thus influencing each other, not through military might or ways of coercion and compulsion but by friendship and cooperation. We do not know what success we can have in this task. But we do know that if there are large numbers of people all over the world who think that way, the path of all of us will become easier. And we pledge ourselves to cooperate with every country which seeks peace and strives for peace, if I may say so with all respect, through peaceful ways and peaceful words and peaceful actions.

And so we welcome you here today both as making, firmly establishing, our cooperation in many fields and also as fellow-travellers on the way to peace. I hope that when you go back from here, you and your colleagues, you will carry with you the goodwill of our Government and people for the people of Romania.

Excellencies, may I request you to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister of Romania!

14. Ethiopian Mediation in Egypt-Sudan Dispute¹

The Ethiopian Ambassador² came to see me this afternoon with a message from his Emperor.³ This related to the dispute between Egypt and Sudan about some territory. He said that the Emperor had appealed to both those countries to remain peaceful and not to do anything which might lead to conflict. They had agreed to do this. He had further suggested to them that he was prepared to offer his good offices in settling this dispute. According to him they had agreed to this also, though it was by no means clear to me in what measure they had agreed to this proposal. It seemed to me that there was no regular acceptance of any such thing but probably some kind of vague appreciation of the Emperor's offer.

2. The Ambassador suggested to me that India might support Ethiopia in the move the latter had taken. The Ambassador referred to the Bandung Conference, etc.

3. I told the Ambassador that we were naturally anxious for a peaceful settlement between these two friendly countries, and we could always suggest this to them. But I could not ask Egypt or Sudan to accept the mediation of Ethiopia in this matter. Indeed, I could not make any positive proposal, and certainly I was not prepared to offer the good offices of India. We would be happy if this matter was settled peacefully through the good offices of the Ethiopian Government. If occasion arose, we could also make informal suggestions to the two Governments, but we do not like the idea of offering our good offices to other countries for the settlement of their disputes. This entangled us in difficult undertakings. Privately and informally, we might sometimes use our good offices and make suggestions, but this was a different matter.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 10 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. Ras Haile Selassie Imru.

3. Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, 1930-74.

15. To A.M. Moolla¹

New Delhi

March 20, 1958

Dear Mr Moolla,²

I thank you for your letter of the 7th March which I have read with interest.³ I am glad that the South African representatives to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association returned with good impressions of this country and our people.

Gandhiji taught us many things. Among them was to distinguish the individual or a race or a group from a particular policy to which we objected. We carried on the struggle against the British for generations, but we bore little ill will to them, and we are friends with them now.

In spite of our deep feeling against apartheid movement in South Africa, we bear no ill will to the country or to the people there. But we do think that the apartheid movement, whether it applies to Indians or Africans, is something that is very bad and is likely to lead increasingly to bad consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.AFR(S)-64/58-AFR-I, MEA.
2. Amod Mahomed Moolla (1909-1980); President, South African Indian Organisation, Durban; Industrialist and Philanthropist; employed at Lockhat Brothers and Company in Durban as a clerk, 1927; rose to become Chairman of the Company until his retirement in 1976; established A.M. Moolla Group of Companies, 1955, which became one of the largest privately owned companies in South Africa; laid the foundation of A.M Moolla Charity Trust, which gave financial support to social welfare, religious, educational and healthcare organizations irrespective of caste, colour or creed in 1959.
3. Moolla wrote that he had been reading, with great pride and interest, some of the comments made by the South African Members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association which recently visited India. These comments, published in South African newspapers, made him to write a word of appreciation and gratitude for the manner in which Nehru received the delegation. Moolla particularly mentioned about the impressions of two Afrikaaner and Nationalist Members of Parliament, Mr Van Niekerk and Mr Scholtz, who said that they were concerned before leaving for India about their reception in view of their Party's general attitude towards Indians in South Africa but their delegation was received with "friendliness, courtesy and extraordinary helpfulness." Moolla suggested to Nehru to "go further and move through these excellent impressions given to the bigger actions required to erase the differences between our two countries."

16. Indo-Japanese Association¹

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the anniversary of the Indo-Japanese Association. During my visit to Japan last year, I was impressed greatly not only with the great achievements of the Japanese people and their artistic quality, but by the affection they showed towards us. I welcome, therefore, all efforts at closer cooperation between India and Japan.

1. Message, New Delhi, 23 March 1958. JN Collection.

17. Reduction of Military Potential in Vietnam¹

It is clear that we have to forward the letter of Mr Pham Van Dong to Co-Chairmen.² Indeed there should have been no delay in this on our part. I see that this letter was received by us ten days ago or more.

2. In forwarding the letter, the French translation should be used which is their own.

3. I do not think it is necessary to say much about his proposal. We might, however, indicate the obvious desirability of an agreement on the reduction of military potential in North and South Vietnam.

4. We should, of course, inform Mr Pham Van Dong that we have forwarded his letter to the two Co-Chairmen.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 23 March 1958. File No. 1(40)—AAIC/58, p.4/ Note, MEA.
2. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) had enclosed a copy of his letter addressed to Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) dated 7 March 1958. Pham Van Dong wrote that consolidation of peace and unification of Vietnam could not be achieved till then essentially due to "the policy of intervention by American imperialism in the South of our country" which was "affecting seriously the independence, sovereignty and the national sentiments of our compatriots of the South and hindering the reunification of the Fatherland." He suggested that to guarantee peace and to lessen the burden of taxes on the people, "a bilateral reduction of military potential," would be of very great significance. He proposed "a meeting between competent authorities of the two zones in the nearest future, with a view to discuss the question of bilateral reduction in military potential and to find out means for re-establishment of commercial exchanges between the two zones." Pham Van Dong requested Nehru to forward the letter to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the UK and the USSR.

in the real spirit of peace and cooperation in accordance with the resolution on peaceful coexistence recently passed by the United Nations.⁵

3. I have read your various suggestions with care. May I express my appreciation of your earnest approach to the problems that confront us? So far as we are concerned we will be happy to associate ourselves or help in any step which seems to us to further the cause of peace. But you will appreciate that the urgent need today is for an agreement between the Soviet Union and the USA about the proposal for a conference.

4. We are in agreement with you that a high-level conference is both desirable and necessary. We would welcome such conference whether it is confined to a few or has more members. If our presence in it is generally desired and we feel that we can serve the cause of peace thereby, we shall be glad to consider an invitation.

5. During the visit of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to Delhi recently, I had occasion to discuss with him your message to him and I pressed upon him our well known views in regard to a high-level conference.

6. I earnestly trust that the initiative which the Soviet Union is taking will result in lessening world tensions and furthering the cause of peace.⁶

7. Please accept, Mr Prime Minister, my sincere regards.

Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The resolution on coexistence, sponsored by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia and passed by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1957, was read out by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 17 December 1957. For the text of the resolution, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 572.

6. The Soviet Government approached K.P.S. Menon on 15 January for publication of this message from Nehru but they wanted either to omit references to Bulgarian's message to Macmillan as it was communicated to Nehru in confidence or publish a summary. Nehru, who was in Gauhati for the Congress Session, asked S. Dutt on 17 January to convey to K.P.S. Menon that publication of summary was not desirable and this message to Bulganin should be published with omission of passages 1 and 5. Nehru also advised Menon through Dutt that the proper course would be to inform the Soviet Government that this message was sent without realising that Bulganin's message to Macmillan was to be treated as confidential. In fact, Bulganin's message was mentioned to Macmillan without showing him the text of the message. Therefore, Menon should give Bulganin a revised message omitting the two references to the Prime Minister of UK and should take back the old one. The Soviet Government could then publish this revised message.

3. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

I am sending you separately a message for Bulganin. For your personal information, I might add that I discussed the Soviet messages with Macmillan at some length. Macmillan could not give me any definite reaction to these proposals without consulting his allies. Also he cannot wholly get over his fears and apprehensions lest some step might result in the Soviet Union having overwhelming superiority in arms in Europe. But it seemed to me that he was impressed by Bulganin's message and some of the proposals contained in it. He also felt that some kind of conference could not be avoided. He talked of preparations for it and for discussions which would pave the way for it.

1. New Delhi, 13 January 1958. JN Collection.

4. Message to Josip Broz Tito¹

I am grateful to you for your letter of December 16, which was delivered to me by your Ambassador on January 1. Your appraisal of the general situation is very helpful. May I say that I agree with much that you have written.²

Since you wrote, further developments have taken place chiefly on the initiative of the Soviet Government. During the last few days I have received two messages from Mr Bulganin. He sent them specially as the British Prime Minister was coming here. I discussed these messages with Macmillan and pressed our viewpoint on him about the necessity of some kind of a top-level conference to consider the problem of disarmament and the lessening of international tensions. I think he was somewhat impressed and felt that in any event it would not be desirable to reject out of court the Soviet proposals. He will no doubt consult his allies.

1. New Delhi, 13 January 1958. JN Collection. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML.
2. Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, had written: "More and more bases with installations for guided missiles and such are growing up around the Soviet Union, atomic weapons are being supplied to the NATO members, and so on. All this is very palpable proof that now the greater part of the blame for deterioration cannot be put on the Soviet Union but rather on the Western Powers." He suggested that the countries outside the two military blocs should declare, regardless of reactions to their attitude, that such a policy was leading to disaster. He also expressed concern about the situation in Syria, the Arab countries, Algeria and Indonesia.

II. DISARMAMENT

1. Message from the Soviet Government¹

The Soviet Ambassador² came to see me this morning and said that he had been asked to convey a message from his Government to me. Thereafter, an informal document conveying this message was read out to me.³ I enclose a copy of this.

2. I replied to the Soviet Ambassador that I appreciated the message from his Government and we were naturally anxious to help in every way in lessening world tensions. In any event, Mr Macmillan and I would be discussing international affairs and I shall endeavour to put my viewpoint to him. How far this influences his policy, I could not say. It would make us very happy if we could help even in taking a little step towards peace.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 4 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. P.K. Ponomarenko.
3. Acknowledging "the role of India in the struggle for peace" and Nehru's personal role in it, the Soviet Government said that it would be expedient to exert possible influence on some Western States whose foreign policy was still far from meeting the requirements of the relaxation of tension in international relations and the liquidation of the cold war. In view of the forthcoming visit of the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, to India, they specifically suggested the possibilities of India exerting such influence on the British Government, which, according to the Soviet Government, had displayed "extremely negative attitude ... with regard to many proposals put forward by India, the Soviet Union and other peace-loving States." Macmillan was in New Delhi from 8 to 12 January 1958.

2. Message to N.A. Bulganin¹

I am grateful to you, Mr Prime Minister, for your message of January 8th which was delivered to me by your Ambassador in Delhi on January 11th.² Your Ambassador also gave me a copy of your letter to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom dated January 8th and a note on the proposals of the Soviet Government on the question of lessening international tension.³

2. You know of the extreme anxiety of our people in India to help in the preservation of peace and in lessening present-day tensions. I made an earnest appeal on this subject to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the 28th of November last and you were good enough to send me a friendly and sympathetic reply which I appreciated very much. I also received a sympathetic reply from President Eisenhower.⁴ I am convinced that every effort should be made to break the deadlock that exists over the question of disarmament and to ease the tensions due to the cold war. We cannot afford to allow the present drift to continue as this can only worsen the situation and possibly lead to a terrible catastrophe which all wish to avoid. I feel also that any discussion can only bring useful results if they are not conducted in a polemical way; each party arguing its case and blaming the other. We are convinced that the only way to achieve results is to approach this vital question

1. New Delhi, 13 January 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 8 (ii) Eur-E/58/ Pt. I, pp. 121-122/c, MEA.

The message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, K.P.S. Menon.

2. Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, had written that in view of the NATO decisions—relating to arming of certain European countries with nuclear weapons and its discussions on building close ties with other military blocs such as the Baghdad Pact and SEATO—it had become necessary to hold a conference of the leaders of member-states of the military groupings and of the neutral states of Europe and Asia. He stated that participation in the conference of such neutral countries as India, Afghanistan, Egypt, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Austria would have a beneficial influence and would further the cause of peace not only in Europe but in other parts of the world too. He also referred to the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed on 21 December 1957 which advocated a nuclear-free Europe and conclusion of a non-aggression agreement between the member-states of the NATO, Warsaw Treaty and other such organizations.
3. In his letter to Macmillan, Bulganin expressed hope that the Supreme Soviet's resolution of 21 December 1957 advocating a nuclear free Europe and conclusion of a non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Treaty members, forwarded earlier to the UK and other Western Powers, would be considered with proper attention. He also expressed concern at the international situation, specially after the NATO deliberations.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 599 and p. 602.

Meanwhile President Eisenhower's reply to Bulganin has appeared today. I do not think it is a very satisfactory reply, although he does not wholly reject the Soviet proposal. But the conditions attached hardly make a high level conference possible.³

I feel sure that some time or other such a conference will have to be held, whatever its composition might be.

The situation in the Middle Eastern countries is quieter now and I do not think any dangerous development is likely in the near future. Indonesia however causes us much concern. You will be seeing President Soekarno soon and will find out from him what the position is.⁴ While we are wholly in favour of West Irian going to Indonesia,⁵ unfortunately some unwise and hurried moves there have produced a tangle.⁶ We have been pressing both the Dutch and Indonesian Governments to have peaceful negotiations. The Indonesians feel greatly frustrated at the treatment they have received from the Dutch during the last few years. The rejection by the United Nations of the resolution for negotiation created great resentment in Indonesia and precipitated action. At the present moment I think that both the Netherlands and Indonesia are willing to have negotiations. But on the subject of West Irian both have adopted rigid attitudes.

3. In his reply to Bulganin's letter of 10 December 1957, Eisenhower expressed on 12 January 1958, willingness to participate in a summit conference, but stated that "preparatory work, with goodwill on both sides, is a prerequisite to success." He added that the USA and the USSR should "agree that outer space should be used only for useful purpose", and that steps should be taken towards nuclear disarmament and cessation of nuclear arms production under effective safeguards and inspection.
4. Indonesian President, Ahmed Soekarno, and Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, visited Belgrade from 17 to 19 January 1958.
5. The status of West Irian, according to the Round Table Agreement of 1949, was to be determined through negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands within a year of transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia in December 1949. Despite this, the Dutch incorporated West Irian within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1952 under the title of Netherlands New Guinea.
6. Repeated failure of Indonesia's efforts to settle the issue in the United Nations between 1954 to 1957 forced the Indonesians to seek their own solution of the matter. On 2 December 1957, a 24-hour general strike was held against Dutch enterprises followed by unauthorized seizure of Dutch firms by youth groups and left wing unionist employees. The Army then took protective control of these businesses pending their nationalization. The Dutch airline KLM was denied landing rights in Indonesia. Dutch publications were banned. Measures were taken to repatriate 'unemployed and superfluous' Dutch citizens. In a mass exodus, over 40,000 Dutch citizens left Indonesia in the subsequent weeks.

I entirely agree with you that it is more necessary than ever that countries like Yugoslavia and India should continue unaligned and remain outside these military blocs. Only in this way can we serve the cause of peace and help in preventing some terrible conflict.

I was happy at the United Nations passing unanimously the resolution on peaceful coexistence sponsored by Yugoslavia, India and Sweden. This does not bring peace but certainly improves the atmosphere for peace. Meanwhile world opinion everywhere demands more and more vigorously some step towards a relaxation of tension.

I view with great satisfaction that the relations between our two countries are cordial and are developing well.

5. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 9188 January 17.² You can tell Drew³ for transmission to Diefenbaker that we shall be very glad to maintain our close relationship and discuss important current issues. I am in Gauhati now. On my return to Delhi, I shall have a talk with Canadian High Commissioner⁴ there.⁵

2. We were also disappointed with Eisenhower's reply to Bulganin and felt that Macmillan's reply was also rather vague. We do not think it is right to leave the initiative always in the hands of the Soviet. We feel that some high-level meeting will have to be held some time or other. To reject proposal is to make most people think that while Soviet wants some approach to settlement, others are unwilling.

3. My talks with Macmillan dealt almost entirely with world issues, disarmament, etc. No Indo-Pakistan issue was discussed. I pointed out that in threatened situation, rigid attitude towards Soviet approaches was not right,

1. Gauhati, 18 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. In her telegram, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had stated that G.A. Drew, the Canadian High Commissioner to UK, had told her that John G. Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, was anxious to maintain good relations with India and that he would like to discuss any points on which Canadian help might be useful.

3. George Alexander Drew (1894-1973); Canadian politician and diplomat; Prime Minister, Province of Ontario, 1943-48; Leader of the Opposition, 1949-56; High Commissioner to UK, 1957-64; Governor, University of Toronto; Chancellor, University of Guelph; works include *The Truth About War*, *Salesmen of Death* and *The Truth About War Debts*.

4. Chester A. Ronning.

5. For Nehru's talk with Ronning, see *post*, pp. 745-746.

and that basically high-level meeting should be agreed to and meanwhile preparation might be made for it. Obviously the most important question is that of disarmament. We are anxious that no step should be taken which queers the pitch.

4. I understand there is some talk of meeting of new twenty-five-member Disarmament Commission. Such a meeting can only be worthwhile if Soviet attends it. I think that no attempt should be made to have such a meeting soon. The ground for it must be prepared first. I did not mention this to Macmillan as question had not arisen then.

5. I might mention that Macmillan to some extent agreed with my analysis but was anxious not to do anything which might not be agreeable to America.

6. Cable to G.L. Mehta¹

Your telegram 37, January 17.² I quite agree with you that in any disarmament settlement the question of use of outer space will have to be considered. It is not clear to me, however, what one can say about this at this stage. The whole question is very complicated and will require expert consideration. In outer space, no national boundaries can be considered. I am, therefore, doubtful as to what I can say about this matter now.

1. New Delhi, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. G.L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the US, informed Nehru that Eisenhower had proposed to Bulganin that outer space should be used only for peaceful purposes and "denied to the purposes of War." Mehta felt that a statement by Nehru to this effect would have "an excellent effect" and could not be ignored by Bulganin. He wrote that the Americans were making major effort to catch up with the Russians in space technology.

7. Approach to World Problems¹

The Canadian High Commissioner, Mr Chester Ronning,² came to see me this afternoon at my request. He was with me for about 45 minutes. I told him that our High Commissioner at London had conveyed a message to me which she had received from Mr Diefenbaker through the Canadian High Commissioner in London.³ This message was to the effect that Mr Diefenbaker was much concerned at the international situation and was anxious to keep close contacts with India. He had further indicated that he was not at all happy at the answer that President Eisenhower had sent to Mr Bulganin as well as Mr Macmillan's letter to Mr Bulganin.⁴

2. I told Mr Ronning that we were ourselves eager and anxious to keep close contacts with the Canadian Government over these and other issues. We had cooperated to a large extent in the past and we hope to continue this in the future. In particular, in the present crisis about disarmament, etc., it would be very desirable for us to be in close touch with each other. I told Mr Ronning about our general position in regard to disarmament and high-level meetings. It was clear to me that these distant communications in criticism of each other would not bring any results. Since the winding up of the last Disarmament Commission and other happenings, the situation was such that unless it improved, it would deteriorate. It would then become even more difficult to deal with it satisfactorily. Some kind of high-level meeting therefore appeared necessary. It was true that a meeting by itself might not bring in results and some kind of previous preparation was necessary. In effect it was not the big conference which yielded results but private and informal talks. Even at a conference it was the private talks that were helpful.

3. Mr Ronning agreed with all I said and reminded me of the Korean Conference at Geneva⁵ at which he was present. No attempt was made then, he said, to come to grips with the problem or to discuss it privately, although, in his

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, S.Dutt, the Foreign Secretary and M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 24 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. Chester Alvin Ronning (1894-1984); Canadian diplomat; Counsellor, Canadian Embassy in Chungking and Nanking, 1945-51; headed Far Eastern and Commonwealth Division, External Affairs, Ottawa, 1951-54; Ambassador to Norway and Minister to Iceland, 1954-57; High Commissioner to India, 1957-64.
3. George A. Drew.
4. For Nehru's comments on Diefenbaker's message, see *ante*, pp. 743-744.
5. The reference is to the international conference held at Geneva from 26 April to 21 July 1954 to restore peace in Korea and Indo-China.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

opinion, the Chinese were quite prepared to come to some agreement. Only plenary sessions of the Korean Conference were held and set speeches were delivered.

4. Mr Ronning referred to a visit which Mr Pearson⁶ had paid to Mr Eisenhower in the fall of 1956. The object of that visit was more particularly to discuss the problem of China and to try to induce President Eisenhower to relax in his approach to China. He found, however, that on this matter the President was completely rigid.

5. Mr Ronning said that he would like Mr Sydney Smith,⁷ the Minister for External Affairs in Canada, to pay a visit to India and to discuss matters with us here. That would be helpful. In particular, he said that the Kashmir question was much misunderstood in the West and if Mr Smith came here, he might get a proper understanding of it from our point of view. I told him that we would welcome Mr Smith's visit whenever he could come here.

6. Mr Ronning was so appreciative of our general attitude to these various world problems that there was not much room for argument with him. In fact we appeared to agree about most matters. He told me that the Canadian Government was preparing a message to be sent to me and that probably this would come within two or three days.

6. Lester B. Pearson was the Leader of the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament.

7. Sidney Earle Smith (1897-1959); Canadian academic and diplomat; Dean of Dalhousie's Law School, 1929; President, University of Manitoba, 1934; President, University of Toronto, 1945-57; Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1957-59.

8. To John Gaffney¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

Dear Mr Gaffney,²

Our Minister of Finance, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, has forwarded to me your letter addressed to him dated 20th January 1958, with which you have sent a letter addressed to me on the same date. I have read the papers you have sent and the proposals you have made.

1. JN Collection. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

2. A resident of New York, USA.

I entirely agree with you that mankind faces today a tragic and extraordinary dilemma. Every logical approach leads to the conclusions that war must be absolutely ruled out and that the world's resources should be utilized in a fairer and more equitable way so as to remove not only poverty and want but some of the causes of conflict. That is the logical approach. But there is little logic to be seen in international relations today and fear and suspicion and hatred prevent any reasonable approach. I think it is true, as you point out, that the great mass of human beings all over the world desire peace, cooperation and progress. But, in spite of this, many of those who control the destinies of human beings act otherwise. It is perfectly true to say that disarmament is the principal problem because on this depends the removal of the present tensions. You suggest that disarmament should rather be the result of peace than the cause of it. To put it in different words, it means that if the approach of fear and conflict is removed, other things would follow, including disarmament and an increasing measure of cooperation. The question, therefore, is whether your proposals are likely to lead to this. I doubt very much if those proposals, good in many ways as they are, are likely to be accepted and acted upon in present circumstances.

The situation is a very difficult and dangerous one. And yet there are some gleams of hope, chiefly because the people in other countries are beginning to appreciate the true nature of the problem. International conferences are useful and necessary, but the type of international conference that is held hardly ever permits any frank and intimate discussion. Thousands of newspapermen surround the conference, movie and television cameras are clicking all the time, there is feasting and talking to the world. This approach is not likely to yield any results. It is the quieter, more informal and intimate approach that might help in getting us out of this rut. Of course this informal approach has to be followed by the more formal approaches.

Your proposals encounter the same difficulties as any other proposals, regardless of their merits. In any event, it would not be appropriate, I think, for me to address Heads of Governments on this or any like issue. The moment public approaches of any kind are made, countries adopt rigid attitudes and there is a certain resentment against any person presuming to tell them as to how they should act. Privately such proposals can be made and discussed.

I think, therefore, that I cannot take the action you suggest. But I have been glad to read your note and I hope you will take other steps to invoke public discussion on it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Need for Suspension of Nuclear Tests¹

The usefulness of a 'little summit' conference of non-bloc powers is doubtful. Essentially, the two powers most concerned are America and Russia. It is for them to agree to get together. If any conference is held excluding one or the other, it is not much good. If the so called non-aligned countries meet, all they can do is to repeat views already expressed. It may not be a bad idea that they should do this but it does not solve essential problems.

So, private intimate discussions should be held between the major powers. The main thing, if I may say so, is not posturing in public, but trying to do something definite through private, intimate discussions, and then making a public announcement of the decisions reached. That is why I do not advise against further summit meetings because not to meet at all, or not agreeing to meet, is the counsel of despair. I am also much concerned about the arms piling policies which dominate international conversations. I find a dangerous parallel between today's frequent conferences and goodwill meetings between statesmen and those that I attended in Europe in 1938.

I cannot understand this mad way of increasing stocks of missiles, piling up bombs, and then flying them over the tops of your houses. These preparations are surely based on a terrific fear of something happening suddenly. I think this fear is totally unjustified. Even if there was some justification, the very methods adopted to avoid such an event, in fact, make it more likely. Sitting here at this far distance, it seems to me there is at last a greater realization that this mad approach to world problems must not be allowed to continue. The only alternative to the present policy which is leading to final disaster, is a definite turning away which will involve giving up nuclear tests. India has been calling for the suspension of nuclear tests for the past two or three years. The solution for this problem may also take a year or two.

In any case the people of India are not afraid and we have confidence that we can stand up to any external danger. We are not frightened. We know we cannot meet the atom bomb with an atom bomb. But if attack comes, our morale will not fail. We will fight back even with sticks. In any case, no one will profit by using an atom bomb against us, so no one is likely to use it.

I am neither alarmed nor frightened at the prospect of communism. Many of its aspects I find totally unattractive and unacceptable. And I do not want communism here.

1. Report of an interview with Pauline Walton at New Delhi, printed in *Reynold's News* (London) on 2 February 1958. From *National Herald*, 3 February 1958 and *The Hindu*, 4 February 1958.

There is still a future in India for Britons as there is no discrimination against foreigners in India. We are not thinking of nationalizing British plantations in India. We have so much else to do. Indians talk sincerely about socialism but in no doctrinaire way. India plans to increase trade with all South East Asian countries, including the export of raw materials to Japan, India's rival in textile production.

We are anxious to increase our production and to keep firm control on our basic economy. Subject to that, we are not interested in increased control of the public sector.

10. Cable from Foreign Secretary to I.J. Bahadur Singh¹

Your telegram 26 of February 1. Prime Minister has given careful consideration to Premier Chou En-lai's proposal.² Please convey his reactions orally to Premier Chou.

2. Prime Minister entirely agrees with Premier Chou En-lai that efforts should be made to enlarge the areas of peace in the world. He also agrees that the supply of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons to countries in Asia and Africa which do not possess them and the setting up of missile bases in these countries would come in the way of this. As Premier Chou En-lai knows, we have throughout taken the line that nuclear weapons should be barred completely and that they should not be given to other countries. Prime Minister feels that to limit this bar to a particular area in East Asia and South East Asia would be to

1. Cable conveying Nehru's reactions to Chou En-lai's proposals, New Delhi, 5 February 1958. JN Collection.

I.J. Bahadur Singh was Counsellor and Charge d' Affaires in Indian Embassy in Peking, 1955-58.

2. I.J. Bahadur Singh wrote to the Foreign Secretary that he had met Chou En-lai on 1 February who conveyed the following proposals for Nehru's consideration: (i) countries to the West of the Pacific and in South and South East Asia should be included in the peace area. In this area no other countries should be allowed to store or test nuclear weapons nor should they be allowed to position atomic weapons or guided missiles. (ii) The countries covered would be the following: Korea, Japan, Okinawa, China including Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaya, Hong Kong, three States of Indo-China, Siam, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Nepal, Afghanistan and Mongolia. (iii) Iran and countries to the West would not be included as they 'belong to another zone'. When Bahadur Singh enquired as to the manner in which the proposal should be put forward, Chou stated that "Prime Minister Nehru will know best how to handle this."

limit our approach to this problem to some extent. We have also to consider carefully how far it would be proper for India to say something in regard to other countries to raise the issue in so far as they are concerned.

3. We are aware of the proposal made by the Prime Minister of Poland for an atom-free zone in Central Europe which is to include Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany. All these countries have supported the proposal in so far as they are concerned. This proposal has been appreciated by a growing number of people in other countries also. If this proposal is agreed to, it will be a great gain and the principle can be extended elsewhere. Prime Minister feels that if at this stage a parallel proposal relating to a large number of countries in Asia were to be made, it might come in the way of even the limited Polish proposal being considered on its merits.

4. Prime Minister is anxious that a top level meeting should be held to consider the vital matters which effect the peace of the world. Preparation will of course be necessary for such a meeting but the important aim is for the meeting to take place with the minimum of delay. Such a meeting or meetings should consider disarmament in general and the banning of the use of atomic weapons in particular. The atmosphere for such meetings is becoming more favourable now, though there are still some hurdles to be crossed. It is for serious consideration whether a proposal of the kind suggested by Premier Chou En-lai if made now might not add to the psychological barrier to an agreement about top level meetings being reached.

11. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi

February 8, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of January 30th, with which you sent a letter from the Japan Council Against Atomic And Hydrogen Bombs.

I think you might reply to say that we entirely agree that the test explosions or indeed any kind of use of atomic and hydrogen bombs should be banned. This has been the declared policy of the Government of India for many years, and there is full agreement of the Indian people with this policy. Indeed, the Government of India goes a little further than this.

1. JN Collection.

2. President of the Indian National Congress.

This question has become a part of disarmament. We are doing our best in this matter.

As for the proposed conference, it is difficult for us to send any answers to the questions he has put. Such a conference may be useful. What is more important is that each country should organize publicity and propaganda on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Norman Cousins¹

New Delhi
February 9, 1958

My dear Cousins,²

Thank you for your letter of January 27th, which I have read with great interest.

I have a feeling that the situation in regard to disarmament and, more especially, nuclear weapons and the like, is slowly taking a turn for the better. There is undoubtedly a widespread demand all over the world for what is called a high-level meeting. That demand itself represents the urge of people everywhere and the hope that something will be done soon to stop this mad race. Even Governments are being affected by this tide of public opinion, though they move slowly and with great caution. I realize that such a top-level meeting may lead nowhere unless some adequate preparation is made for it. I do not think a Foreign Ministers' meeting is that type of preparation. Foreign Ministers are by their very nature very rigid and they might well make matters worse. I agree with you also that a meeting of the United States and the Soviet Union will also not be desirable and will not yield results. But I suppose some kind of a meeting will take place probably on a wider basis and after informal contacts have been established.

It seems to me that any new proposals of the type you have mentioned will probably not be helpful at this stage. A conference of scientists, philosophers, theologians, etc., would no doubt pass some vague resolutions and, to that

1. JN Collection.

2. Editor of *The Saturday Review* (New York) and Co-Chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957-63.

extent, add to the public opinion already existing. But any such attempt may well delay a closer and more intimate approach to the problem.

As for strengthening the United Nations, I do not quite understand what this means and how it will help. Even a consideration of problems of world peace by the United Nations, helpful as it well might be, should take place after some informal approaches have been made.

The general tendency, not only among the communist countries, but also those that might be called anti-communist, is to function on the bloc level. I want to avoid that. I feel that the situation ought to be allowed to develop a little and informal approaches and contacts should be established. No progress can be made if either party puts forward proposals which it knows are unacceptable to the other. That is the present tendency, but I think that it is possible to explore a field where agreement is not ruled out. We are trying to do this insofar as we can.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Possibility of a Summit Meeting¹

The Yugoslav Ambassador² came to see me this afternoon and discussed with me the latest developments about the possibility of a Summit Conference. I told him that some days ago we had received a message from the Soviet Government³ who had also sent us a copy of the letter they had sent to President Eisenhower. This was supposed to be confidential but evidently the French Government had given publicity to it. The Ambassador said that his government had also received this message from the Soviet Government.

2. It is clear now that there was every chance of a Summit Conference, probably preceded by a Foreign Ministers' conference. The Soviet Government had gone so far in meeting the various points raised by some of the Western Powers that it would be difficult to avoid such a conference now. As a matter of fact, it was taken for granted now even among the Western Powers that such a conference should be held. Mr Selwyn Lloyd⁴ said as much the other day.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 3 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. Bogdan Crnobrnja.

3. See *ante*, p. 742.

4. British Foreign Secretary.

3. As for India attending it, we had explained our position. If we are wanted by the other parties, we shall gladly help. For the present, we have to wait and watch developments.

4. The Yugoslav Ambassador told me very informally that there was a possibility of his transfer from Delhi in the course of a month or two. He had not heard anything officially about it yet.

14. Need for High Level Meetings¹

After some hesitation, I have come to the conclusion that we should accept this notice and make a statement. That statement will have to be carefully drawn up. It need not refer only to the recent Soviet proposal but rather to the broader question of high level meetings to resolve or lessen present day tensions, more especially in regard to disarmament. Also to consider various proposals that have been made. We need not commit ourselves to any proposal but say that many of the recent proposals indicate avenues of approach which should prove helpful in lessening tensions.

We may state that the Soviet Government have kept us informed of the various proposals they have made. We have been of opinion that a high level meeting is necessary and further that such a high level meeting should be preceded by formal or informal discussions to clear the ground for that meeting. Such discussions can be through diplomatic channels. We have no objection to a Foreign Ministers' meeting also being held as a preliminary to the other high level meeting.

So far as India is concerned, we have made it clear that should our participation be desired at any meeting by the principal parties concerned, we shall gladly participate.²

A draft statement might be prepared. Shri Krishna Menon might see it also.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 5 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru informed the Cabinet on 4 March 1958 that some time ago, the Soviet Union had suggested the inclusion of India in the proposed summit talks, and had agreed with the suggestion of the Western Powers that the summit talks might be preceded by a meeting of Foreign Ministers and had proposed that this meeting might take place at Geneva in April. Nehru indicated that "while we were not anxious to push ourselves forward, we should be prepared to help if all the parties concerned asked for our assistance."

A suitable day for making this statement would be Wednesday, 12th March.

In view of daily developments, the statement will have to be revised and made up to date the day before it is made.

15. Nations Must Give up Arms Race¹

The world has to find a way to achieve peace through a friendly approach and not a threatening one. If there is to be peace, each country must give up the idea of force of arms or other forms of coercion directed against other countries.

The Bandung Conference² has already become part of history. The effect of Bandung, though great, has rather worn off, as so many things have happened since. Words sometimes become stale and flat. So to keep up to the principles, one has not only to remember the words but give concrete shape to them to retain their true significance. The broad principles laid down at the Bandung Conference and previously in the *Panchsheel* were not only applicable then, but continue to be applicable today also. I see no peaceful international order except through the acceptance of these principles.

These principles recognize the fact that there are differences of opinion, differences in political, economic and social structures, and recognizing this fact we want to say that we should live and let live. That does not mean that the countries should live in isolation, cut off from each other—that is neither possible nor desirable—in fact, a country can influence another country much more by friendship rather than by coercion. If there is coercion there is fear and resentment and the mind is closed. If there is no fear and no resentment, then the mind is open and becomes more receptive to ideas.

I suppose people with hardly any exception in the world today want peace. But despite this worldwide desire there is preparation for war. There are many reasons for this, but one of them is fear. The problem of dealing with the question of peace is how to get round this fear, the worst companion of any

1. Speech at the meeting of the Bureau of World Peace Council, New Delhi, 22 March 1958. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 23 March 1958.

The World Peace Council was founded in 1949 in Prague during a 'Peace Congress' sponsored by the Soviet Union and their Czech and other East European allies in order to promote peaceful coexistence and disarmament. Sixty delegates from 29 countries attended the three-day meeting of the Council to review the international situation and make preparations for a disarmament conference proposed to be held under its auspices in Stockholm in July.

2. The Asian-African Conference was held at Bandung in Indonesia from 18 to 24 April 1955. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, pp. 97-158.

country. We have to find a way to achieve peace, a way to convince others of our bona fides, and to remove fear from our own minds. In working for peace, we should keep our minds and actions peaceful.

III. GENERAL

1. Tenure of Indo-China Commissions¹

I have read your note.² I am returning this file to you. If necessary, we can refer to it when the UK Prime Minister comes here.

While it is perfectly true that the three Commissions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were interlinked and according to the Geneva Agreements³ can only be wound up simultaneously, it is hardly reasonable to insist for ever or for a very long time that because in one place no progress has been made,⁴ the Commission should continue in the other places also. However, for the present, I think we should certainly keep the Laos Commission, but we must reduce its activities to the barest minimum necessary.

I do not see how we can compel the French to continue their assistance, financial or other, if they insist on withdrawing. The best course would be to reduce that commitment. This might induce them to continue.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 3 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. Desai had written on 3 January 1958 that though the work of the International Commissions in Cambodia and Laos was more or less complete, the stalemate in Vietnam continued. South Vietnam had declined to take over the obligations under the Geneva Agreement. But under the scheme of the Geneva settlement, the three Commissions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were interlinked and were to wind up at the same time when a political settlement was effected in all the three areas. Desai added that apart from the pressure within the Commission in Laos for winding up, there were problems of logistics and finance as the French were withdrawing their logistic support.
3. The three International Commissions, headed by India as chairman and set up under the Geneva Agreements signed on 21 July 1954, had been functioning since 11 August 1954.
4. General elections, as envisaged the Geneva Agreements, had not yet taken place in Vietnam.

2. To Homi J. Bhabha¹

New Delhi

January 5, 1958

My dear Homi,²

A senior official of UNESCO, a Deputy Director General, came to see me this morning. In the course of our talks I said that the rates of payment that the UN specialized agencies had adopted were absurdly high. In this connection he mentioned the recent salary scales fixed by the new Atomic Energy Agency and said that there was great resentment against these in all the other UN specialized agencies. In the other UN agencies, the Director General's pay was 18,000 dollars. Recently in the FAO, B.R.Sen³ was actually offered by resolution 7,000 dollars more, that is 25,000 dollars. He refused to accept this. So now in all the agencies the Director General gets 18,000 dollars. In the Atomic Energy Agency, however, the new Director General is supposed to be paid 50,000 dollars to equate him apparently with the Secretary General of the UN. Also there had been appointed numerous Deputy Directors General with practically no work at all. It was an army of Field Marshals and Generals only.

I am communicating this view of an outsider. I really think that it is scandalous that these tremendous salaries should be paid and useless appointments made. We should not only object to it stoutly but go on doing so continuously. It is not merely a question of money but of something deeper.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

3. Director General, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1956-67.

3. Cultural Agreement with USSR¹

I would myself like to go slow in this matter. At the same time, I just do not see how we can refuse to enter into this cultural agreement.² The most we can do, is to delay matters. The argument that with a Treaty, they will press us harder for various exchanges does not carry us far.

2. You might explain this to Shri K.P.S. Menon, and tell him also about the discussions about a cultural agreement with the USA.³ I think he should be told that we have no objection to such an agreement, and we shall go into this matter more thoroughly somewhat later.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 8 January 1958. File No. 8 (133)-Eur (E)/57, p. 7/Note, MEA.
2. In a note to the Foreign Secretary on 6 January 1958, S. Sen, Joint Secretary in the MEA, referred to K.P.S. Menon's letter dated 8 December 1957 regarding a Soviet proposal for concluding a cultural agreement with India on the basis of the joint statement made by Nehru and Bulganin. Sen wrote that "our constant refusal on financial grounds" to various Soviet proposals for cultural exchanges had "proved highly embarrassing." He suggested that K.P.S. Menon should be requested to inform the Soviet authorities to postpone consideration of a cultural agreement till a later date owing to financial and other difficulties but cultural exchange would be encouraged even without the formality of an agreement.
3. S. Dutt wrote to Nehru in a note on 8 January 1958: "As PM is aware, we have for years been discussing the draft of a trade, consular and cultural agreement with the USA but have not been able to reach any agreement with them. This is because the USA want a number of things under the agreement to which we are not agreeable."

4. To Ella Maillart¹

New Delhi

21st January, 1958

Dear Miss Ella Maillart,²

I received your letter some days ago. I am glad you are coming to India. But your visits are so short that it is hardly possible to meet you. I would of course like to have a glimpse of you. As you are only here for one day, 22nd January, there is not much choice about date. My daughter and I will be happy if you could come either to lunch tomorrow, 22nd, or to dinner. If you receive this

1. JN Collection.
2. Swiss explorer who travelled across the Gobi Desert. See also *ante*, pp. 132-133.

letter in time, you can ring up my Secretary and let him have your answer.

As for Tibet, as you know, I conveyed your message to Premier Chou En-lai. There was no answer to it and it is not desirable to go on repeating this kind of thing. I do not know if I shall be going to Tibet. If I do so, some time later this year, I am afraid it will not be feasible for me to invite you to accompany me. That will appear to the Chinese a piece of trickery on my part. It will be up to them to agree to your going separately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Technical Aid to Underdeveloped Countries¹

It is not a safe thing to uproot the people of underdeveloped countries from their cultural environment and background while technical and other changes are being brought about. Every country has a certain background, psychological, cultural or nationalist, which represents the people in that country and conditions them. Some countries like India have had a long past and a tremendous deal of conditioning. This conditioning played a very important part in making what the people are today. People in underdeveloped countries are no doubt changing but the past background still remains and a question often arises how we are to reconcile with the past background the technical and other changes that are coming about, and that we wish to bring about. One has to work with the background one has got and one has also to understand that background. Only then can you really influence an individual or a group.

Possibly one reason for the many difficulties and problems of today is that technical advance has gone ahead of human advance and the people, though technically competent, are not quite so competent as human beings. It is said that today a person may be wholly qualified to do some particular type of work and yet may not be that integrated human being that you found two thousand years ago. And yet, presumably our objective is to have integrated human beings in addition to scientific and technical progress.

The immediate problem in underdeveloped countries is to provide food, clothing, shelter, education, good health and work to all people and to give

1. Speech at a meeting of Resident Representatives of the UN Technical Assistance Board in eight Asian countries, New Delhi, 24 January 1958. From *The Tribune*, 25 January, *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 26 January 1958.

everybody an opportunity to progress according to his capacity.

We have had what might be called a political revolution in India. Power has been transferred and there has developed a great deal of political consciousness among the people. And political consciousness brings about an inevitable and desirable discontent. In other words, people want big changes in the economic sphere, in the social sphere and, at the same time, the country is not developed adequately. It has not got the resources to fulfil quickly those demands that people make. This leads to tremendous problems. To put it briefly, when political revolution in an underdeveloped country, or in any country takes place, it leads to demands for economic changes, that is, an economic revolution. When a political revolution, and economic revolution and social changes, all the three go together side by side, then the country marches more or less evenly. If social or economic changes come about without the political change, they do not presumably create a big hiatus, but if political changes come first, then other changes take time to catch up with them. These difficulties you will see in every country of Asia. Hence the only way to deal with the problem of underdeveloped countries rapidly is to give political freedom where it does not exist so that the people's attention should be diverted to the solution of social and economic problems and they should realize that they have to shoulder the burden themselves.

A tremendous part of the resources of the world is devoted today to armaments, to non-productive purposes. They bring a heavy burden on all countries concerned. Even if a fraction of that was devoted to the development of the backward areas of the world, progress would be much more rapid than it is today. Any work undertaken on an international scale with a large number of countries participating in it is usually better than individual countries doing it because it has some kind of a wider impact. The United Nations performs a tremendously important function even though the UN or its specialized agencies are not perfect. If the UN was not there, something else would have to take its place. I cannot imagine the world without something like the United Nations and, even more so, the specialized agencies of the United Nations which work all over the world.

For a whole generation, more than a generation, under Mahatma Gandhi, we were in conflict with the British power in India and it was a big conflict and hundreds of thousands of persons in India suffered very greatly, and being very normal human beings, they resented much that happened. Nevertheless, the lesson that Gandhi dinned into us all the time was that we were not fighting against individuals and that we must be friendly with them because we were fighting against the system in India which was bad and evil.

As a result of that lesson, there was no accumulation of bitterness and

hatred. When India became independent, as a result of a settlement with the British authorities, that old bitterness rather faded out and it became relatively easy to assume normal and friendly relations. I have often wondered how far it is possible to transfer this approach onto the international plane.

6. Visit of Mr and Mrs Henry Cabot Lodge¹

I see that the programme for the visit of Mr and Mrs Cabot Lodge² included all the usual items, such as, meeting the Planning Commission, visits to the National Physical Laboratory, Rajghat, etc. I think that the programme should be revised. If Mr Cabot Lodge wants to go to Rajghat, he may go there, but there is no particular need for him to do so. Heads of Governments do that and to drag everybody there does not seem to me necessary or desirable.

There is no particular point in his meeting the Planning Commission or visiting the National Physical Laboratory. These can be left out.

What exactly is he going to do at the Delhi University? Is he getting a degree? If not, why should he go there?

There is a Dance and Music recital at the All India Radio on the 13th. Would it not be more convenient to have this at Rashtrapati Bhavan itself in the cinema room down below?

When he visits Houses of Parliament, it might be desirable to arrange a Tea there, not by the Speaker or the Chairman. I could perhaps arrange it, or the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. The Tea would be limited to about 20 to 30 persons, including Ministers.

On the 12th February, Mr Lodge is supposed to dine quietly at his residence. That night there is a Banquet to the King of Afghanistan. I suggested to you that you might enquire from the American Ambassador³ if Mr Lodge would care to attend this Banquet. I am inclined to think that he would like to be present at the Banquet at Rashtrapati Bhavan. But this is a matter for him to decide.

If you leave out the various items which I have suggested above, he will have a fair amount of free time at his disposal. You need not fill this in. Let him go round Delhi shopping, etc., or have talks with people.

1. Note to Chief of Protocol, 26 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Henry Cabot Lodge was the US Representative to the United Nations from 1953 to 1960. He was in India from 12 to 17 February 1958.

3. Ellsworth Bunker.

I see that he is supposed to visit the Agra University on the 16th February. Again, why a visit to the University? He is only spending a few hours in Agra and they are not enough even for the principal sights. If possible, he should go to Fatehpur Sikri and see not only the Taj, but Itmad-ud-Daula, the Fort, etc.

It is understood that Mr and Mrs Lodge will move over from Rashtrapati Bhavan to my house on the morning of Saturday, 15th February.

You should, therefore, revise his programme. You can consult the Defence Minister and then talk to me. I am sending a copy of this note to the Defence Minister.

7. To A.K. Sen¹

New Delhi
February 8, 1958

My dear Asoke,²

Your letter of February 4th forwarding to me a letter received by you from Mr Lawrence Ebb³ of Stanford University. In this letter, he offers his services to help us in raising money in the United States. I do not think that we should encourage people in this way. A great deal has been said and done about American aid to India and this has borne some result at least. Apart from this, I do not like the idea of a person offering himself in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Asoke Kumar Sen (1913-1996); member of India League in England; participated in revolutionary movement in Bengal, 1927; practiced law in Calcutta High Court, 1941-50; Junior Standing Counsel for West Bengal Government, 1950-56; delegate to UN General Assembly, 1955; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-89; Union Minister of State for Law, 17 April 1957-12 May 1958; Cabinet Minister for Law, 12 May 1958-1966 with additional charge of Posts and Telegraph, 1963-64; Union Minister of Law and Social Security, 1964-66, and again of Law and Justice, 1984-87; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1990.

3. (1908-2000); taught Law at Stanford University, 1954-64; worked in the legal department at General Electric in New York City till mid-1980s; continued a part-time arbitration practice in Washington, 1988-98.

8. Acquisition of a Building in Karachi¹

I have read through all these papers. There can be no doubt that the proposal made by our High Commissioner in Karachi² to the effect that we should acquire this building is an attractive one. More particularly in Pakistan it is desirable for us to own buildings to house our staff. I do not know much about the price, but what is reported seems reasonable.

2. Thus, from every point of view, it is a proposal which should be considered favourably and further enquired into, as suggested in the note of the Finance Secretary.³ The only question is relating to foreign exchange, I find it difficult to give any definite opinion about that except to say that this is a matter which clearly should be considered favourably for a more definite opinion. The entire picture has to be viewed fully and I am not in a position to do that. Even from the foreign exchange point of view, the difficulty lies in the present only because ultimately this will be a saving.

1. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, New Delhi, 8 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. C.C. Desai.
3. S. Ratnam.

9. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
February 11, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

I have long been troubled about the arrangements for our publicity abroad. We have considered these questions repeatedly in the External Affairs Ministry, and finally we drafted some proposals to place before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. This meeting will be held early, and I hope you will also attend it. I have asked Haksar³ to circulate to you the various notes on this question. The matter now has to be discussed amongst ourselves, and no further noting is required.

I might add that it is not proposed to accept all the proposals made by Haksar, but some we do favour.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
3. P.N. Haksar, Director, External Publicity Division, MEA.

I think that the division of responsibility for this work between External Affairs and I & B is not satisfactory. External publicity is intimately connected with the changing situation in various countries, and it cannot be uniform for all countries. Persons in intimate touch with international affairs are best suited to handle this. Otherwise, there might be two approaches, one by our Foreign Office and the other by I & B, which would be unfortunate.

Anyhow, we shall discuss this matter fully. Meanwhile, I am asking Haksar to send you the various papers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To D.B. Kalelkar¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1958

My dear Kaka Saheb,²

Your letter of the 20th February.³

First of all, there is no chance of my going to Trinidad in the foreseeable future.

As for your going to Trinidad, British Guiana and Surinam, I think it will be a good idea. A visit to America or parts of Europe or Russia does not seem to me so important at the present moment and in the context you mention. A study of race relations in America is always a difficult task and a delicate one for a foreigner. Essentially the problem of our untouchability in India and that of Negroes in America are different.

1. JN Collection.

2. Member, Rajya Sabha, and Vice President of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

3. Kalelkar had written that as Vice President in charge of African and West Indies sections of ICCR, he was planning a visit to the West Indies. But if Nehru was going there, as reported in the newspapers, he would go before or after that. The expenses for this journey would be provided for by the ICCR. However, Kalelkar also wanted to visit the US on the invitation of his friends to study and explain the difficulties of race relations in the US and how India was tackling the problem of untouchability. On his way back, Kalelkar was contemplating a visit to Central Europe and the USSR to meet people and organizations working for peace and peaceful cooperation. The expenses for these travels were to be borne by persons and organizations that had invited him. Kalelkar sought Nehru's approval for such a goodwill tour and cultural contacts.

In all such visits abroad, the question of foreign exchange is now always to be considered. I do not know what this will amount.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. IAEA's Proposal for an Advisory Council¹

I agree with you note.² I think we should take strong objection to the proposals now being made. I am asking the Ministry of External Affairs to inform the representatives of Canada, France, USSR, UK and USA in Delhi of our views. Also, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan and such others as might be considered necessary.

1. Note to Homi J. Bhabha, New Delhi, 9 March 1958. File No. 13(14)-UN-II/58, MEA.
2. Bhabha in his note mentioned that the International Atomic Energy Agency would have to formulate its policy on matters such as international health and safety regulations in atomic plants, safeguards against diversion of material for military purposes, etc. The Director General, IAEA, proposed the establishment of a Scientific Advisory Committee consisting of not more than ten members. Bhabha felt that the standing and prestige of the United Nations and its Secretary General were quite different from the standing of IAEA and its Director General and it was unlikely that the scientists would agree to serve on an Advisory Committee. Moreover, the Agency had as Director General a person from United States who was unfit for the post and any attempt to modify his proposals would be construed as involving some reduction in his powers and issues would be decided on grounds of prestige rather than by objective considerations. Lastly, Bhabha wrote that India's Resident Representative should be instructed to express India's views plainly and to vote against the proposal.



SIGNING THE JOINT STATEMENT WITH VILIAM SIROKY, PRIME MINISTER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NEW DELHI, 4 JANUARY 1958



WITH CHIVU STOICA, PRIME MINISTER OF ROMANIA, NEW DELHI, 7 MARCH 1958

12. To Asoka Mehta¹

New Delhi
March 11, 1958

Dear Asoka,²

I have your letter of the 10th January, with which you sent me a letter from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.³

I must confess to feeling somewhat surprised at the request made to study two issues which concern us so intimately. We cannot prevent anyone from studying any subject or any issue, but if our cooperation is sought, we cannot give it. These are matters which are discussed between the countries concerned, and we cannot entertain the idea that an organization should interfere in any way in our relations with another country.

I am returning the Carnegie Endowment letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 50 (49)-AMS/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. PSP Member of Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.
3. Founded in 1910 and located in Washington DC, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a private and non-profit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations. The letter from Carnegie Foundation suggested that they should carry out studies of the Kashmir issue and the Indo-Ceylon issue.

13. To S.C.C. Anthony Pillai¹

New Delhi
March 14, 1958

Dear Anthony Pillai,²

Your letter of the 11th March. You refer to someone's services being terminated by the UK High Commission. Surely you do not expect me to interfere with the inner affairs of a foreign mission. That is entirely their lookout and any interference by us would put us in a very embarrassing position. We would resent any interference by a foreign Government in the working of any of our mission abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection
2. S.C.C. Anthony Pillai (1914-2000); President, Madras Labour Union, 1946-75 and 1983; Councillor, Madras Municipal Corporation, 1948-59; General Secretary and Vice-President, All India Port and Dock Workers Federation, 1948-2000; Vice-President, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, 1952 and 1960-74; Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Trustee, Madras Port Trust, 1954-2000; Socialist Party Member of Lok Sabha from Madras North, 1957-62.

14. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1958

My dear Mr Speaker,

Thanks you for your letter of March 15th, in which you discuss the question of your visiting the Soviet Union.

As you yourself point out, an Indian Parliamentary Delegation visited the USSR in 1955. Normally, therefore, another such delegation should not go there so soon. It is true, however, that the Speaker could not accompany that delegation then.

As you know, all kinds of talks about high level meetings are going on in Europe or elsewhere. Normally speaking, I would suggest that till the atmosphere

1. JN Collection.

is clearer, it would be better not to send delegations to any of these countries. But, you have apparently already promised to visit Poland and Czechoslovakia in the course of the coming summer. If that delegation goes there, then certainly you should lead it. As regard the USSR, I would suggest you not making any commitment at this stage. It might be possible, however, later for you personally to visit the USSR from Poland.

Perhaps, therefore, your answer might well be that you are not sure at this stage whether it will be possible for you to go, but you thank them for the invitation. If it is possible, you will let them know later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Heavy Remittances by Heads of Indian Missions¹

I have given a good deal of thought to the notes you sent me on the subject of heavy remittances by Heads of our Missions. On reading them, I am much disturbed at the way our senior Heads of Missions have functioned in this matter. I do not think it will be right for us to ignore what has been done. I am prepared to consider the circumstances in each case and to accept any explanation where this is considered satisfactory. Indeed each case must necessarily be considered separately.

2. When this kind of thing happens so frequently and even in the case of experienced and senior officers, it seems to me that there is something lacking in the rules that we may have framed or in the instructions that we send from time to time. Our rule should be absolutely clear and instructions precise, so that there need be no doubt as to what an officer is supposed to do in regard to these matters. Further, it should be clearly stated that any infringement of these rules will be considered a serious impropriety.

3. It would also appear from these cases that the salary plus frais of representation and other allowances that we give to our Heads of Missions are in excess of the requirements of their work. It is true that some Heads of Missions probably spend all that we send them and entertain, as they should, while others do not do so. There is thus much latitude in this matter.

1. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary and N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, New Delhi, 21 March 1958. JN Collection.

Nevertheless, the general impression one gains is that the frais of representation are excessive and should be reduced.

4. Also, I think that a definite rule should be laid down separating the frais from the salary. The frais should in no sense be considered part of the salary. It should be spent only for the purposes provided. The manner of spending may be left to the Head of the Mission, within those broad limits and his certificate as to the amount spent for those purposes should be accepted. It is not necessary for detailed audit of that expenditure to take place, his certificate being considered sufficient for the purpose. Any sum left over should be kept apart and carried forward to the next year and report of this should be made to headquarters.

5. You have mentioned three cases in your note of senior Heads of Missions, that is, the cases relating to Shri K.P.S. Menon,² Shri Badruddin Tyabji³ and Shri C.C. Desai.⁴ Their remittances have been very heavy, but you have suggested that a large proportion of these remittances were for purchases from India, wages of Indian servants, education of children, etc. In regard to Shri K.P.S. Menon and Shri Tyabji, the previous Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, was also consulted by you and he felt that no action was called for. SG, FS and CS were also of the same opinion.

6. In regard to Shri C.C. Desai, his explanation is also that he buys almost everything from India. As Shri Desai is due to retire soon, I do not consider it worthwhile to pursue the matter further.

7. In the circumstances mentioned, therefore, no further steps need be taken in regard to Shri K.P.S. Menon, Shri Badruddin Tyabji and Shri C.C. Desai. But a clear indication should be given to them, as to others, about our new rules and the fact that these matters are considered by the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor-General and may have to be explained in Parliament. Therefore, care has to be taken to observe the rules.

Shri G.L. Mehta, Ambassador in Washington

8. The facts as stated in your note make strange reading. It is clear to me from these facts that Shri G.L. Mehta was paid by us much in excess of his requirements, or, to put it differently, his salary and frais were not adequately utilized for the purpose they were intended for.

2. Indian Ambassador to the USSR.

3. Indian Ambassador to Iran.

4. Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan.

9. I do not wish to enter into this question in detail and indeed there is not enough material for me to do so. But one thing is absolutely clear: This is the question of Exchange Compensation Allowance being drawn upon by him for moneys which were not used in the USA. This cannot be justified from any point of view. Even accepting his explanation in full, you have pointed out that during the five years he was in Washington, he has drawn Rs 85,000/- as ECA irregularly. In addition, no ECA was permissible on the amount, Rs 12,000/-, which, according to him, was sent to the UK.

10. You have mentioned that on a similar case of unauthorized drawal of ECA, a comparatively junior officer has been asked to refund the amount so drawn. It would be completely improper for us to deal with a junior officer in this way and to treat Shri G.L. Mehta differently in regard to the same type of irregularity. Therefore, Shri G.L. Mehta should be requested to refund the amount of Exchange Compensation Allowance irregularly drawn by him. This would amount to Rs 85,000/- plus the ECA on Rs 12,000/-.

11. In fixing these figures, we have accepted Shri G.L. Mehta's own explanations and calculated on that basis. In the event of his giving some further explanation which is adequate and satisfactory, that part of the ECA might be deducted from this total, that is to say, whatever the actual figure arrived at is after full consideration in regard to the ECA, a full refund for that figure should be made.

12. It is surprising and distressing to find that while these large savings were being made, Shri G.L. Mehta insisted on asking for a further grant towards the cost of the joint functions in honour of Queen Elizabeth.

13. This case confirms my opinion that our present rate of payment of frais of representation is too high. I think it would be far better to have a much reduced rate for normal purposes and to make special grants, whenever considered necessary, for special occasions, like Republic Day, etc. If this is done, the special occasion at any rate would be properly celebrated.

14. But the main point is, as I have stated above, that frais should be kept apart and not mixed up with salary and any balance left over should be carried forward to the next year, intimation of it being sent to us.

Shri Ali Yavar Jung, Former Ambassador in Argentina

15. This case does not appear to me as serious as the other cases mentioned in your notes. Shri Ali Yavar Jung not being a Serviceman, could not be expected to know our rules about the sale of cars. He says he did not know them and thought that only the Argentine Government was concerned. He got the permission of that Government for the sale of the cars. Further, there is some

force in what he says about his transfer coming rather earlier than expected.

16. Shri Ali Yavar Jung says that he left a portion of the profit for some public purpose in Argentina, but, as this was not so utilized, he took it back. It is up to him to decide what to do with this. But if he wishes to use this for a public purpose, we would welcome it.

Shri G.J. Malik,⁵ Former First Secretary in Argentina and now First Secretary in Tokyo.

17. Your notes do not give any facts about Shri G.J. Malik. But you spoke about him to me and told me how he had made huge profits by sale of cars. I think this case is a clear one for your taking action. He is a comparatively young officer who has started badly. So far as I remember, you suggested that he should not continue in the Service. I agree with you.⁶

Shri A.M. Sahay,⁷ Ambassador at Bangkok.

18. According to your notes, it does seem very extraordinary that Shri A.M. Sahay should remit very considerable sums to India. His explanation that he had a sum of money due to him in Indo-China would require some proof.

19. Shri A.M. Sahay came to see me today. I did not refer to this matter, but he himself raised it. He showed me a copy of a letter he had written to me in 1948 and copies of letters he had written to the Ministry from 1952 onwards. He was not in our Service then. In these letters, he writes repeatedly about the

5. Gunwantsingh Jaswantsingh Malik (b.1921); commissioned in RAF, 1943; appointed to IFS as War Service Recruit, 1947; Under Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs 1950-52; First Secretary, Buenos Aires, 1952-56; First Secretary, Tokyo, 1956-59; Colunsellor (Commercial) and Assistant Commissioner, Singapore, 1960-63; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1964-65; Ambassador at Manila, December 1965.

6. See also *post*, pp. 775-776.

7. Anand Mohan Sahay (b.1898); joined independence movement in 1920; Private Secretary to Dr Rajendra Prasad, 1921-23; Professor in YMCA Foreign Language College in Japan for 16 years; organised Japan Branch of the Indian National Congress in 1928 and Indian Association of China in Shanghai in 1938; one of the Chief Organisers of the Indian independence movement in the Far East during World War II; Minister and Secretary-General in Subash Chandra Bose Government; nominated member, Central Advisory Council of the Government of India on Labour, 1948; Commissioner for India in the British West Indies, 1950-53; Mauritius, 1953-54; Consular General in Hanoi; 1955-56; Indian Ambassador to Thailand, 1956.

moneys standing to his credit in Indo-China and asked us to make arrangements to get them transferred to India. It is thus clear that this question has not recently arisen and he has consistently claimed that he had money in Indo-China and indeed he has given some particulars of it. This fact makes a difference to his case and I think that this deserves much further enquiry. I do not mean to say that an enquiry should be made in Indo-China or elsewhere abroad, we cannot do that, but all his previous correspondence on this subject should be consulted.

20. There is another fact which might be considered. His wife has been continuously ailing and has remained in India. His daughter was with him for some time, but she also returned to India. So, he was apparently all by himself there.

21. His stocking a large quantity of petrol was odd and requires explanation. I did not ask him about this. Also, his investment of Rs 1,000/- per month in Postal Savings out of his salary, though commendable from another point of view, is not justifiable from the point of view of his spending a considerable part of his emoluments as they were intended to be spent.

22. He told me that his standard of entertainment was high and suggested that I might enquire from Shri M.J. Desai about it as Shri M.J. Desai is acquainted with conditions in Indo-China. He also referred to his high reputation in Hanoi and Bangkok which was partly due to his entertainments.

23. I would suggest, therefore, that we should make a fuller enquiry from our papers about the moneys he claims to have had in Indo-China. This is the most important aspect of his case. Also, he should be asked about the petrol. As Shri A.M. Sahay is in Delhi now, this matter might be taken up with him here.

Shri M.S. Chopra, Ambassador in Philippines.

24. This is also an extraordinary case. How and why he should have taken Rs 36,000/- with him from India to the Philippines, is exceedingly difficult to understand. According to him, he first took all this money away and then remits from this amount. This is a strange procedure. Then he was allowed foreign exchange for the purchase of a car, etc., but he has not purchased a car. He should be asked about this.

25. It is stated in your note that correspondence is going on still with Shri Chopra. The sooner this is completed, the better, after full opportunity being given to him to explain anything.

26. I agree that his assignment in the Philippines may be terminated on his completion of two years there.

Shri Prem Krishen,⁸ Commissioner at Nairobi.

27. This case is also not at all satisfactory. The fact that he has built a house in Delhi and has to pay for the moneys borrowed from the bank is not an adequate reason for his utilizing most of his pay and frais for this purpose. Also, he should not have taken any overdraft in a foreign country without Government's permission.

28. I agree that his services should be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Shri N.V. Rao,⁹ Counsellor at Bonn.

29. This is also a very unsatisfactory case. I agree that he should be asked to refund the Exchange Compensation Allowance irregularly drawn by him amounting to Rs 15,768/-.

Shri P.L. Bhandari,¹⁰ Deputy High Commissioner, Lahore.

30. This case is also highly unsatisfactory. You have reverted him from Grade V to his substantive grade as First Secretary. I am not quite sure if this reversion is adequate. When he has profited by getting money at the official

8. Prem Krishen (b.1911); joined ICS, 1935; First Secretary; Moscow, 1947, Kabul, 1948; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1948-50; Head of Indian Mission, Berlin, 1950; Charge d' Affaires, Rome, 1952; Minister, Embassy of India, Rome, 1953; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1953; Commissioner for India in British East/Central Africa, 1956-58; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1959-62; Secretary, Ministry of Works and Housing, 1962.
9. Nootaki Venkatesh Rao (b. 1911); joined the Audit and Accounts Service, 1943; Assistant Trade Commissioner, London, 1948-51; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1952-53; on deputation as Secretary-General, Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, Korea, 1953-54; Deputy High Commissioner, Lahore, 1954-57; Counsellor, Indian Embassy, Bonn, 1957-58; Director, MEA, 1961-62; Minister, Indian Embassy, Cairo, 1962-63; High Commissioner at Dar-e-Salaam, 1965.
10. Purshottam Lal Bhandari (b. 1911); joined as Publicity Officer, Government of India, 1943-45; PRO to Indian Delegation to Peace Conference, Paris, 1946; Information Officer, Ottawa, 1946-47; PRO, London, 1948; Secretary-General to Indian Delegation to UN Conference on Freedom of Information, Geneva, 1948; First Secretary, The Hague, 1949-50; PRO, Washington, 1951-54; Counsellor, Djakarta, 1955-56; Deputy High Commission, Lahore, 1957-58; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1958-1960; Ambassador, Mexico, 1961-64; High Commissioner at Lagos, 1964.

rate of exchange in a wrong way, why should he not be asked to refund that profit in the exchange rate, as we have done in other cases?

Shri M.P. Mathur,¹¹ Consul-General, Hanoi.

31. I agree that he should be reverted to his substantive grade as First Secretary.

11. Mohan Prakash Mathur (b.1908); diplomat; Director of Industries, Joint Stock Companies, Jaipur, 1941-42; Assistant Controller of Purchase, Department of Supply, Government of India, 1943-45; Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of Banskwar, 1945-47; First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Paris, 1949-53; Rangoon, 1954-56; Consul General, Hanoi, 1956-58; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1958-60; Director, Export Promotion, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1960-61; Ambassador of India in Czechoslovakia, 1962.

16. Tighten Administrative Structure in Indian Missions¹

Last night I wrote a number of notes on various files relating to our administration. There was a long note in regard to the large remittances made to India by our Heads of Missions, foreign exchange compensation being drawn on amounts sent to India, considerable profit being made on the sale of cars, etc.

2. Then there was the case of the security guard in Prague.

3. I think that all this indicates that our administrative structure is not tight enough and requires some kind of overhaul. Whatever we take up takes a long time to be given effect to. More especially, when it deals with Foreign Missions, a great deal of time is spent on correspondence, though this should not be so in these days of airmail. I think that we should draft fresh and very clear instructions, which cannot possibly be misunderstood, and send them to all our Heads of Missions. These should relate to these remittances and to other like matters.

4. The question of the amount of frais will have to be examined as it is clear that in the cases we have considered this was far too much. But this examination may take some time. What can be done immediately is to separate frais from salary. I suggested this in my note last night. I should like this step to

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, 22 March 1958. JN Collection.

be taken very early and this should be done quite apart from other steps that we might take. I mentioned this matter in the Finance Ministry today and I was told that there should be no difficulty about this.

5. This would mean that frais is not mixed up in any way with the personal account of the Head of the Mission and is kept separately. It can be spent at the discretion of the Ambassador and his certificate will be taken about the heads of expenditure. Indeed, I do not wish to harass our Ambassadors abroad. Perhaps there has been an element of harassment in the past when they were asked to produce their menus and to give other details of expenditure.

6. Once this account is kept separate, the tendency will be for more to be spent on entertainment, etc., or, at any rate, the tendency to save out of it would not be there. Any amount left over at the end of the year will be carried forward to the next year in the same account.

7. The question relating to remittances from abroad has now been dealt with in regard to some cases, and I hope that that is being finalized now. Are there any other questions of that type pending still? If so, they should be taken up immediately and finalized.

8. In regard to the incident of the security guard at Prague, it appears that the matter was not reported to any of the senior officers.² It was dealt with at the Deputy Secretary's level. I should like Deputy Secretaries to exercise responsibility, but where there is a difference of opinion between the Ministry and the Head of a Mission, this matter should certainly be reported to the Secretary. In important cases, it should be reported to the Minister. It should be remembered that our Heads of Missions are senior officers, much more senior than Deputy Secretaries. They are either of Joint Secretary's grade or even of Secretary's grade, and it is not fitting that a junior officer should overrule them in the name of the Ministry without reference to his seniors in the Ministry.

2. According to a report from the Indian Mission at Prague dated 18 June 1957, the security guard used to drink heavily and keep late hours going to local night clubs. Further, he lost the latch key to the front door to the Embassy and did not report it to the Embassy. Nehru wrote in a note (not printed) on 21 January 1958: "I can imagine no greater dereliction of duty in any person and more especially in a person who is supposed to be a security guard...And yet, the Under Secretary and the Deputy Secretary decided that he should be warned. This... showed a lack of appreciation of the gravity of offence."

17. The Case of G.J. Malik¹

I have read these papers about Shri G.J. Malik's case. In my note yesterday, I referred briefly to this case.² This was on the basis of the talk I had had with Special Secretary. I had not seen all the papers then.

2. The general impression I gather from this report and papers is that Shri G.J. Malik is endowed with a special capacity for making money in a slick businessman's way. There is nothing illegal about it, but it is not a quality which I admire particularly. Nor is it a quality which I should like to encourage in the Foreign Service.

3. The sale of the first car was done in accordance with rules, that is, on completion of a period of two years. But it is clear that the seller was waiting for the completion of this period in order to make this profit. A car which was bought for Rs 7,759/- without payment of local customs duty is sold after two years' use for Rs 41,000/-. The only description of this transaction is that it was one of unabashed profiteering, even though this was within the law. I do not agree with Shri C.S. Jha's³ finding in this matter though, as I have said, it was strictly within the rules.

4. The cases of the second and the third cars were also clearly intended to profiteer and were abuses of diplomatic privilege.

5. An extenuating circumstance is ignorance of Shri Malik about our rules. It is extraordinary that we do not even inform our junior officers about our rules. This is not merely a question of a circular being sent to them. Each officer must have a kind of a handbook containing important information of this type. It does not speak highly of Shri Malik that after seven years' service, he did not know how to behave himself in such matters.

6. The fact that such a junior officer should be left for two years in charge of our Embassy in Argentina was also unfortunate. This is not fair treatment of our junior officers.

7. I am inclined to think that Shri G.J. Malik would be more suitable to a business career than to a diplomatic one, and therefore it would be better for all of us if he left the Foreign Service.⁴ This is not a question of our asking him to pay some money almost by way of compounding an offence. If he chooses to pay, we may permit him to do so, but this should not govern our decision in his case.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, 22 March 1958. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 770.

3. Indian Ambassador to Japan.

4. Malik went on to become India's Ambassador to the Philippines in 1965.

8. I have indicated my present views on the subject, but before final orders are passed, I should like to have SG's advice.

18. Training of Foreign Service Probationers¹

I enclose a letter from Dr Appadorai.²

2. We should certainly give help in getting visas for their students. It will probably also be possible to get some quantities of foreign exchange to cover the students' expenses abroad.

3. There is another matter about which Dr Appadorai spoke to me. The Indian School of International Studies, of which he is the Director, has now developed greatly and has quite high-class teachers. Can we not take advantage of this school for the training of our Foreign Service Probationers? I am inclined to think that they will get better training and more suited to India than at any place abroad. I do not mean that they should not go abroad but perhaps the period abroad might be divided up. After all our sending them as we do usually to the UK has only a partial advantage in this variegated world of today.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 24 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 24 March 1958, A. Appadorai, Director, Indian School of International Studies, wrote that one of the main purposes of the School was to develop advanced study and research on contemporary social, economic and political developments in the regions of Asia with a view to enabling Indian scholars to interpret these developments to the Indian people. The School had five departments, namely, departments of South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia, West Asia and Central Asia. Appadorai also pointed out that it would help the students greatly if at least one student from each of the five departments could be provided with facilities for field work in countries like Indonesia, Japan, China, United Arab Republic, etc., for a year or so. Lastly, Appadorai requested that the following facilities be given to students: (a) assistance in securing visas for study trips, and (b) foreign exchange conversion facilities.

19. To Shaikh Yusuf Alfozan¹

New Delhi

March 28, 1958

My dear Ambassador,²

Thank you for your letter of March 22nd. It is very good of His Excellency Sheikh Mohamed Alireza to send me, as a gift, a beautiful clock. I am grateful to him and appreciate this act of friendship.

I am afraid, however, that under our rules, personal gifts of this kind cannot be accepted by me, and I have, therefore, to consider it as the property of the Government here. I trust that His Excellency will appreciate this position.

I hope you will be good enough to convey my thanks to His Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Ambassador of Saudi Arabia in New Delhi.

20. An Unlikely Alliance¹

Regarding paragraph 6 of our Ambassador's letter, I do not quite see how I can make a public statement on this subject. Presumably what happened at the Baghdad Pact Council meeting was confidential. For me to refer to these confidential proceedings would be odd.

The idea of having a Union between Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, or Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, is interesting but rather unrealistic. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey have already got their Baghdad Pact.² To have a separate alliance would make little difference to anybody. In fact, it might indirectly push back the Baghdad Pact into the background. It seems unlikely that Afghanistan will possibly be a member of any such alliance.

Can we help in any way in Father Abraham's case? We might ask our High Commissioner in Pakistan to take this matter up with the Pakistan Foreign Ministry.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 28 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. The members of the Baghdad Pact were Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the UK.

21. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi

March 29, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

I enclose a letter I have received,³ also a note. I have no doubt that much can be done to spread news about India in the United States. But, it is quite clear that we cannot consider any scheme at present which involves opening various offices in the United States or having large-scale operations involving dollar expenditure. Nor am I agreeable to an American advertising or public relations firm being engaged for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Culture.

3. The letter dated 28 March 1958 was written by Ataur Rahman, Welfare Officer, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Calcutta.

IV. PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

1. Policing the Borders with Portuguese Enclaves¹

I enclose a letter from Shri Satyasevak Gadre.² You need not read it. He is a bit of a crank, but still sometimes what he says has some force.

2. He goes on repeatedly asking me why we keep forces, armed police, etc., on our borders with Portuguese enclaves³ in the north of Bombay State. What purpose do they serve, apart from customs? He himself has wandered about there for many months and written to me about his experiences. He has pointed out that these forces are not only of no use but actually harmful in many ways.

3. What are our forces, armed police or other, there? After all, nothing can happen to us from those enclaves. The only question is one of customs and preventing smuggling.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 10 February 1958. JN Collection.
2. A Sarvodaya worker.
3. In a case against India in the International Court of Justice, The Hague, Portugal claimed a right of passage to its enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli from Daman.

2. Proposal for a Provisional Government for Goa¹

Shri Peter Alvares² came to see me this afternoon and spoke about Goa.

2. He mentioned the case of the prisoners in Goa and said that some of them had been released. About others, the Portuguese Government were feeling their way. According to Portuguese law, prisoners who have served half their term could be released on parole. No conditions were attached except that they had to report once a month to the authorities. Shri Peter Alvares wanted to know from me if we had any objection to those prisoners in Goa who might come under this rule applying for parole according to the law. I told him I had no objection whatever.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 26 March 1958. JN Collection.
2. Freedom fighter and President of Goa National Congress.

3. Secondly, he said that as nothing was being done in regard to Goa, it might be helpful in many ways for some of the Goans in Bombay to form themselves into what was called a provisional government for Goa, etc. They would do this on their own responsibility without entangling us and indeed if we liked we could condemn them. I told him that this was completely adventurist and irresponsible and I was wholly opposed to it. It had no meaning whatever and it could do no good and it might do much harm.

4. Shri Peter Alvares also talked about a new move for unity among Goans in Bombay and said that he would this time bring it about himself by the simple device of keeping out of office. It was really in this connection that he had thought that the idea of a provisional government would divert people's attention and would be helpful.

5. I told him that these were adventurist tactics and we must face the issue as it was. I also said to him that I entirely disapproved of some terroristic activities that sometimes took place in Goa.

INTERACTION WITH THE PRESS

1. India and the World¹

Question: Has India taken any steps to bring about a settlement of the West Irian question?²

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have taken no steps, i.e., no formal steps, or done anything but naturally we have been very much concerned about this matter. So far as the main problem is concerned, India's view is that West Irian should go to Indonesia, further that this should be brought about through a peaceful settlement between the two countries. We have taken no particular steps otherwise.

Q: The Government of Indonesia has taken some measures to free West Irian from Dutch hands. Do you not think that some such step by the Government of India is also justified and called for to free Goa from Portugal?

JN: I do not think there is any comparison between the two at all. In Irian very great economic interests and other things are involved, all kinds of things. There are graver problems.

Q: Why not the smaller problem, economic?

JN: We follow different ways and different policies for solving problems. I am not prepared to criticize other Governments for the policies they follow. They proceed step by step according to what they have been doing. You cannot carve out a different type of policy from the one that has been pursued. For me a certain policy for Goa may be the right one because it flows naturally from various things done by us, while for another country which has followed a different policy that might in the circumstances be justified. It is not for me to criticize others.

Q: Is the position of East Guinea the same as West Guinea?

JN: You mean the part under Australia?

Q: Yes.

1. Press conference, Conference Room, MEA, 2 January 1958. File No. 43 (73)/57-58-PMS.
2. For details of the West Irian issue, see *ante*, p. 742.

JN: Really we have not given any particular thought to the matter. I don't see why we should until the question arises but theoretically I suppose there is no difference between the two. The question arises because the Indonesian Government have raised it and because of historical circumstances.

Q: What are the reasons for the Government of India to support Indonesia in this matter?

JN: Well, you don't expect me to go into a legal argument now but, broadly speaking, reason number one is that sooner or later the European powers having colonies in Asia will have to depart from Asia. I have not a shadow of doubt that they will have to. Whether it takes a year or 10 years or 15 years, I cannot say because it is a course of history, something that is happening, and so long as that has not happened, it is an irritant and a potential source of conflict. Secondly, in a sense, legally speaking, the agreement made between Indonesia and the Netherlands is normally interpreted to include West Guinea. That is challenged, I admit that it is challenged. Two interpretations can be given but this is interpreted in one way. In any event, it was decided by that agreement, I am speaking from memory, to discuss this matter in a particular context. That is the impression one got at that time—the question of Irian going to Indonesia, the principles were admitted but the timing and the manner were to be discussed. That is the impression I got. I cannot argue legally here. It is a complicated question.

Q: Do you consider that the Australian control of East Guinea is an example of European imperialism which sooner or later has to be vacated?

JN: I have absolutely no idea of what the regime is. The matter has never come up before us in any form, factually, I mean. I do not know but theoretically Australia is patently not Europe, it is Australia. Whether it is doing the right or wrong there, that is another matter but it is not Europe.

Q: What is your reaction to the recent resolution passed by the Language Convention of the South³ and endorsed by the three Chief Ministers of

3. Union Language Convention of South India, met in Madras on 22 December 1957 and adopted a resolution moved by C. Rajagopalachari, urging the Government of India to continue English as the official language of the Union and to amend the Constitution accordingly.

Mysore, Andhra and Madras?⁴ Are the Central Government agreeable to reopening the optional official language question in India even after 1965?

JN: My own impression was that they have done nothing of the kind. I say that far from confirming the decision of the Language Convention, they have knocked it on the head. What you have said is true. They wanted extension of the period. The Language Convention went much further.

Q: What is your reply to the statement of C.R.⁵ that you have said this in an angry tone?

JN: Mr Rajagopalachari is a greatly respected senior colleague of ours and I am not prepared to enter into controversies with him. We respect him too much for that. I am not prepared to enter into controversies even when he is completely in the wrong. As a matter of fact it is difficult to judge oneself but I certainly was not angry but I was somewhat depressed, not about what he said but rather the manner of it. You will notice that in this matter I have really not expressed any firm opinion. I have given some hints and I have deliberately avoided doing so by entering into any controversy. All I have been saying is that this question should be approached calmly and without excitement and this was all I ventured to say, I repeat, in regard to Rajaji. I did not say whether it was right or wrong and I did not say what I felt about it. I said that a question like this can be decided in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere and that it is neither possible nor desirable for any decision to be imposed by the North on the South or by the South on the North. You cannot have an imposition in this matter, and you must evolve a decision which is acceptable to the great majority of people in the North and the South. So, all I pleaded then and I plead now is about the manner of consideration. If I may put it in a different way—which I am sure Rajaji will appreciate, for he is, well, a philosopher and a person

4. A resolution passed at the end of the Conference of the Chief Ministers of Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Madras held at Mahabalipuram, declared on 1 January 1958 that the proposed changeover from English to Hindi as the national language by 1965 was impracticable. Therefore, the Chief Ministers of all the affected States should hold consultation among themselves with a view to finding a satisfactory solution to the problem.
5. Reacting to the remarks made by Nehru and Morarji Desai, Rajagopalachari said at a public meeting in Madras on 30 December 1957 that since they were “guilty of being old” and therefore “experienced” and “perhaps wise”, there was the need for the people to remain vigilant, and added that the supporters of English had a long battle to fight for which they should be ready.

intimately associated with Gandhiji's philosophy—the manner of doing things is as important as what is done. Means are as important as the ends.

Q: Today's newspaper carries a report that the Madras Government might do correspondence in Tamil?

JN: We are prepared to accept such letters. It is our rule and naturally the Central Government and the Madras Government or any Government, if they just want to irritate each other, can easily do so. I can tell you that it is our general rule that we accept correspondence in any language in India, in all the authorized 14 languages. It is true if I get a letter in Tamil, the reply may take a little longer. I do not keep a big Tamil staff but it will go in Tamil.

Q: What are your views about the dateline of 1965 for the changeover from English to Hindi?

JN: As I said to you, I do not wish to enter into this controversy. Not that I do not have any views but I possess no views even on this important subject which I am not prepared to change in order to help a general acceptance. I am not rigid about these matters. I attach far more importance to cooperation and unity in this as well as in other matters, and not too rigidly following any pattern simply because it is logically correct in my mind. I am prepared to give up logic for others and for more important reasons where it is necessary.

Q: The Madras Chief Minister has advocated continuance of English alongside Hindi after 1965. Will you clarify the position?

JN: You ask me a specific question. I can tell you that in this matter for me it is of far greater importance that we should come to agreements than for anything to be imposed. I am prepared to accept an agreement which I consider wholly illogical. Life is more important than logic. Of course, I like logical approach to a problem but it is more important to have the cooperation of persons than to be logical. It may be logical for you to assert your right to be on the road. You may insist that your going on the road is logical but if you are run down that logic does not help.

Q: Has any decision been taken about the second language after Hindi?

JN: I do not know.

Q: But how are you going to solve this problem?

JN: First of all, there is a Parliamentary Committee which is dealing with it. After that it depends on what comes out in Parliamentary Committee. Ultimately, of course, the matter will be dealt with by the Cabinet before its submission to Parliament but in between we may very well consult the State Governments.

Q: But in reality the matter will depend on the attitude which the Congress Party takes. It is a party question.

JN: I am not even a member of that Committee. The Home Minister is the Chairman of the Committee and I think he is competent to deal with these matters.

Q: What about the programme of the Ginger Forum?⁶

JN: As I understand it, it is neither a group nor 'ginger'. It is a forum for discussion and it is a good thing to have a forum for discussion and encourage ideological and theoretical consideration of problems and then effect practice later.

Q: It is understood that the Congress High Command has taken objection to the formation of the Forum?

JN: I do not know anything about it.

Q: It is learnt that President Tito has sent a special message to you in connection with the Polish proposal for a de-nuclearization zone in Europe.⁷ Could we have your views on the question?

6. The Socialist Forum of the Congress, a ginger group within the Congress, was started by some young Congressmen to discuss the propagation and implementation of the ideology of socialist pattern. During the Congress session at Pragjyotishpur, the group held a two-day convention on 16 and 17 January 1958.
7. This refers to the Rapacki Plan, proposed by Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister of Poland, in the United Nations General Assembly on 2 October 1957, which called for a de-nuclearized zone in Central Europe embracing the territory of Poland, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany. The Polish Government repeated its proposal through diplomatic channels in December 1957.

JN: Yes, I have received a letter recently from President Tito.⁸ This is in conformity with the practice we follow of occasionally writing to each other, well, on world affairs, not on specific problems but general problems, topical problems of importance. That came about eight or nine days ago when I was not here. I was away and I got it on return yesterday. There is a general discussion about recent developments. You do not expect me to tell you what Marshal Tito writes to me privately. What you ought to know broadly is what Marshal Tito's opinions are; they are expressed in public and it is on the lines of those opinions he has written to me in private.

As for my opinion about the neutral zone proposal, well, anything that lessens tension and fear, I think, should be welcomed. We have many real fears but the worst of all is something rather intangible, ghost-like, a haunted feeling on which we live, more and more progressively. One thing, I think, is, if I may say so with all respect, that those who consider themselves tough realists are the most unrealistic people you can have in the world today. The tough realists who think only in terms of military power and strength are completely, I think, out of touch with what is happening in the world. Their vision has become so narrow. I do not deny that military power is most important—not that; but there are other considerations which are being appreciated more and more by people in the world, and I have no doubt will be appreciated by everybody because there is no other way out. I have really seldom seen a problem where there is only one approach and one way to go. The way of balancing of top policies, countries threatening each other by more and more concentrated power is not the way—neither practical, nor realistic, nor likely to yield any results, because, as you know very well, the power to destroy has become so great in the hands of some countries that, if once it is used, it can destroy everything and nobody will be the victor. It is only the threat that has some effect, no doubt, I suppose, but that threat, when it induces the other party to be in a position also to threaten, then there is no effect; you go on threatening each other, till by accident or design, something happens and war descends upon you. Maybe, I am not clever enough or wise enough, but anything more unpractical, unreasonable, illogical than these policies of frantic arming and frantic threats I cannot conceive of. The rights and wrongs apart, we may consider this matter well. The common desire of human beings is not to be blown to bits, not to be liquidated or liquidate the world. That is the common desire, and one works to that end. There are other desires too—freedom, better living conditions, higher standards, getting rid of poverty and all that.

8. For Nehru's reply to Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, dated 13 January 1958, see *ante*, pp. 741-743.

which afflict a great part of the world, but the main desire, I suppose the primary desire, is not to be exterminated like vermin. It is not for me to suggest a particular way out, but it is obvious that the way out cannot be found by distant threats, but rather by an earnest attempt after talking to one another—meeting one another and talking to one another. There is no other way, and if one waits when one is in a superior position to dictate terms, one has seen that that time does not come and cannot come. Sometime one may be superior, sometime the other, but both are superior, are strong enough to destroy the other. That is the test; when that has arrived there is no point in following any other way. I think there is an adequate realization of this, an increasing realization, and I have no doubt that the way for that is some kind of closer consideration, meeting, etc.

Q: Do you think the proposal for a demilitarized zone is in the right direction?

JN: That proposal is a part, I suppose, of many other proposals. That proposal by itself, I suppose, is a good one, undoubtedly.

When I read of these things, that hundreds and thousands of aircraft are constantly hovering over people's heads with hydrogen bombs and atomic weapons, it really seems to me a mad world where such things could happen. I have no other word for it, with all respect to the great people, but it is a mad world where hydrogen bombs, night and day without intermission, are hovering over the heads of millions and millions of people, whoever may do it. How do you expect peace to come out of this I do not know, and if this hovering is stopped, that itself brings some sense of relief to people.

Q: Could you comment on Marshal Tito's proposal for a world summit conference, released on the eve of New Year Day?

JN: I have said that these matters have to be dealt with in a spirit of finding some way out; the summit, which presumably means the top people, who can deal with it in a responsible way. I entirely agree with that proposal in its broad aspects.

Q: Just to clear a possible misunderstanding, would you say whether you feel that your remarks made just now on the subject of disarmament and lessening of tension are addressed impartially to the two Great Powers?

JN: Absolutely, of course.

Q: You made an appeal at the last press conference to the heads of various States about disarmament.⁹ Do you find any response to it in the NATO conference communique?

JN: How can I say what effect my appeal had? There are multitudes of things influencing people's minds and people's thinking, and my appeal, maybe, was one in 10, 20, 50 or 100 factors. I cannot measure the effect of that appeal, but you will have noticed in the NATO conference that things functioned in a somewhat unexpected way.¹⁰ That is to say, the discussion took a turn rather towards some kind of meeting—firstly, not welcoming very much the distribution of these intercontinental ballistic missiles; there was not too great eagerness to have them because they are supposed to constitute a danger; secondly, there was a general wish expressed there for talks between the so-called East and West. I do not like these words East and West; they are very confusing, but there it is.

Q: It is reported that the talks you had with the *Bhoodan* leaders are satisfactory.¹¹ Is there going to be any change in or reshaping of the community development programme?

JN: Yes. We have had talks; that is, there were talks between the *Bhoodan* leaders and the community development programme people, which I joined in at a later stage, as also other colleagues of mine. Previous to this also there had been talks when they had explored the ground and prepared certain methods of common action. The second time we met this common ground was to be specifically discussed.

The position is this that the *Bhoodan* leaders have presumably a certain philosophy as well as a certain way of action. Maybe the philosophy of the community development is not quite the same. But that does not come in our way, because the actual action required is common in many ways. So, we discovered many ways in which we could help each other.

9. For Nehru's appeal for disarmament, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 593-594.

10. The conference of the Heads of Government of NATO countries, held at Paris from 16 to 19 December 1957, declared that "forces arrayed against us are formidable, but not irresistible", and called upon free nations "to gear themselves against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

11. For a report of Nehru's talk with Vinoba Bhave at Yelwal, near Mysore, on 21 September 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 114-115.

INTERACTION WITH THE PRESS

Q: At present, the *Bhoodan* leaders oppose cooperative farming in *Gramdan* villages. What is your view?

JN: I do not know. It is the first time that I have heard of it.

Q: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan¹² said so.

JN: I am really surprised to hear that because I have been told by them something quite to the contrary. What Shri Jayaprakash Narayan told me was, it is for the people to decide in the villages. But nothing is going to be imposed on the people. If the people in the *Bhoodan* villages want one thing, they will have it. If you like, the utmost one can say is, "what advice do we give them". That question might arise; it depends on the circumstances.

Q: Next week, the United States Congress meets, and one of the things that is expected to take place there is a discussion on the economic and technical assistance given by the USA to other countries. At present there is much criticism by the Americans of their own Government—that there are too many American technicians abroad, particularly in Asian countries, and the way they live and act contributes towards ill will towards the United States. The proposal being discussed is that they should reduce the number of Americans and replace them by other nationals or they should increasingly train these nationals in their own technical work. What is your view?

JN: I should imagine that that question affects India less than most other countries. I think it normally happens that a large number of people, especially the people who are active and want things done, go about pushing other people. There is some resentment regardless of who does it. People do not like being pushed about. And normally, a good man who wants things done does push about other people. I think, therefore, that one should try to send rather a select number of good men, not a large number of what I might say second-class men. A good man is always welcome, because nobody takes his place. The other people normally can be replaced by others. The number should be less, and there should be first-class men.

Q: There was a news item that the British Prime Minister, Mr Macmillan, will come here for a visit and that is the time when President Soekarno also

12. Sarvodaya leader and a leading member of the Praja Socialist Party.

visits India. They can sit and you might bring both of them together then.

JN: That is a newspaper surmise. It is a fact that President Soekarno is likely to be here for a day or a day and a half—just a day, I think—when Mr Macmillan is also here. Their stay overlaps in Delhi. So far as I know, there is no proposal for any serious talks between them. They may meet, of course,¹³ but that is a different matter. But there is no such proposal either from Indonesia or from the United Kingdom, and the Government of India have no such proposal either.

Q: In regard to Indonesia, you said earlier that theoretically there is no difference between West Irian and Eastern New Guinea, and later you made a distinction between East and West about the European evacuation of colonies in Asia. Would you please clarify it?

JN: The questioner goes back—to the question of West Irian and New Guinea. The fact is that the question has never come before us to consider it in any detail. In theory, I said there should be no difference between East and West, obviously. The question as it has come before us has always been in relation to the western part, which is called Irian. We have considered it historically, otherwise the other part is different. But if you consider these things in depth, you will find there is no difference between the two.

Q: Could you give us some idea about the Government's position regarding Macmillan's visit—regarding his familiarization with the affairs? His visit may give some opportunities to discuss things.

JN: The visit was decided upon six months ago or more. We welcomed it. I should imagine rather—on the basis of your first proposal—that, generally, we welcome the opportunities to discuss problems, not any specific problems, problems of six months ago, which may differ.

Q: A few days ago, in one of the leading newspapers, a report appeared that the Government of India might nationalize the distribution of petroleum products. Subsequently, the report was contradicted, but not in a very convincing manner. In view of the foreign investments in this country, would you kindly take us into confidence and say what the present views

13. Soekarno visited India from 6 to 13 January and Macmillan from 8 to 12 January 1958. On 9 January 1958, Soekarno and Macmillan had a two-hour talk in New Delhi.

of the Government are in this matter?

JN: Government has not had any such proposal in any form before it. If you ask me as to what we aim at distantly, I would say that an important thing like oil should be nationally controlled. But that is a distant objective. It is not a matter immediately before us.

Q: Would you like to give us your opinion about the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo?¹⁴

JN: Well, I think I have tried to follow from the newspaper reports. Even then, I am afraid I have missed some. In fact, I have come to you today after my return from my visit to north-east India where, happily, I was not in a position even to get the news regularly, much less read any papers. So, I have skipped some days' news occasionally.

But, broadly speaking, I know of course what is taking place in this conference in Cairo. Do you want me to appraise all these activities and all those resolutions? It is too much. You know that it was not an official conference. It was a non-official one, and the Government of India was not connected with it in any way. We sent nobody. Some people went from here in their personal, private capacity.

Q: How did you find the Naga leadership? Are they in a fighting mood?

JN: I think that the situation in the Naga Hills is progressing definitely in the right way, though perhaps slowly. I should like to make this clear that there really has been no violence there during the last two or three months. And sometimes you give publicity to some news like that a band of hostiles has gone into a house and looted something. This kind of thing has nothing to do with that organized movement that has been going on previously. This is due to two causes. One, sometimes feuds fan feuds, private feuds, and secondly, it is just sheer dacoity. If it occurs in one place you call it a dacoity case, a dacoity rebel. So it is connected with the previous movement. As a matter of fact, the organized movement there, that is, against the Government has not committed any violence and has disapproved of these odd acts of violence. When I say the position is improving there I mean that the great majority of people undoubtedly

14. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at non-governmental level, held at Cairo from 26 December 1957 to 1 January 1958, was organized by the Asian Solidarity Committee of the World Peace Council.

are happy with developments towards settlement of anything that has happened. So far as the hostile elements are concerned, they have divided opinions and are of various types. A few people still hold out and say "fight on"; most of them say "no". Some others say "let us await and see what happens". These divided opinions are going on.

Q: Is there truth in the statement that there is some foreign influence behind Phizo and that makes him so intransigent?

JN: Well, I suppose there is some foreign influence. What is more [important] is not the kind of actual foreign influence but the kind of propaganda by some of the Naga leaders about foreign help. There may be no help coming. I give you one instance. The other day some of our military posts, rather in the interior, sent some food, including live goats which were carried by parachutes. Owing to something, I do not know whether the man made a mistake of the location or strong winds, these live goats landed some ten miles away from the place where they should have landed. They fell into the hands of some of the hostiles who no doubt had a good meal out of them. But the point is they circulated the story that the United Nations had sent them the goats to help them.

Q: You have had talks with the other tribal leaders. What is the effect of the inauguration of the Naga Unit?

JN: I met about 70 or 80 tribal leaders of the autonomous districts of Assam. They have a number of grievances, some legitimate grievances, but I found them by and large very reasonable people. I have no doubt there are ways of meeting many of their points.¹⁵

Q: Has something come out of the negotiations about the frontier between Burma and India that passes through Naga land?

JN: We have appointed our representative to go there, to the frontier. I suppose that may be next month. As a matter of fact we have appointed Col. Luthra who has been the Commissioner of this new unit of Naga Hills and Tuensang; we have appointed him to go into the problems of the frontier, which is the

15. For an account of Nehru's meeting with the tribal leaders, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 358, 403-404.

frontier of his own unit, to discuss with the Burmese authorities about finding ways.¹⁶

Q: Is it true that you are going to return the visit of Dalai Lama in the near future?

JN: I have intended doing so ever since he came here but at present there is no such intention, I mean in the foreseeable future. I would like to go there. We are building a road in Sikkim right up to the Tibetan frontier. It is a very very difficult terrain, high mountains and all that, and apart from part of the road built, a very fine engineering feat by our engineers, I think another ten miles or twenty miles remain and we hope to finish that in the course of the next year.

Q: Is there not any possibility to go by plane?

JN: We shall probably make this road up to the Tibetan frontier before the Chinese make their road on the other side to join on to it. We appreciate that. For various reasons, for reasons of geography, a great part of Tibet's trade has to be with India or through India. For the present at least this road will help.

To the other question of air traffic, yes. It is not usual but air service can take goods and passengers. An approach was made to us by a private company to start an air service for goods chiefly to Lhasa from India. We have no objection but the matter, I believe, is pending with the Chinese Government for some time now.

Q: Coming back again to the language problem, how do you propose to settle the language dispute in Punjab now that the Hindi agitation has been withdrawn. Are you in favour of modifying the regional formula?

JN: I thought it was settled a year ago. I do not propose to unsettle things already settled, so far as I am concerned.

Q: Master Tara Singh said that he had no faith in the Indian Government but only in you. Any amendment of this formula will compel the Sikhs to

16. Burma, a province of British India till 1937, was a separate self-governing colony till it became a sovereign independent republic on 4 January 1948. However, the boundary between India and Burma, drawn on the basis of natural frontiers and defined in provincial notifications, had been creating problems. The matter was finally resolved with the signing of an agreement by both the countries in 1967.

demand something in northern Punjab.

JN: The difficulty is that Punjabis, Sikhs or Hindus, feel very dull without a movement.

Q: The Communist Party of Kerala has protested against the delay in giving assent to their Education Bill.

JN: As has been stated in the press, the matter has been referred by the President to the Supreme Court for advice. I may tell you that the President naturally sent it to us. We referred in the ordinary course to the Attorney General and thereafter, on the Attorney General's advice, we referred it to the Supreme Court. There the matter stands. I do not know what you are referring to.¹⁷

Q: Do you hold the same view that the Kerala Government are behaving with extreme propriety? Once you expressed a view like that.

JN: I suppose you are saying what I said in Scandinavia. I said then that the Kerala Government had behaved with propriety so as not to offend the Constitution. Take the whole sentence—not to permit a breach of the Constitution.¹⁸ That does not mean that everything they did was agreeable to me or disagreeable to me. I am not going to discuss the activities of the Kerala Government. Some things I like, some things I dislike very much.

Q: About the Education Bill, the suggestion is that it is discriminatory. Is it so?

JN: The reference is whether it is in conformity with the Constitution or not. We can only refer to legal and constitutional issues, not to a question of likes and dislikes.

Q: Even otherwise the Bill would have been contested in a court?

JN: There can be no doubt about it that the Bill would have been challenged by private parties. It would have gone there. Surely we thought it better to send it formally to the Supreme Court for decision instead of private complaints dragging on in future.

17. See *ante*, pp. 488-490.

18. For Nehru's comments made at a press conference at Helsinki on 19 June 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 539.

Q: Will this prevent parties from going to court?

JN: It does not prevent, certainly not.

Q: Did the Central Government suggest any amendments?

JN: Yes, the Central Government did give suggestions. The Kerala Government accepted many of the suggestions. Some they did not, I suppose. I am not dealing with this matter. The point is, as has emerged, we are only concerned—not as I said whether we like a provision or not—with this matter whether in the exercise of their autonomy which they have in such matters, whether they have done something which is an infringement of the Constitution. That is the only problem before us. The Central Government does not function, or should not function, in a way which comes in the way of the State's autonomy since it infringes the Constitution. And as this question has been raised so much, obviously the desirable course is that the Supreme Court should give its advice in the matter.

Q: According to indications from the Congress side the Communists in Kerala are trying to turn the people against the Centre by special campaigns.

JN: All kinds of campaigns like this, party campaigns, take place there and I believe sometimes something of what you said is also said there.

Q: What are your views about the food problem?

JN: The basic economic problem is filling the stomach. People who are habitually well-fed do not realize this. Countries which are normally well-fed do not realize the basic problem of a country where people are not well-fed or people have to starve. I think it is an important point that the primary problems of developed and relatively prosperous countries are different from the primary problems of the underfed or starving countries. Countries which are underdeveloped and poverty-stricken, their primary problems are, primary needs are—food, clothing and housing. These needs have been satisfied by and large in the more developed and prosperous countries. So they can indulge in dangerous politics. But hungry persons cannot indulge in them much. Therefore, the primary problem in India is fulfilment of the primary needs of the people. How to do it is the second phase. Then you have the Five Year Plan and the rest.

Talking about food, I should like to draw your attention to one aspect. I am very worried, not so much about the food situation in India, it is certainly troublesome for the moment, it will pass, but about the habit which seems to be growing of everybody asking somebody else to feed him. I do not like this, this habit of dependence of the small entity in a State, everybody going to the State Government and saying, give us this, give us that; the State Government coming to the Government of India and saying, give us this, so much rice, so much wheat; so the Government of India keeps asking other countries to give us this. I do not like this at all. It upsets me. It is a vicious circle. I can understand, of course, in a moment of calamity or difficulty, the State Government coming to the Government of India or the Government of India in the same manner going to foreign governments for help. That might happen any time, but to look upon this as a matter of course is very bad, I think.

Now, you will be surprised to learn perhaps some eleven years ago, that is, just a little before Independence, a committee of the then Health Department of the Government of India, a committee of highly placed doctors of the Nutrition Wing of the Health Ministry, gave a report about food in India and they analysed food habits and the rest of it and they said that from the health point of view the average cereal diet in India should be 14 ounces daily for an adult. Well, we are producing now, I believe, 17.8 ounces per head in India in spite of the population having grown. In other words, we are producing three ounces more per head of the population than 11 years ago and yet we are short of food. What is this? What does it mean? It passes my comprehension. Well, of course, it means many things. Among other things, it means that people eat far too much cereals and not other healthy foods, eat too much rice and wheat, especially rice. Normally, it is the rice-eating areas where people eat far too much rice and not enough of other things. And it has become a very important question for India from the health point of view chiefly, apart from anything else, for a more varied diet, a little less rice, a little more vegetables, of course, eat fish, well and good, whatever they can get, fruit. I came from Assam. Assam has oranges by the millions, rotting away practically speaking because its own market of Pakistan is closed to it, a big market which is the one across the border in East Pakistan. Of course, some go to Calcutta and other places. They have bananas in tremendous quantities, an excellent solid food, bananas. There are papayas also in large quantities. In season they have pineapples. I do not say they should have only fruits. They should eat much more fruit. You can have oranges—for one rupee 100 oranges; in fact, sometimes simply pick them up. Somehow, mind has become so perverted that we must have so much rice and not take the other things which are better than rice and in fact prefer starvation. I do not understand it.

Apart from these fruits I have mentioned, there are other things like sweet potatoes and other things which can be grown easily. What is more, in one acre, you can grow far more of these subsidiary foods than rice or wheat. This problem, therefore, is a very important problem. Apart from growing cereals—of course, I do not deny that—growing of subsidiary foods is very important. The city folk eat some subsidiary foods, but the village people hardly eat any subsidiary food. These subsidiary foods and vegetables can easily grow almost everywhere in India and if they supplement their normal diet with these subsidiary foods, they will be far healthier and it will remove this terrific pressure on rice. Therefore, I would suggest to all the State Governments and the Government of India, of course, to have special departments for growing subsidiary foods.

Q: Has parliamentary democracy failed in India?

JN: I want to counter that question by asking: what form of government has been a success in any part of the world at the present stage of the world?

Q: Last year you expressed the view that you would not like to be a member of the Congress Working Committee. Do you still stick to that view?

JN: I certainly hold that opinion, but it makes no difference to me personally, because in the Congress, some of us have functioned not because of any precise position, but simply because we have developed India by historical circumstances. People often ask me, what will happen if I am not Prime Minister, etc. I can assure you it would make no difference to me or my position in the country whether I am Prime Minister or not. I am sorry I am immodest in saying this. In fact, it is quite possible that then I may influence the people much more. Of course, I cannot influence Government departments naturally, but indirectly I can perhaps influence much more. In the Congress, it makes no great difference to me personally to be in the executive or not, because we are all colleagues functioning together and I shall be invited and consulted. It makes really no difference.

Q: What are your expectations for 1958, national and international?

JN: Expectations? It is a very difficult question. A person's broad outlook of the world depends not only on the state of the world, but depends much more on the state of himself. I mean to say, if he is not healthy, he is not optimistic, if he is dyspeptic, he has the dyspeptic outlook. As I am very healthy, I am generally optimistic.

Q: What about the health standards for your Ministers?

JN: I am afraid it is very very difficult to control our Ministers in that way.

But I must say that we have arrived at a very dangerous stage. The danger may not be in the sense of some deliberate action taken, but actions taken accidentally may lead to a catastrophe. Of course, that very dangerous stage is leading more and more people to think furiously as to how to get out of it. There is an element of hope in it, but the stage is a dangerous one.

Thank you.

2. On World Problems¹

Durval Rosa Borges: Mr Nehru, the entire world considers you a fountainhead and a pillar of peace. Which of your attitudes or actions serves this purpose better?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The subject—Peace—is of such magnitude that the position or activity of one man practically disappears or loses expression. Who am I to influence in such a question, only through my actions?

DRB: I accept your modesty, but the position of India, represented and executed by herself, has helped peace. What is your opinion in this respect?

JN: Yes, I think that the position of India has contributed to maintain the peace. This is because in the world there are presently two blocs with ever-increasing military power and there is a mutual fear on both sides. India, however, when she speaks in the first place, speaks in her own name and nobody else's. Her thinking does not represent the thoughts of any other nation or group of nations, and her sincere desire can be given credit immediately. In the second place, when India speaks, her voice comes from an unarmed country which has not followed the international rearmament and again her word has authority.

DRB: Mr Nehru, what is the meaning of the "third position"? Do you expect to gain time, keep out of a possible war or expect to convince the other countries by your example?

1. Interview with Durval Rosa Borges, a Brazilian journalist and explorer, New Delhi, 29 March 1958. JN Collection. It was carried in the Brazilian publications the *Correio da Manhã* on 17 April 1958 and the *Visao* on 18 April 1958.

JN: No, I do not believe that anyone can escape the consequences of a world war. The "third position" is a negative one, it represents abstaining from a positive movement. But when a positive movement is not perfectly clear as to its purpose, it is advisable to assume a negative attitude.

DRB: Disarmament being more moral than military, what would be the sense of a summit conference?

JN: The disarmament is purely moral, just like the actual crisis. The governments charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the independence and the economy of their peoples are under the obligation of preparing themselves in the military field, fearing that other countries may take the initiative of war and destroy them. Thus both sides arm themselves continuously, because they are afraid of invasion. For a successful summit conference not only the leaders but also the people should be ready for disarmament. Sometimes the leaders are right, but the people come to realize that very late or too late. However, any result reached by the representatives of the country may serve to prepare their people. Let's say that in a conference of leaders a reduction of the number of atomic bombs is agreed upon. This decision will influence the spirit of the people, in the sense of moral preparation for disarmament, and later, in another conference, there might be a fresh reduction in the number of bombs; thus we could have a movement which would lead to total disarmament. Summarizing, at the moment, what we need is union of the leaders and preparation of the peoples.

DRB: Religion has greatly influenced the destiny of India. What is the present situation?

JN: Religion has a great influence all over India, but at present its importance is not the same. Freedom of religion is complete in this country. Here we can worship the God we want and choose our way to worship Him. We are very tolerant in religious matters but we are intolerant with respect to the social behaviour of individuals. We consider religion as closely related to the ethical and moral behaviour than to rituals or creeds. Documents recently discovered demonstrate that two thousand years ago the philosophy of the inhabitants of this country was materialistic and it is interesting to know that hundreds of volumes have been written on this philosophy, while in the documents encountered recently it is explained in a few lines.

DRB: But the people of India are evidently religious. Do you think that a religious people would be closer to India than an unreligious one?

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

JN: No. Due to our sense of religion which is more related to behaviour than dogmas we feel bound closer to people whose behaviour is more ethical and moral, independent of the God they believe in or the dogmas they accept.

DRB: Then, what is the principal factor in the life of a nation as regards international relations?

JN: Definitely, the economic factor. Today poverty is not acceptable. No government can remain if it does not make a great effort, as the main purpose of its activity, to eliminate the misery of the people. The political organization of the country will naturally be a relevant factor in the development of the country, and its relations with the others, just like the language which sometimes links two peoples, and as religion which has caused many wars. But in the present circumstances the above have become secondary. The economic factor should deserve the best efforts of the public leaders of the nation. Economics and politics, in this order, should be the principal factor of approach and the link between two countries.

DRB: Since the political element maintains its importance in international relations, though it has no priority, do you think that the Commonwealth will survive?

JN: In the future, as far as it can be foreseen, I think the Commonwealth will survive. She has demonstrated through the ages great wisdom and practical sense to keep together countries so different as Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and India. The Queen is Sovereign of a Republic and this shows how the system is adaptable.

Here in India the Queen has no significance at all. You can look up our Constitution, you will not find the word Commonwealth in it. The Commonwealth is just a friendly agreement. It is interesting to belong to a group of nations and from time to time get together and discuss international problems which are of interest to our group. In reality there are no links to break and there is an intelligent liberty of action which assures the continuation of the system.

DRB: What do you think of the Arab nationalist movement and the role of President Nasser?²

2. Arab nationalism as propagated by Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was the Prime Minister of Egypt from 1954-56 and President of Egypt from 1956-70, believed in Arab unity based on a distinct Arabian language, history and culture. This led to the formation of the United Arab Republic on 1 February 1958 consisting of Syria and Egypt as an important step in this direction.

INTERACTION WITH THE PRESS

JN: This is a fact and a recent one indeed, but it has been taking an effective form since about forty years ago, when the English and the French planted sovereigns all over in an artificial manner.

DRB: And as for the figure of Nasser? Do you think he is the right man for the task?

JN: It is not important if he is or not. Men are only worth the symbols they stand for and the tendencies they try to turn into reality. If he represents a current of opinion and commands a nationalist movement, he is the man who executes the task and his personal defects and qualities are not important.

DRB: By the way, do you think India is safe from communism?

JN: The world seems to think of communism in a very rigid manner of black and white. However, the truth is not this. Between black and white there exist various gradations which suit certain countries, according to the circumstances and their culture, social and economic levels. Marxism-Leninism has been changed even in Russia and will undoubtedly change through the course of time.

As for India—and also China in many aspects—we have a cultural tradition so strong and steadfast that we shall not lose our personality in any situation.

India has endured invasions in various ways, military invasion, religious domination, economic penetration, and was forced to accept a political regime. However, all those foreign influences were like rivers, which ran into the ocean of Indian humanity, and this ocean, though enriched by the foreign streams, maintained its characteristics. Naturally, industrialization will greatly modify the environment but, whatever happens here, it will follow the cultural traditions of India.

DRB: Why should the Antarctic be internationalized?

JN: If I say, yes, it will hurt two friends of mine...No, I cannot answer your question that way. But I should say that not only Antarctic, but the whole world should be internationalized.... Mr Nash, New Zealand's Prime Minister was here and he is in favour of internationalization.

DRB: The Brazilian Embassy in New Delhi has shown a great interest in the community service scheme, in which peasants are called upon to cooperate in small communal tasks with the help and supervision of the Central Government. Can you say anything in this respect?

JN: The general aim of this movement is a programme of the people with government participation and it will cover 500,000 villages of the country. Up to the present ever since 1952 when the programme entered its execution stage 250,000 villages with 200 million population were covered. The results have been excellent, as the community service movement consists of providing technical elements through three principal components: economics, culture and education. Thus the integration of the individual and the small communities into the national life through a spirit of collaboration is promoted. This is a fact and constitutes a great victory for the movement. However, it is difficult to state right now if there is improvement in the standard of living of the population, for the task is great and has gone into execution only a short time ago. But any benefit coming out of it would represent a great advantage because it will serve 370 million inhabitants of this country. I do not know if our community service movement, according to our aims, will suit Brazil, but I think that it can be adapted and successfully transplanted to Brazil.

DRB: What do you think of closer relations between India and Brazil?

JN: Unfortunately, the task we have had to face in the ten years of independence prevented us from having close relations with countries like Brazil. I believe that we have many things in common and that both would like to profit from a greater cultural and economic exchange.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

1

New Delhi
12 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

We have had a spate of distinguished foreign visitors and they have kept us in Delhi very busy. Among the latest of these have been the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia,² Dr Soekarno, President of Indonesia,³ and Mr Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.⁴ President Soekarno's visit was a private and informal one, meant to be for rest. The other two were formal State visits. We gave them warm welcomes as is our custom, and I think both of them appreciated this very much. The welcomes we gave did not mean that we accepted the policy of either of them completely. Indeed, we pointed out that in spite of our differences of opinion in regard to certain important matters of policy, we nevertheless wished to have friendly and cooperative relations. This was the essence of the policy of peaceful coexistence that we advocated.

2. These visits, and especially Mr Macmillan's visit, coincided with Soviet approaches for a high-level conference to consider disarmament and like problems.⁵ In the course of the last few days, I have had three messages from Mr Bulganin. One was in answer to the appeal I had made to the leaders of the USA and the USSR.⁶ This was published in the press. Another message came soon after, which was largely meant to inform me of their viewpoint so that I could convey it to the British Prime Minister.⁷ The third message came two days ago.⁸ This contained an elucidation of the various proposals made by the Soviet

1. File No. 25 (30)/58-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 1-19 and 25-33.
2. Viliam Siroky visited India from 3 to 16 January 1958. For details see *ante*, pp. 701-702.
3. Ahmed Soekarno visited India from 6 to 13 January 1958.
4. Harold Macmillan visited India from 8 to 12 January 1958.
5. Between 10 and 14 December 1957 Bulganin proposed to Heads of 82 UN member States: (1) immediate suspension of nuclear tests, (2) creation of a demilitarized zone in Central Europe, (3) signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw treaty countries, (4) normalization of the West Asian situation by renouncing the use of force and adoption of the principle of non-interference by all Powers, and (5) maximum economic, cultural and scientific collaboration between all countries. He also suggested a summit conference to resolve the cold war issues.
6. For Nehru's appeal and the responses of Bulganin and Eisenhower, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 593-594, 599 and 602.
7. In this connection, see also *ante*, p. 738.
8. For Nehru's response, see *ante*, pp. 739-740.

Government recently and which had been sent to Mr Macmillan and possibly to other Prime Ministers also. He sent me with this a copy of the letter he had sent to Mr Macmillan.

3. It is clear from all this that the Soviet Government is anxious to break the present deadlock and to have some kind of a top-level meeting for this purpose. There may, undoubtedly, be an element of propaganda in this. But I have little doubt that this is not merely a propagandist effort, but is a serious attempt to find some solution to the grave problems that confront the world today. These problems are undoubtedly difficult of solution because behind them lies fear on both sides and neither side wants to take a step which might give some advantage to the other.

4. In order to get out of the deadlock, it is obviously necessary for the matters to be discussed between the rival parties, but big conferences are usually too formal and rigid for any successful outcome. The only real purpose they serve is to give form and shape to agreements arrived at informally and privately. Therefore, if a conference is to be held, as I think it should be, this will have to be preceded by informal and more intimate contacts.

5. I took advantage of Mr Macmillan's presence here to discuss these matters with him and impressed him, both in public and in private, with our earnest desire for a step forward to be taken towards some peaceful solution. More than the words I used to him, the general atmosphere of India, which was friendly and yet strongly attached to peaceful approaches, affected him. What the final result will be, I do not know. But I think that opinion all over the world is progressively demanding with an ever louder voice that these problems should be discussed face to face by the principal antagonists. It is no longer good enough merely to criticize or condemn each other.

6. As you must know, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from his internment a few days ago.⁹ He has now reached Srinagar. Ever since his release, he has given expression to violent sentiments in regard to the Jammu and Kashmir Prime Minister and his Government, the Sadar-i-Riyasat and India.¹⁰ He has attacked the Constituent Assembly of the State and the Constitution it produced. He appears to be on the war path. Further developments will no doubt be interesting. It is unfortunate that he should behave in this manner, even though he might differ from us completely. What is still more unfortunate is that he appears to be appealing to communal passions. The Kashmir Government appear to be dealing with the situation calmly and yet firmly, and with some confidence.

9. On 8 January 1958.

10. See *ante*, p. 631 and p. 634.

7. Today we had a meeting of the National Development Council, at which most of you were present.¹¹ This meeting dealt especially with food production. The outstanding impression that I gathered from this meeting was of our failure to take advantage of the resources already available to us in various parts of India. There is a constant demand for new projects, and yet we do not seek to profit fully by the projects which have been completed. It is an extraordinary fact that, with the available resources, four million additional acres of land could be cultivated. A very easy calculation would demonstrate that, if these four million acres were cultivated, food production would be more than adequate for the country, and no question of importing foodgrains would arise. And yet, instead of profiting by what we have got, we yearn for outside aid. Surely, there must be something wrong about our approach to this problem.

8. In view of this situation, it seems to me that we must concentrate on taking full advantage of these available resources, and not hanker after new and costly schemes. This means making village irrigation channels and using water from the tubewells. The village channels should normally be undertaken by the community blocks with the aid of the village people. In many cases, they should not cost anything at all or very little. Even spending some money on them is worthwhile. In some areas of north India, which have suffered from drought, some kind of help is being given in the shape of work. This work might well be the construction of these village irrigation channels as well as the repair and maintenance of tanks and minor irrigational works.

9. Then there is the important subject of soil conservation in which it appears the State of Bombay has done very good work. Also, model seed farms for the production of better seeds and green manure.

10. Another extraordinary feature of the information supplied to us is the tremendous disparity in the yield per acre in various States. The statistics may not be quite correct. But, nevertheless, the difference is too great and disturbing. The National Development Council decided to have this matter looked into closely, that is, an improved system of collecting these statistics should be devised, and reasons for this disparity should be enquired into.

11. Yesterday, the Head of the Soil Conservation Division of the USA, Dr C.E. Kellogg, said at a press conference at Dehradun that if proper soil conservation practices were applied to land in India, production could be increased three to four times to solve the food problem of the country. I would draw your attention to "three or four times", that is 300 to 400 per cent increase in five years. Certainly, we cannot bring about these changes suddenly. But the room

11. For Nehru's observations made at the meeting, see *ante*, pp. 159-166.

for change and increase is very great indeed, and most of the steps which have to be taken to this end are relatively simple, though they have to be widespread.

12. All of us realize the urgency of this problem of food production. It is time that we realized also that the best way to tackle this problem is intensive methods and the utilization of existing facilities and resources. When existing resources are not utilized fully, the question of adding to these resources hardly arises, more especially when this involves very heavy expenditure.

13. This can only be undertaken effectively, I think, through the community blocks, and it is up to State Governments to utilize these to this end. It is possible, given the energy, the application, and hard work, to change the whole picture of food production in India. If this happened, as I hope it will, a new wave of strength, optimism and self-reliance would pass through the country, and the present querulous attitudes would disappear.

14. It was emphasized during our talks at the National Development Council that the approach has to be to the individual farmer whose targets of production should be fixed, and that the village panchayat and the village cooperative should be made effective organs to this end. I ventured to criticize the new tendency of grouping large numbers of villages together for a panchayat or a cooperative.¹² The argument is that a village by itself is not big enough to work effectively or to have resources. Also, the people quarrel there and factions grow. It is not quite clear to me how factions will cease in a larger grouping.

15. Another baneful feature in this approach of large groupings is the growth of the petty functionary who is supposed to assist the panchayat or the cooperative. I have often written to you that the strength of our democracy must lie in the village panchayat and in the cooperative. Both the village panchayat and the village cooperative will not flourish if they are officialized or if an official dominates over them, however small that official might be. I am alarmed at the growth of bureaucracy in India, especially in the lower ranks. This is particularly harmful in rural areas where the higher officials are not present. My conviction grows that it is the village panchayat, where people broadly know each other, that should be the base organization, and this should be given adequate powers. Similarly, it is the village cooperative that should form the base of the economic approach, and not large cooperatives with, no doubt, fancy offices and buildings and paid functionaries sitting in them. Even if the larger cooperatives and panchayats appear to succeed, they will not build up the right type of self-reliant and cooperative human beings.

12. See also *ante*, p. 160.

16. We considered the Balwantray Mehta Committee report about the community development scheme, and more particularly their recommendation for what they call, in unhappy language, "democratic decentralization". There was general agreement in favour of this, but there was some difference of opinion as to what the basic unit should be. The village, of course, will function. But, what should be the statutory unit? Some were of opinion that the block should be the unit, others that the district or *zila*. This is a matter for your consideration, and you will have to decide according to the circumstances in your State. There is no need for uniformity all over India. Indeed, it would be helpful to have various types of experiments. These new proposals, when given effect to, will practically change the present structure at those levels.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
23/24 January, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

In another two days, we shall complete eight years of our Republic and Republic Day will be celebrated all over India. These celebrations are growing in importance year by year and becoming a notable popular event in our calendar. India is well known for her festivals, perhaps there are too many of them, involving a stoppage of work when work is most needed. Yet, all our festivals are occasions for popular rejoicing and so they are good. They relieve the drabness and monotony of life for our people and bring out the essential vitality and joy of life that is in them. Republic Day is becoming one of our great popular festivals now.

2. Delhi celebrates this great day in an impressive manner and becomes, for this event, not merely the capital of India, but the heart and symbol of this great country. These celebrations become bigger and bigger and attract vast crowds. People from all over the country assemble here and an increasing number of foreigners too witness this great popular display.

3. During the last few days there have been preparations for this celebration and there is stir and excitement all over this old-new city. There are rehearsals and there is the tramp of men on the march and gallant cavalcades, and aircraft whirring and zooming through the sky. Above all, there is the moving sight of people coming from the far corners of the country in multi-

coloured attire, and folk dancers dancing their way through the streets. The air is full of song and dance and laughter. This afternoon I went to the camp in Talkatora gardens of New Delhi where many hundreds of these folk dancers and other people from the distant frontiers of India are staying. It was a sight which moved me greatly, for here I saw the thousand faces of India, all different and yet bearing the common impress of our land. They were full of the spirit of joy and in their great variety there was a unity and harmony.

4. On Republic Day there will be the great parade and hour after hour this moving pageant of India will pass by. There will be men of our Defence Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, the machines of war trundling by, aircraft swooping down from the heights and breaking the sound barrier, the Territorial Army, the cadets of the NCC, the Lok Sahayak Sena and the smart young sea cadets, boys and girls, marching proudly and smartly. The parade will gradually change its character and become a pageant representing the different States of India, the past and the present. Schoolboys and schoolgirls will follow in rhythmic array. Industrial workers, trade unions and others will join this noble procession. It would seem that the past was mingling with the present and the two, hand in hand, were going into the future. It will be symbolic of the hundreds of millions of India marching to that future which they are themselves shaping. Surely, there are few celebrations anywhere in the world more moving and symbolic than this parade and pageant of India on Republic Day. The next few days will witness many other celebrations and notably folk dances, which have become such an important and pleasing feature of this week. We shall forget the problems of the world and our own difficulties and live in the excitement of India of today, dreaming of tomorrow. And then, suddenly on the 30th of January, we shall be pulled back, remembering the Father of the Nation and how he laboured and died for India. His message will ring in our ears and the call to action and dedication will come to us again.

6. That call to action is always there and it has never been so insistent as today. In the recent session of the Congress, held at Gauhati,¹ this call was repeated forcefully and urgently. This Gauhati session was notable in many ways and I should like to draw your particular attention to the businesslike resolutions passed there.

7. There was the resolution on the question of language which had grown not only complicated but was embedded in people's passions, and when an approach is made with prejudice and passion, even simple problems become difficult to solve. Some of our friends and comrades in the South felt gravely concerned and feared that they might be put at a disadvantage if any rapid

1. See *ante*, pp. 563-624.

change to Hindi was made for all-India purposes. We must understand their apprehensions which are not groundless. The Congress considered this question calmly and objectively and laid down certain directions which have met with widespread approval. I should like particularly to pay a tribute to our comrades from the South, from Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala, for the cooperative and constructive approach they made. I should also like to pay a tribute to those who came from other States of India for their helpful attitude. It was indeed remarkable that on a subject which had apparently created so much difference and controversy, there should be a unanimous resolution. I think we are entitled to congratulate ourselves and the nation for this broad vision which demonstrated the basic desire for unity in our country.

8. There was the resolution on international affairs. There was nothing new in it, but it was well that our firm policy was reiterated and clearly stated. I think that this policy and approach are being appreciated more and more in other countries and it is realized that the cold war method must give place to something entirely different. It is true that this progressive change in opinion is due more to fear of the consequences of world conflict than to goodwill. But whatever the reason for it might be, the effect is that the old rigidity is breaking down and everywhere there is a call for a more cooperative approach. The development of mighty weapons has created the basic problem of today. However strong a country might be, it cannot escape destruction in case of a war. There is virtually no defence against the vast destructive power of hydrogen bombs and when these are available to both sides of the conflict, only utter ruin and destruction can flow from their use. Perhaps out of evil may come some good and men's minds may be turned from fear and hatred to a realization that friendly approaches are not only good in themselves, but yield security and progress.

9. The resolution on Goa was a sad reminder that in spite of our earnest desire, foreign imperialism holds sway in a small corner of India and our political revolution of freeing the whole of India has not yet been completed. Hundreds of political prisoners lie in Goan jails which are notoriously bad. It is depressing to think that we cannot take any quick action to put an end to the suffering of our people there; and yet we cannot allow ourselves to lose our bearings and take some action in the excitement of the moment which would have harmful results. Like many other problems in the world today, this has to wait for a solution. But a solution there has to be and will be and that solution can only be the elimination of foreign rule in Goa.

10. The resolution on educational reconstruction reminds us again of a problem of fundamental importance, for it is obvious that our future depends upon the quality of the education we give to our people. There is a good deal of

discontent both at the pace of progress and the quality of the education given. The discontent is justified and yet it is seldom realized what we have actually achieved. Education produces results slowly and mere haste does not improve the quality of it.

11. We have repeatedly declared in favour of Basic Education. This need not be of one type and the methods may well be somewhat different, provided the national pattern is the same. Here again, we get held up not only by lack of finances, but, even more so, by lack of trained teachers. How can we have good teachers unless we treat them as honoured members of the community and provide for them adequately? How can we have good citizens if we only teach some craft or profession without building up the character of our youth?

12. We are making considerable progress in giving technical training to our young men and women. The demands of our Five Year Plan require this. But it has to be remembered that a widespread industrialization requires not only some trained engineers and the like, but also some basic education among the mass of the people. Free and compulsory education came to the countries of the West because this was found necessary for the purposes of industrialization. The great advance in agricultural yields in Europe is due to mass education. Elementary education must, therefore, increase at a fast pace.

13. Again, financial considerations come in the way. I have long felt that we should reduce to a minimum the expenditure on buildings for schools. We should spend much more on teachers and on equipment. Buildings are no doubt desirable, but it is possible to do even without them; it is not possible to do without the teacher or some equipment. If we could save money on buildings, we could use it for other purposes. In Santiniketan, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore started classes under the trees. They were much more delightful and healthy than great structures. I found recently there that they have constructed some very simple structures, open on all sides with a kind of an umbrella at the top. These were attractive and quite useful. I wish very much that the rules and regulations laid down by our PWDs were changed insofar as these schools were concerned and any kind of temporary shed or structure is allowed to be built. There might be a room to keep equipment but most of the teaching might be done in the open or in some temporary shed.

14. The PWD with its fixed and rigid approach and its rather expensive ways for the construction of buildings pursues us everywhere. I have been surprised to find that, far away in the North East Frontier Agency, we have been building these solid structures for schools and other purposes, which are not at all in keeping with their surroundings or the way of life of the people. In fact, the tribal people do not feel at home in them. A building should have the quality of "neighbourliness", that is, should fit in with its surroundings.

Therefore, our school buildings and other structures in villages should not try to copy the city model.

15. Then there were two other resolutions, one on the economic situation and the other on land reform. It is distressing to find that after the first spurt we made in abolishing the zamindari system, progress in land reform has been remarkably slow in many States. The Planning Commission goes on repeating what should be done, the Congress passes resolutions to the same effect, and more or less everybody agrees, and yet the pace is slow. All the world recognizes the importance of land reform now. In fact, the progress of a country can well be measured by the structure of the agricultural economy of that country and the agrarian relations and the laws that prevail there. The great poverty and backwardness of the countries of Western Asia is largely the result of the continuance of feudal laws in regard to land. For us, this is not a matter of theory but of immediate necessity, because on the success of this depends our success in food production which is so vital. I would therefore beg of you to consider this matter as one of the utmost urgency and to give effect to our repeated decisions.

16. The goal of land reforms, it has been stated, is to build up a cooperative rural economy based on the village community. This means the removal of all intermediaries in land and the limitation of the size of holdings. The village community has to be based on the village panchayat on the one hand and the village cooperative on the other. These cooperatives have not only to provide credit but also supply the other needs of the villages. Thus, they should be multi-purpose cooperatives and their size must not be too large, or else the members of the cooperative will not have that intimate touch which is necessary for them to work effectively. A cooperative is something much more than a business association. It is essentially aimed at the development of self-reliance and self-dependence as well as the spirit of cooperative self-help. It is meant to build up human beings of the right type. Thus, a cooperative which depends on official help and guidance too much will fail to develop these essential qualities.

17. There has been a tendency to develop large cooperatives covering thirty or forty villages. I am quite sure that this is a wrong approach and that we must concentrate on the smaller cooperative which should not normally comprise more than two or three villages. I do not suggest that what has already been done in building up the large cooperatives should be undone at this stage. But I would like to impress upon you that this process must be stopped and in future only small cooperatives should be organized. These small cooperatives could then be linked together in unions of cooperatives, so that they may have the advantage of bigness in this respect. But the essential nature of the cooperative should be small and non-official.

18. You will have noticed that recently our community development movement and the *Gramdan* movement came to an agreement to cooperate with each other to as large an extent as possible and integrate their programmes.² This has been a happy development and should result in the spirit of community cohesion and self-help and encourage collective initiative among the people. All this however does not happen of itself. It requires constant and persistent effort.

19. I come now to the resolution on the economic situation. The title covers a vast domain. But the Congress resolution, rightly I think, laid stress on developing the internal strength of the country's economy. In dealing with this matter, special emphasis was again laid on agricultural production and more especially, food production. Need I tell you again of the urgency of this matter? I fear, I must, because I find still that this sense of urgency is lacking in many States and the Agricultural Departments of these States still move in a leisurely way, embedded in their old routines. It is on these Agricultural Departments that all depends. If they cannot vitalize themselves, then there is little hope for the progress of agriculture in that State. I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but I would like to say that some States are doing well, while others are not. Bombay State is particularly good now. Andhra and Madras are fair. Bihar, after a long lapse, is looking up. Punjab, which has always been a good State because of the vitality and hard work of its people, has not been doing as well as expected. Indeed, I am surprised to learn that a large number of tubewells are lying unused in the Punjab.

20. There is one matter to which I should also like to draw your attention. There is sometimes a tendency for officers working for rural development to be frequently transferred, and so there is no continuity in the work. New officers come and take some time to learn what is to be done. Before they get going, they are transferred for some odd reason unconnected with the work of rural development. This is obviously a bad policy.

21. In the Congress resolution on the economic situation, you will find a number of positive proposals, listing a number of things that can and should be done immediately. I shall not repeat them. But I should like you to realize that it is in the measure that these steps are taken that the work of your Agricultural Department will be judged. All these are what might be called short-term steps.

22. I have often said that it is possible for us to increase our yield much more than even the target laid down by the Planning Commission. Some people

2. This agreement was made between the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Ministry of Community Development following a resolution passed to this effect by the Gramdan Conference at Yelwal near Mysore on 23 September 1957.

doubt this, but I am convinced of it. Naturally, all depends on the sense of urgency and the hard work put into this matter. The other day I was reading of agricultural development in Sweden. Today Sweden is the most prosperous country in Europe and its agriculture is of the highest standard. Indeed the agriculturists, on the whole, have a higher income than those engaged in industry. And yet, after the First World War agriculture in Sweden was in a very bad way. But they adopted various policies and worked hard and brought about this tremendous revolution. Why should we not do likewise?

23. If we are to move ahead faster in agriculture, it will not be at the Secretariat level but at the farmers' level. That is why it is repeatedly stated that we must go to the farmer and even fix his target for production. If the farmers take a vital interest in improved methods of agriculture, the change will be immediate.

24. I would suggest to you to appoint a committee at the State level for the coordination of agricultural programmes. The Chief Minister should be the chairman and the Ministers for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation and Irrigation should be members. With this committee the Secretaries and the Heads of Departments and the Development Commissioner should be associated. The committee should review at regular intervals the agricultural programme in the State and the national extension service and community development areas in particular, and report on it.

25. The Balwantray Committee on Community Development has presented a valuable report which you have no doubt read. At a meeting held recently the Chief Ministers agreed to one of the major recommendations of this Committee.³ This has been described as 'democratic decentralization'. However heavy and unlovely these words might be, the idea is obviously good, even though it may be given effect to in somewhat different ways. I hope that your State will go ahead with this.

26. The Balwantray Committee has laid particular stress on the maximum delegation of powers from State Governments to Heads of Departments as well as from departmental officers to districts and below. Nothing is so frustrating as to be held up because of long delays in getting petty sanctions. Our old methods of work, both at the Centre and in the States, may have their

3. The Chief Ministers had, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council held in New Delhi on 12 January 1958, approved of the recommendation of the Balwantray Committee on Community Development that a democratic body be set up in each community block to take charge of the development activities in that area. The Standing Committee had met to deliberate on the steps taken by the States to step up food production.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

virtues, but these virtues may become vices in a programme of rapid social and economic development. Great stress was laid on this in the Appleby Report. The Central Government considered this matter afresh some weeks ago and we decided on as large a measure of devolution as possible. To speed up work, I hope that your Government will also follow this course.

27. We have discussed all these matters repeatedly in the Central Government and State Governments, in the Planning Commission and in the Congress. All these discussions point one way. The time has now come to give effect to our decisions. I earnestly trust that this year 1958 will see the rapid implementation of our resolves, so that by the time this year also ends, we shall have shown to ourselves and the world our capacity to overcome any hurdle and any difficulty. We have been promised substantial help by the United States of America.⁴ We are grateful for this, but all this help will not take us very far. The only thing that will make us succeed in our great adventure is self-reliance and hard work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 16 January 1958, the Government announced that the US Government had agreed to discuss sanction of a loan of \$225 million from the US Export-Import Bank and Development Loan Fund and was also considering measures to assist India to meet its foodgrain shortages.



New Delhi
March 26, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after two months—two months which have been heavy with problems and difficulties, strain and sorrow. I could neither find the time, nor develop the mood to write to you my normal fortnightly letters. Even now, it is not easy for me to apply my mind to this task. I regret to say that for some time past, I have felt mentally tired and rather stale. This, of course, is no proper condition for any person who has to discharge heavy responsibilities. I

am troubled as to what to do with myself to recover some freshness of mind. I go through the normal routine of my work, being trained to it, but it gives me little pleasure to do so. And so I wonder sometimes if I am doing justice to the responsibility that has been cast upon me.

2. I do not propose to write to you today about all the significant events of the past two months. The dominating feature of this period for us and for our country has been the passing away of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The moving and tremendous tribute paid by the city of Delhi, and indeed by the whole of India, to this great leader and comrade of ours was evidence enough of what he had meant to us. Tributes came also from all over the world, even from those who had all along been bitterly hostile to him, but who were compelled to recognize the quality and worth of his unique personality. Of very very few men could it be said, with equal justice, that he could not be replaced. He represented the learning, wisdom and charm of the old world, combined with keen appreciation of the new. From his earliest youth, he was drawn to the struggle for the freedom of India and to the end of his days he pursued the same path.

3. As a result of his death and other happenings, some changes have been made in the Council of Ministers of the Central Government.¹ You are aware of these changes.

4. An event which attracted very considerable attention all over this country, and even abroad, was the enquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation.² In a sense, this enquiry is still proceeding, though in a different way. It led to the resignation of our Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, and thus we were deprived of the services of a colleague of great ability and perseverance, who had played such an important part in our financial affairs during his relatively brief tenure of office as Finance Minister. His Budget of 1957 was unique.³ His tours of various countries abroad were a great success.

1. On 13 March 1958 in a Cabinet reshuffle, Morarji Desai, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim and S.K. Patil were appointed Cabinet Ministers for Finance, Commerce and Industry, Irrigation and Power, and Transport and Communications respectively. Humayun Kabir, the Minister of State for Civil Aviation, was transferred to the new Ministry of Scientific Research and Culture. K.L. Shrimali continued as Minister of State for Education. Apart from Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, one Minister of State and four Deputy Ministers were also inducted in the Council of Ministers.
2. For details see *ante*, pp. 343-420.
3. Krishnamachari had, in the Budget for 1957, introduced wealth and expenditure taxes, lowered the exemption limit for the income tax, raised the excise duty on certain items and set up a food subsidy fund to check price rise. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 49-132.

His leaving us has been a great blow to me and to our Government.

5. Shri T.T. Krishnamachari had to resign according to our conventions. An argument arose about the responsibility of Ministers and officials. That argument seemed to me rather unnecessary, because it is well recognized that the Minister must shoulder the responsibility for any decision or action of his Secretary. Indeed, it was because of this that the resignation of the Finance Minister took place. That, of course, does not absolve the Secretaries for any wrong action. Hence the further enquiry that is taking place in the conduct of those concerned in these transactions.

6. In the outside world, an event of historical significance has been the formation of the United Arab State by the union of Egypt and Syria. As a consequence of this, Iraq and Jordan have formed some kind of a federation. There is a great deal of difference between these two, the union and the federation. The first one was obviously the result of a great national upsurge in both Egypt and Syria, which almost forced the hands of the leaders. The other one was a decision of some people at the top, reacting to the union of Egypt and Syria. By this union, new forces have been released and the whole Arab world is astir.

7. To the east of India, the troubles in Indonesia have caused us great concern.⁴ Indonesia is a close friend of ours, and India played a notable part when the Dutch refused to acknowledge Indonesia's independence. It is a matter of sorrow for us that the people of Indonesia should be involved in internal conflicts. We are strongly of opinion that there should be no external interference in this internal matter, and we hope that peace and stability will come to the country before long.

8. The intrusion of man into outer space continues, and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America hurl their Sputniks and Explorers away from the earth. Very slowly it is dawning upon men and women that we are entering a new age, the age of interplanetary travel. And yet, in our narrow world, we are entangled in all kinds of rivalries and national conflicts which have no meaning in this new age.

9. There is much talk of a summit or a high-level meeting,⁵ and probably some such meeting will take place in the autumn of this year. Whether it will

4. See *ante*, pp. 727-728 and 742.

5. The correspondence initiated by Bulganin in 1957 between the USSR and the Western Powers continued during the first three months of 1958. The Western Powers insisted on a preliminary round of talks between the officials prior to the Heads of State meeting, and Bulganin agreed to this in his letters to Eisenhower and Macmillan on 6 and 14 March 1958 respectively.

bring success or not, it is difficult to say, for success depends not on clever formulae but on a gradual change in the minds and hearts of people and their leaders.

10. To come down from outer space and the summits to the solid earth on which we live, and the day-to-day problems that face us. The Budget, as I described it, was a pedestrian affair. It was practically a continuation of the previous year's Budget, with some rough corners rounded off. The new Gift Tax and the amendment of the Estate Duty Act were an inevitable corollary to the decisions taken a year ago. While we have our own economic difficulties, we might remember that other countries are not free of them, and even the rich and powerful United States of America are facing a severe recession which might lead to grave consequences.

11. I want to write to you today, however, on two matters which are very much in my mind. One relates to food production and the other to education. I have often written about food and the vital importance that this plays in our whole economic structure, five-year plan, etc. It is perfectly clear that unless we produce enough food to enable us to put an end to all food imports, we shall not be able to produce a worthwhile Third Five Year Plan. Our whole future thus revolves round this question of food production and our filling the gap before the Second Five Year Plan comes to an end. I have no doubt that we can do so but it requires great effort and constant vigilance.

12. Let us confess that in spite of our frequent talks on this subject, we have neither made the big effort nor have we been very vigilant. What is particularly astonishing is our failure to utilize the actual resources available to us. Great river valley schemes have provided water, but because communicating channels were missing, it could not be utilized for the fields. Thousands of tubewells were made, but most of them remained unused for various reasons, mostly because rates charged were too high. Tens of thousands of tanks, especially in South India, were not repaired and therefore could not be used. It has been calculated that if we had used these available resources, millions of acres would have yielded foodgrains or other agricultural products. The fault, therefore, was in the failure of our administration, and it was a serious fault with grievous consequences. Have we got so stuck up in certain official routines and grooves of thought that we are prevented from adapting ourselves to changing circumstances? Our Central Government has to think hard, but even more so the State Governments have to do so, for it is their primary responsibility to increase food production.

13. More and more, I think less of the top structure and more of the bottom. I think that the real change will come when the bottom layers start functioning with energy and vitality. This means that the burden must fall

principally on the village and the individual farmer. We have built up a fine organization to deal with this problem—the community development movement with its blocks. Insofar as these community development blocks can vitalize the farmer and the village will depend the success of our efforts. Vitality does not come from above, it has to grow within the organism. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance for this whole community scheme to depend not on officials but on the people, though officials, of course, are necessary and can make a great difference. It is the non-official response that will mean success or the lack of it. This is a truism which we have often repeated. But in spite of frequent repetition, I have a feeling that it is not acted upon, and we drift by some adverse fate towards more and more official control and bureaucracy.

14. I have often written to you about the cooperative movement and have stressed that this movement must be non-official and that the village should be the unit. And yet, reports come to me that some State Governments have gone in the opposite direction and have actually liquidated thousands of small cooperatives in order to build big ones. I am convinced that we shall fail if we go this way, because we can never develop the cooperative spirit among the people if officials direct the movement. I do not know how to put this strongly to you, because I have said this so often. I think the time is coming when financial aid should only be given to the small cooperatives and not to the giant ones.

15. This question of small or big cooperatives, as well as of official direction, raises vital issues. The whole philosophy of cooperation is bound up with them and the basic question of building up men and women of worth and self-reliance.

16. I said the other day that the three basic foundations of our country must be: the village panchayat, the village cooperative, and the village school. How many villages have got schools? Many more now than before, but still rather few. A school is still thought of more in terms of a building rather than of anything else. The building costs money, and so education spreads very slowly, and the quality of it is not good. We pay the poor schoolmaster less than our *chaprasi*, and expect him to mould our younger generation.

17. Let us remember that a school is essentially the teacher, not the building. The teacher, without any apparatus or building, can function as a school. This is a simple and obvious proposition and yet it is ignored. I think the time has come, indeed it came long ago, for us to decide, definitely and positively, to have schools in our villages without buildings, and to spend more on the teacher and on equipment. I think we can do without buildings completely for the primary schools, though, of course, a building is desirable where possible. But let us compromise on this issue and have the smallest of structures, just to

keep some books and equipment, the classes being held in the open. If we decide on this course and resolutely refuse to put up expensive buildings, we would not only advance faster in spreading education, but, what is important, we would be able to pay the teacher more and spend more on equipment.

18. Our climate is such that, for the great part of the year, it is easy and indeed healthier to sit in the open or under some shady tree. Perhaps, the monsoon period is the only time when it is difficult to sit in the open. Let us have our school holidays during the monsoons. The main thing is the teacher. Let us train him better and give him a higher salary and some amenities. The rest will follow.

19. I feel that in this matter I have not succeeded in convincing others and I go on crying in a wilderness of disbelief. I am sure the time will come when it will be recognized that the teacher is more important than the building. We talk of basic schools, and we have adopted, quite rightly, the basic method of education. And yet, there too the demand is for bigger buildings. If we give a big building in one place, we deprive a dozen other places of even the rudiments of education. Could we not think again and give up the idea of buildings for two or three years, and experiment in another way?

20. I am speaking of village schools, but, with some difference, this approach could be applied even to secondary schools and, perhaps, even to colleges and the like. What a tremendous spurt in education there would be if we divert the money spent on bricks and mortar to the educational needs of our children.

21. It is the teacher that counts and everything else is secondary. If we want good teachers, we have to give them simple amenities of life, and we have to give them something that is even more valuable, the respect due to a person who is charged with the greatest task of all, the moulding of human beings. If the teacher is not good, how will he produce good men and women?

22. Some two weeks ago, I presented a Government resolution to Parliament. This was about science and technology, pointing out the great importance of these subjects in the world of today and the necessity for us to encourage the scientists.⁶ I would like to draw your attention to this resolution, for it says something which required saying and which we often forget. We talk glibly of science as if it was something we could purchase in the marketplace;

6. For the resolution on scientific policy moved by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958, see *ante*, pp. 321-322.

it is much more precious than that and it can only grow if it is cherished, respected and helped to grow. Above all, it means developing the temper of science, which is the temper of the calm search for truth.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I. MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

1. Homage to Maulana Azad¹

The Working Committee records their deep grief at the passing away early this morning of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Great scholar and thinker and writer, eminent in many fields, he was above all a lover of his country and humanity and a fighter for freedom. From his earliest days he devoted himself to the cause of India's independence and communal unity and his writings not only served these causes with brilliance but also enriched and enlarged the Urdu language. His entire life is a long record of devoted service to his country and of courageous endurance of the sufferings and sacrifices that inevitably came to him as a consequence of such service.

With the National Congress his association was an intimate one for forty years and he was a member of its Working Committee from its very inception early in the nineteen-twenties. Congressmen all over the country looked up to him with affection for guidance, and to his own immediate comrades in the Working Committee he was a wise and tolerant friend and guide. In a generation which produced many great men in India, his was a unique personality, towering over others, a rich mixture of the wisdom of the past with the learning and tolerant spirit and urges of the present. To all his countrymen he was a beacon and a light during periods of storms and struggle. His life has been a monument of India's struggle for freedom and unity, its early stirrings, its consolidation in a mighty movement and its success and fulfilment followed by the new struggle for economic and social advance.

The Working Committee offer their reverent and affectionate homage to the memory of their most illustrious colleague and earnestly hope that the principles for which he laboured, sacrificed and died will guide his countrymen in the present and the future.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru condoling the death of Abul Kalam Azad in New Delhi on 22 February 1958, was passed by the Congress Working Committee at its special meeting held on the same day. JN Collection.

2. To A.A.A. Fyzee¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1958

My dear Fyzee,²

Your letter of February 20 about Maulana Azad's writings. I think your proposal is a good one. It is certainly desirable to collect his writings and get them published.

Some time ago a committee was appointed for the celebration of his seventieth birthday. That committee will now have to reconsider its task in view of Maulana's sad death. I am sure they will welcome your help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu and Kashmir.



MOURNING THE DEATH OF MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, NEW DELHI, 22 FEBRUARY 1958



AT THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, NEW DELHI, 22 FEBRUARY 1958

3. A National Memorial for Maulana Azad¹

The greatest memorial for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is the freedom, unity and progress of India for which he laboured throughout his life, as well as the love of the people which has been demonstrated in such overwhelming measure throughout the country. It is fitting, however, that there should be a national tribute in a more concrete form to commemorate his life and the splendid services he rendered to the country. Such a tribute should seek to serve some of the causes which were particularly dear to his heart. It should enable our people, in all stations of life, to share in the advancement of these purposes.

The Working Committee therefore proposes that a national memorial should be organized and this should take the following forms:

- 1) In order to further knowledge and understanding of each other between the people of India and the peoples of the countries of Western Asia and to promote their cultural contacts, scholarships should be instituted for Indian students to study in the countries of Western Asia and Egypt, and for students from those countries to come for study to India. These scholarships and stipends should normally be for postgraduate studies.
- 2) One or more Chairs should be established in our universities for the study and advancement of cultural relations, past, present and future, between India and the countries of Western Asia.
- 3) Provision should be made for the furtherance of the library movement in our country.

It is proposed that these institutions and arrangements, after they are established, should be placed under a National Trust for the purpose, as well as under well-established institutions such as universities, etc., as appropriate.

A provisional National Memorial Committee, consisting of the following persons, has been formed for the purpose:

1. Dr S. Radhakrishnan
2. Shri U.N. Dhebar
3. Shri Morarji Desai
4. Shri B. Gopala Reddi and
5. Shri Humayun Kabir.

This great and illustrious son of India has passed away leaving an imperishable memory behind. Let us cherish this memory of dignity and

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and adopted by the Congress Working Committee, New Delhi, 23 February 1958. JN Collection.

dedication of which his life until its end was such a conspicuous example. Let us show our abiding love and respect for him by furthering the causes he held dear.

The Working Committee trusts that a generous response will come to this appeal for the memorial fund from all our people throughout the country.

4. Scholarships in Memory of Maulana Azad¹

The Maulana, our *Amir-e-Karavan* (leader of the caravan), has passed away. All of us will have to face the same fate one day or the other. But the caravan of the nation will go on. Of course, the Maulana's death has caused a gap in the caravan which will not be filled up. No one will be able to fill it up. I do not say that there is no great man in the country now but there is no one like him. The intensity of grief will gradually diminish, but what about the loss and the shock the country has sustained? To whom shall we now go for consultation and mature advice?

The Maulana reminded the people of the good and glorious that was in the past, not by mere words but by thought, action and by writings which have enriched the Urdu language.

India is the confluence of many thoughts, civilizations and cultures, and has made a fine synthesis of all these. Signs of this synthesis can be found in her art, thought, architecture and music. Maulana Azad was a fine example of that synthesis. Throughout his life, by his actions and writings he has been a uniting factor. He was a bridge between the old and the new world.

People have talked about an impressive memorial to Maulana. But I do not care much for having memorials in brick and stone, though, of course, Government will consider the matter at the right occasion. The real memorial should be in the hearts of the people, a symbol of which was seen yesterday when people without any difference of caste or creed joined in mourning the loss of Maulana.

I appeal to you to contribute liberally to the memorial fund which the Congress Working Committee has decided to raise to perpetuate the memory of Maulana Azad. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the Committee

1. Speech at a public meeting, Delhi, 23 February 1958. From *The Hindu*, *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 24 February 1958. The meeting was presided over by President Rajendra Prasad.

at its meeting here today.² The proposed fund will be utilized for the advancement of cultural and educational activities which were most dear to the Maulana's heart.

There will be three-fold utilization of this fund. First, scholarships will be given to students for going to the countries of the Middle East with which Maulana Azad was intimately connected to acquire knowledge about those countries. Scholarships will also be given to students from the Middle East out of that fund to come to India and learn about India's culture and civilization. This two-way traffic will help in promoting greater understanding between the peoples of these countries.

Secondly, it is proposed to create a Chair, to start with, in some university in India, and later increase it to two, for doing research on the relationship that existed in the past between India and West Asian countries in the cultural and educational fields.

Thirdly, the money shall be spent in opening more and more libraries all over the country and in popularizing the library movement.

All these objectives are closely related to the life of Maulana Azad and if he were alive, he would have liked these ideas. I am sure that people, not only in Delhi but all over the country, will assist in raising this memorial fund. After this fund is collected, a sub-committee will be appointed by the Working Committee to administer the fund.

Sahitya Akademi has also decided to make a collection of all the famous writings and speeches of Maulana Azad representing his thinking on various problems and publish them in book form. The book will be first published in Urdu, the language which was spoken and enriched by Maulana Azad, and later translated into many other languages.³ Special effort will be made to collect his writings of his youth which kindled fire in many a heart.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Sahitya Akademi published the following collections of Maulana Azad's writings and speeches: *Ghubar-i-Khatir* (1967), *Tazkira* (1968) and *Khutbat-i-Azad* (1974).

5. Maulana Azad, A Luminous Mind¹

Mr Speaker, Sir, it has fallen to my lot often to refer in this House to the death of a colleague or some great man. I have to perform that duty, a sad duty, again today in regard to one who was with us till a few days ago and who passed away rather suddenly, producing a sense of deep sorrow and grief not only to his colleagues in Parliament, but to innumerable people all over the country.

Now, it has become almost, if I may say so, a commonplace, when a prominent person passes away, to say that he is irreplaceable, that his passing away has created a void which cannot be filled. To some extent that is often true; yet, I believe that it is literally and absolutely true in regard to the passing away of Maulana Azad. I do not mean to say that no great men will be born in India; certainly not. We have had great men and we will have great men, but I do submit that that peculiar and special type of greatness that Maulana Azad represented is not likely to be reproduced in India or anywhere else.

I need not refer to his many qualities which we all know—his deep learning, his scholarship and his great oratory. He was a great writer and he was great in many ways. There are other scholars, there are other writers, there are other orators, but there was this combination in him of the greatness of the past with the greatness of the present. He represented and he always reminded me of what I have read in history about the great men of several hundred years ago, say, if I think of European history, the great men of the Renaissance, or, in a later period, of the encyclopaedists who preceded the French Revolution, men of intellect, men of action. He reminds me also of what might be called the great qualities of olden days—the graciousness of them. There were many bad qualities, of course, in the olden days, but there was certain graciousness, a certain courtesy, a certain tolerance, a certain patience, which is sadly to seek in the world today. There is little of graciousness in the world, even though we may become more and more advanced in scientific and technical ways. Even though we may seek to reach the moon, we do it with a lack of graciousness, with a lack of tolerance, with a lack of some things which have made life worthwhile since life began. So, it was this strange and unique mixture of the good qualities of the past, the graciousness, the deep learning and toleration with the urges of today that made Maulana Azad what he was.

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 24 February 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XII, cols. 2091-2095.

Everyone knows that even in his early teens he was filled with the passion for freeing India and he turned towards ways even of violent revolution.² And then, he realized, of course soon after, that that was not the way which would gain results.

He was a peculiar and a very special representative in a high degree of that great composite culture which has gradually grown in India. I do not mean to say that everybody has to be like Maulana Azad to represent that composite culture. There are many representatives of it in various parts of India, but he—here in Delhi or in Bengal or Calcutta, wherever he spent the greater part of his life—represented this synthesis of various cultures which have come one after another to India, rivers that had flowed in and lost themselves in the ocean of Indian life, India's humanity affecting them, changing them and being changed themselves by them.

So, he came to represent more specially the culture of India as affected by the culture of the nations of Western Asia, the Iranian culture, the Persian culture, the Arabic culture, which affected India for thousands of years—especially Iran—as everyone knows. So, in that sense I said that I can hardly conceive of any other person coming who can replace him because there was already a change in the age which produced him and that age is past. A few of us are just relics, who have some faint idea of that age that is past.

I do not know if the generation that is growing up will even have any emotional realization of that age. We are functioning in a different way, we think in a different way, and a certain gap in mental appreciation and understanding separates us, separates the generations.

It is right that we change, I am not complaining. Change is essential lest we become rooted to some past habit which, even if it was good at some time, becomes bad later. But I cannot help expressing a certain feeling of regret that, with the bad, the good of the past days is also swept away and that good was something that was eminently represented by Maulana Azad.

There is one matter I should like to mention here—a curious error to the expression of which I have myself been guilty about Maulana Azad's life and education. Even this morning, the newspapers contained a resolution of Government about Maulana Azad. The error is this, that it is stated—as I have

2. In 1905, during the movement against the partition of Bengal, Azad came into contact with Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, a famous revolutionary of that time, and through him met several other revolutionaries, including Aurobindo Ghose. He joined a revolutionary group and took part in revolutionary activities outside Bengal. He also visited Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and France to meet revolutionaries there.

stated sometimes—that he went and studied at Al Azhar University.³ He did not do so. It is an extraordinary persistence of error of wide circles. And, as I said, I myself thought so. Otherwise, I would have taken care to correct it in the Government resolution which has appeared today. The fact is that he never studied at Al Azhar University. He went, of course, to Cairo; he visited it as a visitor to see it, but he never studied there. He studied elsewhere. He studied chiefly in Calcutta, in the Arabic schools as well as other schools. But he spent a number of years in Arabia. He was born there and he visited Egypt as he visited other countries of Western Asia. That is a different matter.

So, we mourn today the passing of a great man, of course a man of luminous intelligence and a mighty intellect with an amazing capacity to pierce through the problem to its core. I used the word 'luminous'. I think perhaps that is the best word I can use about his mind—a luminous mind. When we miss and when we part with such a companion, friend, colleague, comrade, leader, teacher—call him what you will—there is inevitably a tremendous void created in our life and activities.

It is possible that the initial reaction may not be a full realization of that void. The initial reaction is one of shock and sorrow. Gradually, as days pass, the void appears deeper and wider and it becomes more and more difficult to fill that place which was filled by a person who has passed away. But that is the way of the world and we have to face it. We have to face it not negatively but positively by devoting and dedicating ourselves to what he stood for and trying to carry on the good work which he and others who have left us—captains and generals of our peaceful forces—who have worked for independence and progress and advancement of India, who have come and who have gone leaving their message behind. And so, I hope, though he may go, he will live and his message will live and illumine us as it did in the past.

3. This was printed in *Gazette Extraordinary* on 23 February 1958.

6. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
February 25, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I have no idea about the various questions that may have arisen in regard to Maulana Azad's family, dependents, assets, liabilities, etc. I would normally not have interfered, but I do not know if anyone is looking into this matter. All kinds of questions arise.

You mentioned to me, as well as others, about Ajmal Khan and also Masud.² So far as Ajmal Khan is concerned, I fear it is not possible to get him nominated to the Rajya Sabha from the Punjab. There are only three seats there and tremendous competition for them. I feel, however, that something will have to be done for Ajmal Khan.

I would like you to look into some of these matters and prepare a note as to what is to be done. Krishna Kripalani³ might be associated with you in this matter. I take it that between you two, you would know a good deal about his private affairs.⁴ You would, of course, enquire from others where necessary. I am anxious to help in this matter so as to avoid a mess.

Among the questions that might be considered are:

- 1) Separation of his private papers, belongings, personalia, etc., from official papers. For the present, his private papers and personalia might be locked up in one room. Some kind of an inventory should be made of these. Maulana's house⁵ will have to be handed over to Government within a month or so. That should give us ample time to separate these papers, etc.

1. JN Collection.
2. Ajmal Khan and M.N. Masud were secretaries to Maulana Azad.
3. (1907-1992); imprisoned during civil disobedience movement; taught at Visva-Bharati University, 1934-46; Organizing Secretary, AICC, 1946-48; Cultural Attache, Indian Embassy in Brazil, 1948; Personal Secretary to Maulana Azad, 1952-54; Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 1954-71; awarded Padma Bhushan in 1969; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1974-80; Chairman, National Book Trust, 1981-86; works include *Faith and Frivolity*; *Tagore: A Life*; *Gandhi: A Life* and *Modern Indian Literature: A Panoramic Glance*.
4. Kabir was Educational Advisor to Maulana Azad and had helped him with his memoirs *India Wins Freedom*. Kripalani was personal secretary to Azad.
5. On King Edward Road, now renamed Maulana Azad Road.

So far as the house is concerned, I am asking the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply to appoint a caretaker.⁶ Otherwise, nobody would be responsible and things might disappear.

- 2) Then there is the question of his family. Are we supposed to do anything to them or about them?
- 3) His dependents and domestic staff. Who are they and what is to be done about them?
- 4) What are his assets and liabilities? I suppose that the money in the bank cannot be touched till some legal formalities are complied with. His debts will have to be paid.

These are some of the matters that strike me. There may be others of course. Will you kindly, therefore, together with Krishna Kripalani, look into these matters and prepare a note. We can then discuss it. You might consult Barrister Nuruddin of Delhi⁷ in regard to any legal matters that arise.

I am writing to Krishna Kripalani also and asking him to get in touch with you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See *post*, p. 838.

7. Nuruddin Ahmed (1905-1974); advocate, Supreme Court; Member, Delhi Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; Mayor, Delhi Municipal Corporation, 1962-66.

7. To Krishna Kripalani¹

New Delhi
February 25, 1958

My dear Krishna,

I feel that something should be done soon to get Maulana Azad's affairs in some order; otherwise there will be a mess and difficulties will arise. I should like Humayun Kabir and you jointly to go into these matters and prepare a note as to what are the questions to be tackled. These will relate to Maulana's family, dependents, domestic staff, his papers, books and personalia, his assets and liabilities.

1. JN Collection.

You two seem to me two persons who are likely to know most about all these matters. You can, of course, consult others. You can consult, in legal matters, Barrister Nuruddin of Delhi.

Will you please, therefore, get in touch with Humayun Kabir?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
February 25, 1958

My dear Radhakrishnan,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th February in which you say that the President has written to you expressing his wish to present a portrait of Maulana Azad for the Central Hall of Parliament. The President has written to me also on this subject.

Apart from my reference in the Lok Sabha, the Congress Party in Parliament passed a resolution offering such a portrait for the Central Hall. Copy of this resolution should have been sent to you and to the Speaker.

I think that on the whole it would be better for Members of Parliament to present this portrait. I have suggested that non-Congress Members should also be invited to join in this gift so that it may be a gift from all Members of Parliament and not from one Party.

I have written to the President in reply to the letter he sent me on this subject on these lines.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice-President of India.

9. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

26th February, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

I forget if I spoke or wrote to you about Maulana's house. Under the rules I suppose the house should be taken charge of by your Ministry within a month of Maulana's death. I am anxious, however, that Maulana's papers and personalia should not suffer. There are also valuable carpets and other articles there, some belonging to Government and some possibly to Maulana. During this intervening period, unless care is taken, some of these articles might disappear. Therefore, I should like you to appoint a caretaker there for the time being.

I have asked Humayun Kabir and Krishna Kripalani to look through his books and papers which I think have been placed in one room which was Maulana's study. In the course of the next week or two, these papers may be sorted out. When everything necessary has been done about Maulana's articles and house is ready to be handed over to your Ministry, it should be fully fumigated and cleaned up.

Before you take the house over, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

10. To Ansar Harvani¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1958

Dear Ansar Harvani,²

I have your letter of February 26th. It is obvious that Maulana Azad's position in the world of India as a whole, and more particularly among Indian Muslims, was such that no one can take his place. As for Humayun Kabir, I know very well his ability and his patriotism. He is a member of our Government. As for others, I shall gladly come in contact with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Fatehpur, Uttar Pradesh.

11. To Syed Ashfaq Husain¹

New Delhi
March 4, 1958

My dear Ashfaq Husain,²

Thank you for your letter of the 4th March and for the little book that you have sent.³ That book is very welcome and I am glad that you undertook the writing of it. It is sad that Maulana should have passed away before this book appeared, and yet it has come out at an appropriate time when all of us think of him so much.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1905); taught at Aligarh Muslim University and Mayo College, Ajmer; Information Officer, Government of India; Deputy Educational Adviser and Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education; First Secretary, Education Department in Indian Embassy, Washington; Joint Educational Adviser and ex-officio Joint Secretary, Union Ministry of Education, 1953.
3. Ashfaq Husain translated Maulana Azad's *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* into English which was published in February 1958 under the title *The Spirit of Islam: A Summary of the Commentary of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on Al-Fateha, the First Chapter of the Quran*.

12. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1958

My dear Bidhan,²

Ever since Maulana Azad's death, I have had to deal with a number of his personal and domestic problems. One of these relates to the lady, his sister-in-law (wife's³ sister),⁴ who used to stay with him with her son.⁵

I understand that this lady has some property in Calcutta. This consists of some houses and a piece of land. Even before Maulana's death, she was trying to sell part of this property, and I believe that you had been approached in this behalf. Having sold part of the property, she wants to build a house on the other piece of land.

Perhaps, Maulana wrote to you on this subject. Could you please let me know what the facts are and how far it is possible to get this property of hers sold. I am told that some assurance about its sale had been given to Maulana before his death.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. Zulekha Bibi, Maulana Azad's wife, died in 1943 when he was in Ahmednagar Fort jail.
4. Hafiza Bibi, Maulana Azad's wife's sister, was also the widow of the Maulana's elder brother, Abu-n-Nasr Aah Ghulam Yasin.
5. Nooruddin Ahmed (1907-1992).

13. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

The tributes that have been paid to Maulana Azad have been really remarkable. I am not referring so much to what was said in India because that was natural. But the foreign tributes and more especially those from Western Asian countries have been quite unusual in their feeling and in the view they have taken of

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

Maulana Azad's eminent and historical personality.³

I have been wondering if it would not be a good idea to collect these tributes and publish them in a pamphlet form. We need not publish every odd message, as there are thousands. But selected messages and articles in newspapers might well be got together for this purpose.

I have read a number of articles in foreign periodicals which have been very moving. These have come to us in the normal course in our daily Foreign Press Review and they could easily be collected. I should like you to consider this matter. External Affairs will of course help you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Among those who paid tribute to Maulana Azad were King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, the Sheikh of Bahrain and Faud Koprulu, the Turkish scholar and former Foreign Minister of Turkey.

14. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1958

Nan dear,

Your letter of the 22nd February came some days ago. A number of events coming all together in recent weeks have been very upsetting, not only personally but from the Government's point of view. Suddenly, two of our most important Ministers have gone,² and I am much exercised as to what should be done now. However, one has to face good things and bad alike in life's journey.

You asked me about Maulana's relatives. He has a sister,³ older than him, who lives in Bombay. The news of his illness reaching her made her faint. Nobody dare tell her about his death for many days. I do not know how she is

1. JN Collection.
2. Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari's resignation was accepted on 12 February and Education Minister Maulana Azad died on 22 February 1958.
3. Fatima Begum 'Aarzu' (1882-1966); well-versed in Arabic, Persian and religious studies; worked as secretary to her father Maulana Khairuddin; after her marriage lived in Bhopal; worked for welfare of women; participated in educational programmes; Inspector of girls' schools in Bhopal; often stayed with her sons in Mumbai for long periods.

now. I saw her last year. She was remarkably like Maulana in her looks and mannerisms.

Then, he has a sister-in-law, that is, wife's sister, and her son. This lady, with her son, has been living in his house here for a considerable time past and more or less looking after the house. They are still here. Quite a number of domestic and personal problems have arisen because of Maulana's death, and I am trying to sort them out.

The Austrian Foreign Minister⁴ has been here now for two or three days, and tomorrow the Prime Minister of Romania⁵ reaches Delhi.

Edwina has been staying here for the last week.⁶

Love,
Jawahar

4. Leopold Figl arrived in Delhi on 2 March 1958.
5. Chivu Stoica arrived in Delhi on 7 March 1958.
6. Edwina Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on 26 February 1958.

15. Maulana Azad's Personal Affairs¹

- (1) The house in which Maulana Azad used to live will remain in the possession of the family till about the middle of April. The fortieth day ceremony takes place on the 3rd of April. After that, another week or so should be allowed for packing up, etc.

The WH&S Ministry is arranging to allot a smaller house or an apartment to Maulana Azad's family. The question of rent for this will have to be considered. It may be difficult to give the subsidized rent which is permitted for an MP, as this would mean a breach of the rules. But, I should like the rent paid by the family to be at the subsidized rate. This may mean our making other arrangements to make up the balance of the rent. This arrangement can only be temporary, say for about six months or so.

1. Note, New Delhi, 23 March 1958. JN Collection.

In a letter (not printed) to Humayun Kabir on 23 March 1958 Nehru wrote: "I am sending you a note I have prepared about Maulana Azad's affairs. This is, of course, largely based on what you wrote to me. You will let me know what I am supposed to do now or at any stage."

- (2) There are two plots of land in Calcutta, one at 5-A, Panditia Road, and the other at 32, Bright Street. It appears that Maulana Azad was co-owner of these together with his two sisters-in-law. The land is now occupied by Thika tenants and the sisters-in-law are living in rented flat in 13, Bright Street. I am told that it was Maulana Azad's intention to get the plot at Panditia Road vacated and to have a residential house built there for the family. A suit has been filed for this purpose and is pending before the courts.

I have written and spoken to Dr B.C. Roy about these plots of land.² He said that it would not be easy to get the people now living there, to vacate it unless some other accommodation is found for them. However, he said he would enquire further into the matter.

- (3) Maulana Azad's books and papers and future royalties will go to his heirs. It appears that the Maulana's brother's son (who is also the son of his sister-in-law) is Shri Nooruddin Ahmed, and he is the heir. This appears to have been the intention of Maulana Sahib also, who gave him various assets as also a power of attorney to act on his behalf. The copyright of his book the *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* was also transferred to Shri Nooruddin Ahmed.

Shri Nooruddin Ahmed is taking steps to get a succession certificate issued in his favour. According to his statement, the only two survivors entitled to be Maulana Azad's heirs are himself and Smt Fatima Begum, elder sister of Maulana Azad. Under the law, they would be entitled to equal shares, but it is understood that Smt Fatima Begum's son has said that she would make no claim on Maulana Sahib's property. This, however, is not quite clear as her son-in-law has expressed his wish of getting a share for his mother-in-law. It will probably take six to eight weeks before the succession certificate can be issued.

- (4) Maulana Sahib's sister-in-law has been looking after Shri Nooruddin Ahmed since his childhood and also taken care of Maulana Azad and his wife for many years. She is not a legal heir. But, it appears that some months before Maulana Sahib's death, he opened a joint account in the Punjab National Bank for rupees forty thousand. This was jointly in his own name and that of his sister-in-law. As the sole survivor, she can operate upon this account. It would be desirable to invest this money properly, preferably in 4.5% National Plan Savings Certificates.

2. See *ante*, p. 840.

- (5) Maulana Sahib has left shares of the face value of Rs 75,000-00 (the market value has not been calculated, but is likely to be about Rs 1,10,000). In addition, there is a bank balance of rupees twenty thousand and National Savings Certificates for rupees one hundred.
- (6) Maulana Sahib's motor car was purchased after taking a loan of rupees fifteen thousand from Government. Out of this loan, Rs 2,200-00 have been paid back to Government, and thus Rs 12,800-00 are due to Government. I understand that Shri G.D. Birla is prepared to take back this car and pay an adequate price for it.
- (7) The liabilities appear to be as follows:

i) Outstanding debts	Rs 6,235-00
ii) Household expenses including servants' salaries since his death	Rs 1,500-00
iii) Estimated expenses for his <i>Chaleesa</i> ceremony	Rs 1,600-00

Total	Rs 9,235-00
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I think that it would be proper to pay at least one month's additional salary to his domestic staff. Thus, the total sum would probably be about Rs 10,000-00. This can easily be paid out of the proceeds of the sale of the car.

- (8) The only two persons immediately dependent on Maulana Sahib (apart from the domestic staff) are Shri Nooruddin Ahmed and his aunt (Maulana Azad's sister-in-law). From old and new investments, an income of Rs 6,800-00 per year might be obtained. This does not appear to be adequate for the maintenance of the family in reasonable comfort. The question will have to be considered as to whether Shri Nooruddin Ahmed can have any gainful employment. Shri Humayun Kabir has suggested that he might receive some training as a Librarian. If he could be appointed as a Honorary Assistant Librarian on a nominal salary of rupee one for the Buhair collection in the National Library, Calcutta, this would help him to get a small flat in the premises of the National Library free of cost. If this could be done, it would help the family and Shri Nooruddin Ahmed would get some training also.
- (9) There is the question of Maulana's domestic staff. I do not know if it is possible to absorb them in the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff. I rather doubt it, because the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff itself is considered too big and attempts are made gradually to reduce it. However, this might

be enquired into. The driver of the car could, perhaps, be engaged as a staff car driver under the Government.

Looking at the list of his domestic staff, I see that there are five of them, apart from the driver. Ashfaq Ahmed is a very old servant of the Maulana, and it would be desirable to make some special provision for him, that is, if no other post can be found for him. There should presumably be no difficulty about the sweeper and washer man. I am rather doubtful as to what can be done about the head cook and the assistant cook. I wonder if it will be possible for Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, the Minister-designate, to engage some of this staff. Probably, he will be bringing his own domestic staff. I am writing to Hafizji³ about it.

- (10) Some arrangements have to be made in regard to Maulana Sahib's two Secretaries, Shri Masud and Shri Ajmal Khan.

So far as Shri Masud is concerned, I understand that he has been appointed as officer in charge of the games and athletic section of the Education Ministry. I do not quite remember the terms of his appointment, but I gather that they are in keeping with the proposals made in Maulana Sahib's life time. There is thus nothing further to be done about him for the present. The other question in regard to the break in his service, has been examined many times and both the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry have not agreed to treat his service as continuous. I rather doubt if they are likely to agree now. We might perhaps consider this matter afresh later.

- (11) Shri Ajmal Khan has been offered an appointment as Officer on Special Duty for the Middle East in the Indian Council for Cultural Relations on rupees nine hundred per month. Presumably, he will accept this. In addition, he should be asked to help in the collection of Maulana Sahib's writings and the preparation of a complete bibliography. This will be done on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi who have set aside a sum for this purpose. I think that he may be paid rupees four hundred a month for this purpose.

As far as I can see, there is nothing very much more that we can do at present. We have to see that the various matters mentioned above in this note are suitably dealt with and finalized. Wherever our help is needed, we shall, of

3. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim (1889-1968); Muslim League Member, the United Provinces Legislative Assembly, 1937; later joined Congress; Minister in the United Provinces, 1937-39 and 1946-58; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1958-64; Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, 1958-62; Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, 1961-63.

course, give it. Shri Humayun Kabir might keep in touch with these various developments and keep me informed.

16. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Hafiz Sahib,

As I have already informed you, we are having the swearing-in ceremony of the new Ministers on the 2nd April at 10.00 a.m. at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

I am now writing to you about another matter. This relates to the domestic staff of Maulana Azad. Naturally we do not want them to be thrown out into the streets and we want to provide for them. It is not a very big staff. I should like to know if you will be able to absorb any of these persons. They are as follows:

1)	Maqbool Hussain (Age: 50 yrs)	Driver	Salary—Rs 125/- with free uniform in winter and summer
2)	Ashfaqe Ahmed (Age: 46 yrs)	Bearer	Rs 60/- with free meals and clothing
3)	Mohammed John (Age: 40 yrs)	Head cook	Rs 60/- with free meals and clothing
4)	Mohammed Shafi (Age: 32 yrs)	Asstt. cook	Rs 40/- with free meals and clothing (brother of Mohd. John)
5)	Juma (Age: 50 yrs)	Sweeper	Rs 50/- with clothing
6)	Dori Lal (Age: 36 yrs)	Washerman	Rs 45/-

I am especially interested in Ashfaqe Ahmed, his bearer, who was with him for many years. Also his head cook.

Please do not imagine that I want to put any burden upon you. I am merely enquiring if by any chance you would need the services of any of these persons.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

17. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,²

I enclose some kind of a representation from MPs. Will you please tell them that this is a matter entirely for the Chairman and the Speaker to decide. So far as I know, they decided to put up the portraits of Rabindranath Tagore and C.R. Das. This left two panels free and they definitely decided that they would not for the present take any steps to fill them. But Maulana Azad's death has naturally led to one of these panels being reserved for his picture.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

18. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²

I have seen your note about Masud,³ It is true that his case has been examined many times previously by the Home and Finance Ministries. I feel still that the examination has been based on technicalities and at a time soon after the partition when everything was rather in a state of flux. You say that Masud is an able officer. I myself have been struck by his general demeanour and method of working. Maulana Saheb felt very strongly that Masud had not been treated quite fairly and he spoke to me on many occasions.⁴ I have myself that feeling, even though the decisions taken about him were technically correct. Because

1. File No. 2 (182)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Education.
3. M.N. Masud was Private Secretary to Maulana Azad.
4. Masud was wrongly implicated in a case in 1948 [See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, p. 61]. Masud went on to become India's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Yemen in 1961.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of Maulana Saheb's feeling in this matter, which I have shared, I should like some of our seniormost officers to look into this matter apart from technicalities. I am, therefore, asking our Secretary-General, Shri N.R. Pillai, to examine it and give an opportunity to Masud to discuss his case with him.⁵ I hope you agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. In a note to N.R. Pillai on the same day, Nehru observed that "we have allowed ourselves to be stuck up in a highly technical approach to the situation. We should have taken a broader and more human view. I feel also that we should try our utmost to meet the wishes of Maulana Saheb in this matter and I feel a certain responsibility about this."

II. GENERAL

1. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi

January 1, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

I enclose a letter from Arun Gandhi.³ I do not know what to say to him and should like your advice. If *Indian Opinion*⁴ cannot be run and involves a considerable loss, then I suppose there is no choice left but to stop it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Indian National Congress.
3. (b. 1932); son of Manilal Gandhi and grandson of Mahatma Gandhi; born and brought up in South Africa; married Sunanda in 1958 and since then stayed in India as Sunanda was not allowed by the South African Government to accompany him to South Africa; worked with *The Times of India* for 30 years; launched, together with his wife, constructive programmes in villages; co-founder of the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Non-violence, Rochester, New York; wrote several books, including *A Patch of White*; *M.K. Gandhi's Wit and Wisdom*; *World Without Violence: Can Gandhi's Vision Become Reality?* and *The Forgotten Woman: The Untold Story of Kastur, the Wife of Mahatma Gandhi*.
4. *The Indian Opinion* was a weekly started by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa in June 1903 as a tool for carrying on his satyagraha campaign and was edited by him till 1915 when he left for India. Thereafter it was published by Manilal Gandhi, after whose death in 1956 it was published by his wife Sushila for some time. In 2000 it was officially revived by Nelson Mandela.

2. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
January 3, 1958

My dear Morarji,²

I enclose a letter from Sokhey.³ His strong pro-Soviet bias makes it difficult for him to take any objective view. However, I would look into his suggestions in case there is something worth considering in them.

In the enclosed letter there is reference to streptomycin being produced but not the other antibiotics. Perhaps this might be looked into.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.
3. Major General Sahib Singh Sokhey, President, Association of Scientific Workers of India, 1953-58.

3. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
January 10, 1958

My dear Morarji,

Badraddin Tyabji, who is at present our Ambassador at Tehran, has sent me a personal letter,² a copy of which I enclose. His brother, Saifuddin Tyabji was, till his recent death, in the Lok Sabha on behalf of the Congress. Saifuddin's death has shaken up Badruddin greatly.

I should like your advice as to what I might reply to him. Do you think there is any kind of an opening for him for Congress work in Bombay? After all it is from Bombay that he comes, and if he works, this has to be in that region.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See also *post*, pp. 861-862.

4. Properties of Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan¹

I am enclosing a letter from Shri Rathindranath Tagore,² to which is attached an indenture which is, in effect, a conveyance deed.

2. Shri Tagore handed over his properties at Santiniketan to the Visva-Bharati University. In payment thereof, it was decided to give him an annuity of Rs 1500/- a month. In effect this was a capital payment for the transfer of the property.

3. The question has now arisen as to whether he has to pay income-tax on this annuity or not. If he had been paid a full sum as the price of the property, presumably he would not have had to pay income-tax on it. But because the payment for it is spread out, he has been asked to pay income-tax. Probably the wording of the agreement of transfer is responsible for this.

4. Shri Tagore spoke to me about this during my visit to Santiniketan two or three weeks ago³ and I was much perturbed at a demand having been made on him for income-tax on this sum. I promised to refer it to our Finance Ministry. *Prima facie*, it seems to me that Shri Tagore's contention has justification.

5. Would you kindly look into this matter?⁴

1. Note to Finance Ministry, 10 January 1958. File No. 37(69)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Son of Rabindranath Tagore and first Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati after its transformation into a Central University in 1951.
3. In his letter of 22 December 1957 to Nehru, Rathindranath had written: "According to your suggestion Visva-Bharati had arranged two years ago to pay me Rs 1500 a month during my life time in exchange for the Uttarayan property. I was given to understand that since this would be an exchange of capital I would not have to pay any income tax. On this assurance I had agreed to hand over Uttarayan to the University."
4. A note dated 13 January, by A.K. Roy, Revenue Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, stated, on behalf of the Finance Ministry: "The real difficulty is that according to the conveyance deed the property was transferred to the Visva-Bharati University without fixing any sale price....If, however, the deed had mentioned a price, this price being paid to Shri Tagore in instalments, the matter would have been simple, the amount would be regarded as a capital receipt and would not have been chargeable to income tax." Roy added that it was still possible to help Tagore, if the conveyance deed was amended so as to provide for a fixed sale price payable in instalments. The amount thus received by him would be treated as capital receipts not subject to income tax. Nehru sent a copy of Roy's note to Tagore.

5. To Edwina Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
January 12, 1958

My dear Edwina,²

Thank you for your letter. I do not know if this letter of mine will manage to reach you somewhere in the course of your tour. But, as I am leaving for Assam, I am sending you these few lines before I get entangled in my Assam engagements.

I am glad you have fixed the date of your arrival in Delhi. We shall expect you on the 26th February at 5 p.m. I hope you will be able to stay for some considerable time here and take rest after your very heavy tour.

I wrote to you that I intend going to Allahabad on the 1st March for two days. Partly the reason for my going there is to attend the anniversary of the Hospital,³ but the real reason is that I must visit my constituency at least once a year. I have not been there since the last election. Our house there remains empty and deserted, and is hardly habitable. On the 3rd March, I shall be going to Jamshedpur for the jubilee celebrations of the Iron and Steel Industry. On the 4th forenoon, I shall return to Delhi.

I hope you will be able to accompany me to Allahabad and Jamshedpur. As you wish to go to Kalimpong, you could do so from Jamshedpur. That would mean, I think, going by train from Jamshedpur to Calcutta, and from there by air service to Bagdogra; from Bagdogra by car to Kalimpong. On the whole, it is a fairly pleasant journey, though somewhat tiring.

As you know, I have recently been to Darjeeling and Gangtok in Sikkim. Gangtok is about two and a half hours drive from Kalimpong.⁴ It is well worth a visit. It is a delightful place nestling in the hills on the way to Tibet. Our Political Officer there now is Apa Pant whom you will remember meeting at Nairobi.⁵ When I mentioned to him that you were likely to come to India, he asked me especially to invite you to Gangtok. Should you care to go there, it will not be difficult to arrange this from Kalimpong. From Gangtok you would return via Bagdogra by air to Calcutta and then Delhi.

1. JN Collection.

2. Lady Mountbatten was Chairman, St. John and Red Cross Services Hospitals Welfare Department, and Superintendent-in-Chief of the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas.

3. Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad.

4. For Nehru's visit to Darjeeling and Sikkim, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 436, 510-511.

5. Apa Pant was the Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, 1955-61.

The Macmillans came here four days ago and left this morning. They were quite overcome at the warm reception they got here. They never expected anything like it. Altogether, their visit to Delhi (they went to no other part of India) was a great success, and many things here appear to have impressed them.

Nan was to have come here at the time of the Macmillans' visit, but at the last moment, she fell ill and could not come.

Yours,
Jawahar

6. To Edwina Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
January 13, 1958

My dear Edwina,

I have just received your letter of the 1st January. It has taken twelve days to reach me. In this letter you write about Julian Sandys. Of course he will be welcome here whenever he comes. Please tell him to let us know of his arrival here and we shall try to make his visit interesting.

I have also just received your letter of January 6th from Belize, British Honduras and learnt about your adventures in cold and typhoon. All this indicates that you will require long rest which I hope you will take in India when you come here.

I am just going to Gauhati in Assam.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

7. To E. M. S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
13th January 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 10th January about A. K. Shaha.² I have known A.K. Shaha since 1938, that is, soon after he came back from Russia. Subhas Bose appointed him a member of National Planning Committee of which I was the Chairman. This Committee worked for some months. Then it was difficult to carry on because all of us were arrested in wartime. After that I helped him in various ways to get work. He was engaged repeatedly, once I think by the Tatas and then in State institutions. Wherever he went, after a while his employers complained of his work and did not wish to continue with him. He was in some places for a year, sometimes for two years. I tried again and put him somewhere else, but the same result followed. I was told by those who employed him that his competence was very limited and he was always getting into trouble with the other persons working with him.

It was no longer possible for me to get employment for him. I do not think there is truth in his idea that there has been victimization against him because he has been to Russia. As a matter of fact, he has been employed three or four times since then in different institutions. Unfortunately, he cannot get on with the people there and, what is more important, the people who employed him, did not have the same ideas about his competence as he has.

The fact that we subsequently employed his wife,³ a Russian woman, in our Languages School indicates that the question of prejudice against him does not arise.

I have no objection to your giving him some work if he is suitable for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Akshaya Kumar Shaha was a combustion engineer and fuel technologist.

3. Tatiana Shaha-Sedina.

8. To S. N. Bose¹

Gauhati

January 15, 1958

My dear Professor Bose,²

When I was at Santiniketan, Rathin Babu³ spoke to me in some distress about an income-tax demand on him for Rs 1500/- a month that he was getting from Visva-Bharati in consideration for the transfer of his interest in Uttarayan, etc. If property is sold for a fixed price, then it is merely a change in the form of capital and no income-tax is charged. But, in the way this matter was arranged as given in the Indenture, this comes within the mischief of the Income-tax Act. However, I referred the matter to our Finance Ministry and sent them a copy of the Indenture Deed. They have sent me a note on this subject copy of which I enclose.

I have sent a copy of this note to Rathin Babu also. I am sending this to you just to keep you informed and in case Rathin Babu raises this matter with Visva-Bharati. I have personally no objection to any amendment of the Deed, but it is not clear to me whether this is possible or not.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(69)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, West Bengal.
3. Rathindranath Tagore.

9. To Jagdish Prasad Mittal¹

Gauhati

January 15, 1958

Dear Shri Mittal,²

Thank you for your letter of the 13th January. We all, of course, know Mira Behn³ very well and are attached to her, but the present awards that we have would hardly be suitable for her, and I doubt if she would like to have them. On

1. JN Collection.
2. A resident of Daryaganj, Delhi.
3. Madeleine Slade, an English lady who became a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and lived at Sabarmati Ashram for many years.

one or two occasions we considered some well-known followers of Gandhiji whom we respect greatly, but they wanted to be excused. Somehow, it does not quite fit in for us to give these awards to such people as they stand in a different category.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Michael Brecher's Request to Quote from Nehru's Letters¹

On the whole, I would probably not have objected to Dr Brecher quoting from a few of my letters.² But he has collected such a large number of them that, in effect, his book becomes partly a reproduction of letters to me or from me. A number of these are entirely personal letters which I should not like to be published, at least at this stage.

2. Apart from this, I have been thinking for over a year now of publishing some selected letters which I received and some perhaps that I wrote in answer. The file of these papers has been lying with me for all this time. Unfortunately I have just not had the time to look through it, and I do not wish any of them to be published without my first seeing them and passing them. I do not quite know what to do about it, because I do not see in the near future any leisure for this work.³

3. The publication of my letters, that is on my behalf, will lose much of its novelty if a large selection of these letters is taken out and published by Brecher (I presume all these letters have been taken out from that lot).

4. I just have no time to go through Brecher's selections carefully and choose as to which should be printed and which should not. On the whole, therefore, I think I agree with you that Brecher should not quote from my

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Private Secretary, Gauhati, 16 January 1958. JN Collection.

2. Michael Brecher, a Canadian political scientist and author, had sought Nehru's permission to quote 78 extracts from his letters in a biography of Nehru which he was writing.

3. *A Bunch of Old Letters* was published towards the end of 1958.

letters or give them as a whole.⁴ He has already seen them and he can easily build up a background from them which we told him previously he could do. At the most I might be able to agree to his publishing a few lines here and there of some of the more innocuous letters.⁵

4. M.O. Mathai held the view that direct quotations from Nehru's letters would invest the book with a large measure of authenticity and authority, while it was not known what opinions Brecher was going to express in the book. He also thought that if Brecher was given the permission that had been denied to Frank Moraes, an Indian author, Nehru might be accused of making an invidious distinction between the two. He pointed out that Brecher had got his interview with Nehru published in *The Statesman* at a "considerable price" despite a prior understanding for it to be published in *National Herald*. For the text of this interview, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 33, pp. 512-555.
5. *Nehru: A Political Biography*, written by Michael Brecher, was published in 1959.

11. To Solomon Jesmer¹

Gauhati

January 17, 1958

Dear Mr Jesmer,²

Thank you for your letter of December 27th 1957. I am glad to know that Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt³ has been selected by you as a recipient of your award in regard to her work on human rights. I am sorry I cannot write much as I am heavily occupied, but I should like to say that I have great regard for Mrs Roosevelt and for the fine work she has done, and am glad that you have selected such an eminent and worthy person for this award.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Decalogue Society of Lawyers (the bar association for Jewish lawyers), Chicago, USA.
3. Wife of former US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission, 1947-51.

12. Foreword to P.C. Ray's Autobiography¹

I am glad that Acharya P.C. Ray's autobiography² is being published. Acharya Ray was one of the giants of old and, more particularly, he was shining light in the field of science. I remember him well. His frail figure, his ardent patriotism, his scholarship and his simplicity impressed me greatly in my youth. It is well that we remember and honour our great men who have passed away after a life time of service.

1. Foreword to *Autobiography of a Bengali Chemist*, Gauhati, 17 January 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Published on 15 August 1958 in Kolkata, it was, in fact, the revised edition of *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist* (1932) written by Prafulla Chandra Ray (1861-1944), an ardent patriot, educationist and well-known scientist.

13. To Y. B. Chavan¹

Gauhati

January 20, 1958

My dear Chavan,²

I enclose a letter from M. A. Kazmi,³ together with a report from the Central Food Research Institute.⁴ Kazmi came to see me some time ago and spoke

1. File No.17 (265)/57-58-PMS. Also Available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay.
3. In his letter of 14 January 1958, Kazmi referred to his earlier meeting with Nehru [see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 239] and said that the department concerned was satisfied regarding the quality of preserved milk through Kazmi's invention—hygiopacking. He wrote that the question of an 'economic proposition' was still under investigation and he had to settle the details with machinery manufacturers in Europe and the US. His American associates had sent him a final agreement to proceed further with the process in the USA, which required his visit abroad immediately. However, the Bombay Government raised the question of his Indian citizenship and certain allegations were made against him in connection with Hyderabad. Kazmi stated that he had been continuously residing in India since 1931.
4. According to the report sent on 11 December 1957 by V. Subrahmanyam, Director, Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, the hygieopacked milk stood very well so far as the keeping quality was concerned. The product was "bacteriologically sterile except for the presence of some viable fungus spores" but it was not of any major consequence. It had slight bitterness if heated to a temperature of 248 F. The report said that taken as a whole, the samples "have kept very well and are as sterile as can be expected."

about this matter. He had previously seen Morarji Desai when he was Chief Minister of Bombay. I was naturally interested in Kazmi's work and it was at my instance that an investigation took place at the Central Food Research Institute.

From some papers that Kazmi showed me, it appeared that various people in America and elsewhere had been much impressed by his discovery and, in fact, had formed a company to exploit it. It seemed to me odd that foreign countries should take so much interest in the work of one of our men and we should put obstructions in his way.

From the enclosed letter it appears that there is some difficulty about his getting a passport to go abroad. I do not know how the question of Indian citizenship arises and what the allegations are against him in connection with Hyderabad. Whatever the allegations may be, these have nothing to do with the work he is doing and from which possibly we can profit.

I showed this letter to Morarjibhai here and he himself was a little surprised at all this and said that he saw no reason why a passport should not be issued to him.

He makes two requests. One is for the grant of Indian citizenship, and the other is for an emergency passport for Europe and the United States. I can say nothing about the question of Indian citizenship because I do not know what the difficulty is. As for the grant of a passport, we should certainly facilitate his going abroad. If there is any legal difficulty, this might be enquired into and, in any event, some temporary papers could be given to him.

I take it that the question of foreign exchange does not arise in this matter. Could you please enquire into this and let me have your reply soon?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Publication of 'Nehru and Democracy'¹

Before I went to Gauhati, I sent you a brief note about a certain book by Dr Smith called *Nehru and Democracy*, which is being published by Orient Longman.²

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 21 January 1958. JN Collection.
2. *Nehru and Democracy: The Political Thought of an Asian Democrat*, written by D.E. Smith, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Rhode Island, was published in 1958.

2. You might write to Longman again and tell them that the Prime Minister has rather hurriedly read the proof pages 1 to 183 of this book. He has no comments to offer.

3. There is a small error on page 171 (about the middle), where it is stated that banning cow slaughter would naturally apply to the North West Frontier Hills and tribal areas. Also, that a serious situation will be created among the Muslim tribesmen. A mistake has been made about the North-West Frontier. This North-West Frontier is no longer in India, but is a part of Pakistan. What was referred to was the north-east frontier between Assam and Burma. There are no Muslims there. The argument, however, was the same.

4. Longmans wanted to know where they could get permission to take quotations from my books. So far as my speeches are concerned, which have been published, no permission is necessary. Also, no permission is necessary for some old books of mine. Also, no permission is necessary for my speeches in Parliament.

5. The three main books, however, remain, that is, *Glimpses of World History*, my *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India*. I have no objection to extracts being taken from them. But, I do not know what the position is in regard to the publishers. If you know anything about it, you can let them know.

15. To Albert Bernard Hollowood¹

New Delhi

January 22, 1958

Dear Mr Hollowood,²

Thank you for your letter of the 13th January 1958. May I say that I was a little surprised to receive it? The surprise was not because I had been asked to write on the subject you mention, as I receive requests to do so frequently from various newspapers and periodicals, but that *Punch*³ is entering this field.

It is a little difficult for me to give you a definite answer at present. Normally, when I have received such requests, I have asked to be excused. I do not

1. JN Collection.

2. (1910-1981); English cartoonist and journalist; joined *Punch*, 1945; succeeded Malcolm Muggeridge as its editor in 1957 and remained in the post till 1968; worked as pocket cartoonist for the *Sunday Times*, 1957-60; was a regular contributor to several newspapers and magazines.

3. British magazine of humour and satire which was in publication from 1841 to 2002.

remember having written anything on a subject for a newspaper for a considerable time. Of course, I have given many interviews. To break that rule would lead to some embarrassment for me in regard to other periodicals. Also, the subject is a difficult one for a practising politician.

However, I should like to think over this matter a little more and then let you have my reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji¹

New Delhi
January 25, 1958

My dear Badr,²

I received your letter of the 1st January in due course some time ago.³ I did not answer it immediately, as I wanted to think about it. Also we have had a number of dignitaries from abroad early in January—the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr Soekarno, Macmillan—and then I had to go to Gauhati for the Congress session.

You have explained the problem that faces you fully in the letter you have written. I have read that letter more than once carefully and thought of the advice that I should give you. It is always very difficult to give advice in a personal matter of this kind. This must necessarily lie with you because that would depend on the strength of the urge that you feel.

Normally, a distant prospect appears more pleasing than a nearer one. Public life has certainly some compensatory features. It is also a very frustrating experience often enough. In the old days, that is before Independence, public life had a different content and was something entirely separated from the administrative life. Now that strict definition tends to get blurred and that indeed

1. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

2. Indian Ambassador to Iran.

3. Tyabji had written that since the recent death of his elder brother Saif Tyabji, a Congress Member of Lok Sabha, he had been faced with the dilemma whether to continue in the Indian Civil Service, in which he had completed 25 years, or switch over to some non-official Congress work or some other such work and "carry on from where Saif left off". He sought Nehru's advice in the matter and added that his family had a strong tradition of service in public administration as well as of public life, although the latter tradition had somewhat weakened in his generation.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

is a right trend. Even in the Foreign Service there are official career men and non-officials. In India the serviceman has to function today more and more as a public figure, within certain limitations. This is especially notable in our big schemes of development in the rural areas comprising the Community Development Scheme.

Public service or public life in the minds of many begins to have a rather limited connotation, that is, going to the legislatures. In these legislatures, or let us say in our Parliament, there are many who do not do anything effective and then feel unhappy. Some do not fit in with the atmosphere of the place. I am not quite sure if I would care to be there without some definite and precise work as I have to do now.

If you decide to resign from the Service, we shall, of course, try to help you to get into the State Assembly or Parliament, and probably we shall succeed. But this is not quite as simple a matter as it used to be. There are many people jostling to get in, and then the election itself is a troublesome matter. There is a possibility of the Second Chamber. That is a little easier, but still not too easy.

Apart from this, I have wondered if you would really have a sense of fulfilment if you left your present service and started functioning in some legislature or otherwise. It requires rather a tough skin to be in political life, and the broad outlook developed in service does not quite fit in with what is required of one in public life.

You should know all this yourself. Anyhow, I am writing to you some of my reactions for you to think over.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Tyabji, however, continued in service till his retirement in 1962 when he became the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University, a post he held till 1965.

17. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

25th January 1958

Nan dear,

I have received two letters from you recently, one dated January 10th and the other 18th. I have delayed answering as I was away at Gauhati for the Congress session. Also, I was not quite clear in my mind what definite answer to send.

I am worried about your ill health both for yourself and for the work you are doing. But it is obvious that if your health does not permit your continuing your present work, then there is no great choice left. We would have liked you to continue it sometime longer.

I suggest that you might not worry about your retirement. See how you feel a month or two later and then we shall try to fit in with your wishes.

Tomorrow is Republic Day and there is a great deal of stir in Delhi. But my mind is occupied with a new type of difficulty, which has arisen rather suddenly. You must have read about the inquiry going on about insurance matters by Justice Chagla.² We shall await the result of this inquiry. So far as I know there is nothing mala fide about any of the transactions, but they do appear to have been very casual and some of them unwise. Anyhow, the result of all this may well affect the position of the Finance Minister and that on the eve of the Budget. You can well imagine what this means to me.

Love,

Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*. pp. 343-420.

18. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
January 25, 1958

Nan dear,

Many weeks ago, I got a note from Tara² to the effect that she was sending me some photographs taken by Lotte Meitner-Graf.³ These were to have come by the plane which brought her. As a matter of fact, these photographs were nowhere to be found and all kinds of enquiries were made. Ultimately they came by Bag from London.

I have received three photographs which I am supposed to keep and one which I am supposed to return after autographing it. I am returning this one with the autograph. Bijju⁴ who is passing through London is taking it. You can send it to the lady who took them.

I think all these photographs are good. But what is one to do with these huge sizes?

I have also received the two you have sent me from Lekha.⁵ One I am supposed to return to her with autograph. I shall do so. I have a vague idea that there is a possibility of Ashok⁶ coming here for a few days soon on some kind of trial flight by Pan American. If he comes I shall give it to him; otherwise I shall send it by post.

You mention a present of a small match box which Minakshi⁷ has sent me or is going to send me. I do not think this has come yet. But I can never be sure as I am rather overwhelmed with papers and books and it is difficult to keep trace of all of them. Anyhow, as soon as I find it, I shall certainly write to Minakshi.

Will you please thank the lady photographer Lotte Meitner-Graf for the three pictures she sent me?

Love,

Jawahar

1. JN Collection.
2. Nayantara Sahgal, second daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.
3. (1891-1961); portrait photographer; started a photography studio in Vienna around 1920 and worked from that city until 1938; later she settled in England; her portraits show typically the head (mostly without shoulders) before a dark background.
4. Braj Kumar Nehru.
5. Chandralekha Mehta, eldest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.
6. Ashok Mehta, IFS officer and husband of Chandralekha.
7. Daughter of Chandralekha.

19. To N. Raghavan¹

New Delhi
January 25, 1958

My dear Raghavan,²

It is over three weeks since I received your note and the old map that you sent me. The map is a fascinating one and I am intrigued at your finding it in Buenos Aires. I like these old maps.

I write this on the eve of Republic Day. Our celebrations of this day grow bigger and bigger, but our problems and difficulties also increase in number and intensity. I suppose that is the cost we pay for all attempts at progress.

With my affection to you and your wife,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

20. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of the 28th about Louis Fischer.² I am absolutely full up during the next three days and then I am going to Jaipur and Bombay. I cannot therefore find any time for an interview during these days.

There is no question of my harbouring any ill will against Louis Fischer, nor do I mind his holding any views he likes. But I think he has exploited Gandhiji's name repeatedly and not dealt with India at all fairly in many instances.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. American journalist and author of several books on Mahatma Gandhi.

3. For Nehru's views about Louis Fischer, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 18, p. 575, and Vol. 34, pp. 458-459.

21. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²

Thank you for your letter of January 28. I have no objection to one or more of my works being registered as you suggest. But I am not at all clear as to the consequences of this registration. I am afraid the Copyright Act is a big one and I cannot afford the time to read through it.

I have written three principal books:

- (1) *Glimpses of World History*,
- (2) *Autobiography*, and
- (3) *The Discovery of India*.

All these three have been published in India, in England and in the United States. Translations of them have appeared in many languages. I do not even have a full record of these translations.

Presumably, the copyright vests in the publishers for their respective areas. I am asking Shri M.O. Mathai to look into this matter and, if necessary, to consult the Registrar of Copyrights as to what I should do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Education.

22. To Michael Brecher¹

New Delhi
February 1, 1958

Dear Mr Brecher,

I have your letter of February 1st. I have read through the extracts you sent me. At first, I was inclined to strike out a number of them. But, on further consideration, I reduced this number. Ultimately, there is only one extract left which I think should not be printed. That is number twelve. This is chiefly because it is a letter from another person to me, and without his permission I would not like this printed. You may print the others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

23. Jayaprakash Narayan's England Visit¹

I agree.² Shri Jayaprakash Narayan should be helped in every way. The High Commissioner knows him well and will no doubt meet him not only in his capacity as an important leader from India but also as an old friend of the family.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 February 1958. File No. 14-10/58-UKAF, p.1/Note, MEA.
2. Desai had suggested that Jayaprakash Narayan should be accorded the usual courtesies due to an important leader from India during his visit to England in April 1958. He suggested that the Deputy High Commissioner, M. Azim Husain, should assist Jayaprakash with protocol for meetings with the VIPs and make transport arrangements according to his wishes during his stay in England.

24. To Naval H. Tata¹

New Delhi

8th February 1958

My dear Naval,²

Thank you for your letter of the 6th February and the three cheques amounting to in all Rs 1,11,263/-. The sum you collected from the floodlit hockey³ is more than I expected and I congratulate you on your success not only for the amount realized but for the whole show which justified itself. It was my first experience of this kind and I rather enjoyed it.

I have not yet received the press button souvenir which you have sent. While this is certainly something worth keeping as a reminder of the occasion, if you had asked me I would have suggested that your Hockey Association should keep it on my behalf. Souvenirs of various kinds tend to accumulate with me and add to the luggage I have to carry through life. I would much

1. JN Collection.
2. Industrialist and President, Indian Hockey Federation, 1946-61.
3. Nehru inaugurated a floodlit hockey tournament on 3 February 1958 at the Lloyd Reclamation Grounds in Mumbai. The inaugural match was played between the Olympians and the rest.

rather that others shared them with me and usually I arrange so. So, if your Hockey Association is agreeable I should like them to keep it.

Will you please thank the two film stars for the cheques they have kindly sent?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
February 10, 1958

Nan dear,

I suppose you have heard that Jayaprakash Narayan and Prabhavati² would be going to England in April. They have been invited by some organizations in England to spend some time there. They expect to reach London on the 16th April and intend spending about two weeks in London, then two weeks in the rest of England. They will be going later to the Continent and visiting countries of Western Europe for about a month. They may even go to Poland. On their return journey to India they intend going to Israel.

This is the first time Jayaprakash is going to Europe since he came back from America via Europe in 1929, nearly thirty years ago. Indeed, he hardly knows Europe. Even in 1929 he only visited London, I think, on his way back from America.

Jayaprakash was here yesterday and he told me that he had written to you. He will be coming here again next month to have longer talks with me about his tour.

I need not tell you that we would like Jayaprakash and Prabha not only to be given every possible help, but to be treated with affection and to be made to feel quite at home.³ In spite of his vagaries and rather muddled thinking, he is a man of distinction and our contacts with him have been intimate ever since he

1. JN Collection.

2. Wife of Jayaprakash Narayan, freedom fighter and a disciple of Kasturba Gandhi, stayed at Sabarmati Ashram at Mahatma Gandhi's invitation.

3. Nehru informed Jayaprakash Narayan on 17 February about Vijaya Lakshmi's forthcoming visit to India during the period when Jayaprakash Narayan intended to visit England. He assured Jayaprakash that all arrangements were being made by Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit for his stay at the Indian High Commission.

came back from America. I do not quite know what organization has invited him. He is likely to see the Labour people there and the Quakers. Also the Association for Cultural Field, which is an anti-Communist organization which we do not encourage here.

Love,

Jawahar

26. To Rajan Nehru¹

New Delhi

February 10, 1958

My dear Rajan,²

Thank you for your note of the 10th February. I shall certainly try to come to your reception on the 22nd February, but I might not be able to come at the beginning. We have a meeting of the Congress Working Committee that day, and I do not know when it will end.

I am afraid I cannot be present at the marriage ceremony at Jullundur. I am not going out of Delhi now at all and have cancelled all my engagements except one in March for a day. But, apart from this, my going to Jullundur would be a major political event. The situation in the Punjab is a very difficult one, and troubles are constantly arising, and I cannot function as a private individual when visiting the Punjab.

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Wife of R.K. Nehru, India's Ambassador in China.

27. Making Friends with Animals and Birds¹

Your Highness,² Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I am very glad of this opportunity of paying my tribute to the importance of the work you have in hand. There are present here, I presume, experts on the subject and I am no expert and my only qualification for being here today is love for animals and birds and I am often not only surprised but greatly distressed at the general lack of interest in the subject in this country. Of course, there are plenty of individuals who take interest, but, broadly speaking, it is not one that interests people here. I don't feel it is the fault of the people so much as perhaps the lack of opportunity for directing their minds to it and the first thing that I have, therefore, to suggest to you is that your Board should produce good readable books on the subject—books for children and books for grown-ups, more especially books for children, because presumably if the grown-ups have not thus far developed a love of animals, they are not likely to do so, they become rigid in their thinking. But children normally take to them and if encouraged will develop great interest. Therefore, I do hope that your Board will help in producing good books not only for the experts but for common folk like me and more especially for children, which we could publish in our various national languages in this country; and it is obvious that books on animals and birds must have coloured pictures. I want a large number of interesting little books to come out for our children of various ages from the earliest period to the high schools and colleges.

So this is an idea that I have placed before you for consideration. I believe you are doing something of this kind. I am told a book on birds is likely to come out one of these days. There are in fact other books too. But I am just a little bit afraid that those of you who are experts in this matter will write for other experts and not for people like me and that will be very unfortunate because what we seek is to interest people generally. Why? Well, for a variety of reasons. One is that it is an interesting subject. It gives certain fullness to a person's life to know, to feel intimate with animals, birds, trees and flowers. We lack that. It is astonishing how much we lack compared to other countries. As my colleague, Ajit Prasad Jain, said, we have lost all our capacity for interest in them by placing some animals on pedestals and saying that they ought to be

1. Inaugural address at the third session of the Indian Board for Wild Life, New Delhi, 15 February 1958. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. Jaya Chamarajendra Wodeyar, Maharaja of Mysore, was Chairman of the Indian Board for Wild Life.

worshipped. Anything that you worship you forget. It is far better to be friendly with somebody than to worship him. I want people to be friendly with birds, animals, flowers, stars, whatever one sees.

Our Chairman said something about the balance in nature, the equilibrium established between animals, plants and birds,³ I remember his writing to me some months ago expressing his great concern at the way we are going in for big projects, river valley projects or other matters, even the railway lines, forgetting the effect this might have on the natural ecology of that area. Some people think, I don't know how far it is true, that floods in certain areas are encouraged by railway embankments which came in the way of the natural drainage of the area. Apart from this, these great projects that we have must necessarily interfere to some extent with the ecology of the nature there. Of course, the increase of human population interferes very much with it and I fear that there is little remedy for this unless, of course, some adequate way is found to limit the increase of human population, because otherwise they will not only eat up all the animals but they may sometimes eat up themselves too.

Now, we are on the verge of tremendous discoveries into nature's secrets, into the secrets of the physical world, because of atomic energy or the creating of baby moons now. The enormous energy produced by man's efforts must necessarily have a very powerful effect on the ecology or equilibrium established in nature through centuries and millennia of action and interaction and I wonder what exactly this will lead to. It has already rather upset people's minds and made them behave in a most irrational manner indulging in what they call 'cold war', which reason, of course, says is a ridiculous thing to do. I can even understand war but I do not understand 'cold war'. This is most irrational and absurd. But that itself shows that we are entering into a period when owing to the release of tremendous forces, all kinds of consequences will flow if we do not know or understand today what will be the effect of these forces on animal life or plant life, I do not know. Anyhow, if we are adequately interested in plant life and animal life, we must try to do something. Of course, it is by no means certain that human beings will survive at the cost of animals. It is a delicate balance between the insects of the world and the human beings of the world, and what will happen when these new forces of nature come down upon us by man's own folly is anybody's guess.

Now, there has been some talk, some reference, to preserve life in zoological gardens, game preserves or whatever else they are called. I do hope that in

3. Wodeyar in his speech stated that maintenance of proper environment was of prime importance in wild life management, and it required much research.

these zoological gardens animals will not be kept in small cages. It is a hateful way of keeping animals. Apart from that some arrangement has to be made, as they are made nowadays in modern zoological gardens, to give them some room to jump about, to move about and play about. Nothing will be sadder than to see a lion sitting in a narrow cage; it is worse than murder. So I hope that your Board will not only study these problems and learn much and increase your own knowledge about them but consider yourselves responsible as well. I consider one of your duties is to inform the people of India about these problems, to interest them. You should come down from the expert level to the level of the common people so that they can understand and thus increase their interest in wild life. You should contact our people and tell them to know all the animals, to play with them, to love them and not to worship them.

28. To J.R.D. Tata¹

New Delhi
February 17, 1958

My dear Jehangir,²

I have just learnt from Lady Mountbatten that she will be coming here towards the end of February. As she will be here when I go to Jamshedpur, I suggested to her that she might accompany me there. She has agreed.

You know, perhaps, that she is the Head of the St. John Ambulance organization. She has written to say that if it is possible, she would like to meet the St. John Ambulance workers in Jamshedpur. Apparently, they are a good lot. Whether this is possible or not, I do not know.³ You might find out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Tata Sons.
3. J.R.D. Tata replied on 22 February 1958 that J.J. Ghandy, Head of St John Ambulance Brigade at Jamshedpur, was arranging for a parade of St John Ambulance workers for Edwina Mountbatten. Tata wrote that at the instance of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, he had sent an invitation to Edwina to visit Jamshedpur for the Jubilee celebrations of the Tata Iron and Steel Company.

29. To Mir Osman Ali Khan¹

New Delhi

17th February 1958

My dear friend,²

Your grandson, Mukarram Jah,³ has been staying with me for the last few days. He is always a welcome guest. I had invited him to come here to meet King Faisal⁴ of Baghdad who is an old school friend of his. At the last moment, King Faisal had to change his programme and has not come here because of developments in the Middle Eastern region.

I understand, however, that King Faisal has written to Mukarram Jah expressing his disappointment at not being able to come to India now and inviting him to visit Baghdad as his guest. Mukarram told me about this and asked me if it would be right for him to accept this invitation and go to Baghdad. I told him that I saw no objection to it. Indeed, it would be a good thing for him to pay a visit to Baghdad for two weeks or so.

He will, no doubt, be writing to you himself on this subject. But as he has mentioned this matter to me, I thought that I might write to Your Exalted Highness also.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Former Nizam of Hyderabad; Rajpramukh of Hyderabad State, 1950-56.
3. Son of Azam Jah; studied at Harrow; succeeded Mir Osman Ali Khan as the titular Nizam of Hyderabad on 24 February 1967.
4. Faisal II (1935-58); son of Ghazi and grandson of Faisal I; King of Iraq, 1939-58, remained under regency of his uncle Amir Abdullah till 1953; executed in July 1958 when monarchy was overthrown.

30. To Mir Osman Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1958

My dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th February,² which has reached me late this evening. Unfortunately, the sad death of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, which has brought so much grief to us, prevented me from looking at my correspondence during the last two days.

Unfortunately, your letter has come rather late to carry out your wishes in regard to your grandson, Mukarram Jah. Actually I saw your letter after your grandson had left. But just before he was going away, I learnt from my Secretariat that some such letter had come from you and I was put in a quandary as to what to do at that very late stage. While I would normally have advised your grandson to abide by your wishes in this matter, which became difficult for me to do so at that last moment, when everything was arranged and King Faisal was expecting him early tomorrow morning in Baghdad. The cancellation of this visit at this very last moment would naturally have produced a good deal of resentment in King Faisal's mind. It struck me also that he might have thought that I had been instrumental in preventing him from going to Iraq. This would not add to the friendly relations between India and Iraq and it would be very difficult for the matter to be explained adequately to King Faisal or his Government.

Your Exalted Highness mentions that the political situation in Iraq does not appear to be satisfactory.³ It is true that the political situation in the Middle Eastern countries is not very satisfactory. But this can be said of most countries at the present moment. There is no reason, however, to think that there are any risks involved in the political situation there. I would imagine that from the point of view of the situation in Iraq, the present was a good time for a visit. No one can guarantee the future.

I felt also that Baghdad is now only a few hours journey from India. Mukarram Jah leaving Delhi at 7 p.m. today, as he has done, is due to reach

1. JN Collection.
2. Osman Ali Khan had written to Nehru asking him not to give permission to his grandson Mukarram Jah to go to Iraq as the political situation there was unstable and unsatisfactory.
3. The creation of the Arab Federation, headed by King Faisal II, by the merger of Iraq and Jordan on 14 February 1958, had caused dissatisfaction in Iraq which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy in July 1958.

Baghdad at 4 a.m. tomorrow morning. It is thus practically a night's journey. It is easy for him to come back at short notice, should this become necessary.

Because of all these considerations, I felt it wiser at this late stage for him not to upset all his plans and disappoint King Faisal, but to be ready to come back whenever needed.

I hope Your Exalted Highness will appreciate the difficulty in which I was put and the reasons I have given above for not being able to abide by your wishes, which came so late.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. Approach to Journalism¹

I am sending you a letter from Karanjia,² Editor of *Blitz*. He wants some message from me.

2. When he came to see me some months ago and told me that he was going to write about major projects in our Five Year Plan, I told him that this was a good idea and I welcomed it. Since then one or two numbers of *Blitz* have contained something about this. I confess that I have not been even able to see them properly. This was partly because of lack of time but really because to read *Blitz* is a painful ordeal for me and I wished to spare myself that pain.

3. It is hardly possible for me to send messages to *Blitz* even though some of their work in regard to the Five Year Plan may be good. *Blitz* has been running down our Government and some of my colleagues in Government and so many things with which I am connected rather closely. It would be totally inappropriate for me to send a message in these circumstances. Also, I am old-fashioned enough not to like the type of journalism that *Blitz* represents. Possibly I am out of date. Perhaps you could briefly explain this to Karanjia.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Personal Secretary, 26 February 1958. JN Collection.

2. R.K. Karanjia.

32. To Gunnar Myrdal¹

New Delhi
February 28, 1958

Dear Mr Myrdal,²

Thank you for your letter of February 26th and the article and copies of your letters to your wife,³ which you have sent me. I am really grateful to you for them, and I shall certainly read them, more especially your letters.

I do not know why you apologize for your brief reference to me. There is nothing wrong in it at all. As for the horse, I do not remember having been presented with a horse in Uzbekistan. When I went to see the Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow,⁴ I was then rather casually told that they would send me an Arab horse. Later, this arrived here. This may, of course, have come from Tashkent.

It was, of course, impossible for me to study anything in detail. Indeed, I cannot do this anywhere, even in India. I cannot go anywhere privately, or see things in their normal state. Crowds gather round me here and official receptions elsewhere. What I try to see and understand is what I get from contact from large numbers of people. I am very receptive to this kind of thing. Naturally, I get no economic data from it, and my impressions are largely based on the friendliness of the reception. I have been fortunate in having this friendly reception, in varying degrees, almost everywhere that I have been to. But, I must say that, in the Soviet Union, I had a feeling of affection which I seldom had in any other country outside India, and this feeling was the strongest in Uzbekistan. I suppose there was not much of the personal element in it, though this cannot be wholly ignored.

I hope that one day you and the Ambassador will do us the honour of coming for a quiet meal and a talk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Swedish economist and politician; Professor of International Economy, Stockholm University

3. Alva Myrdal, Ambassador of Sweden in India.

4. Nehru visited the Soviet Union from 7 to 23 June 1955. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29, pp. 201-232.

33. To Goshiben Captain¹

New Delhi

March 6, 1958

My dear Psyche,²

I received your letter of the 23rd February from Poona many days ago. It was just about this time that Maulana Azad died and both the personal and national consequences of his death were very great. I am afraid they will last a considerable time. So far as the personal aspect is concerned, one gets over it in time, but it is much more difficult to deal with the other aspects.

The news of Puli's death saddened us.³ Although she had been suffering a great deal for some time past, I had not thought that she would pass away so soon. I can well realize what you must have felt. She was one of the bravest persons I have known.

We should certainly go ahead with her scheme. I am sure that you will have no difficulty in dealing with Diwakarji.⁴ I agree with you that we should expedite this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji.

3. Perinbehn Captain (1888-1958), sister of Goshiben and granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, she died on 17 February 1958 in Pune.

4. R.R. Diwakar was the Chairman of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

34. To N. Salivati¹

New Delhi
March 8, 1958

Dear Shri Salivati,²

I have your letter of March 6.

The general rule in regard to presents applies to Government officials. It has been extended to apply to Ministers also, although, strictly speaking, such official conduct rules do not apply to Ministers. We are of opinion, however, that they should so apply.

These rules indicate the broad lines according to which each case has to be judged. It is difficult to bring in a person's private life into his official transactions. Thus, presents or gifts received entirely in a private capacity from relatives or intimate friends on special occasions are not supposed to go against the rules. In regard to petty and inexpensive presents which have no particular value, they are permitted to be kept. Sometimes some gifts are permitted to be purchased at a fixed price by the person to whom the gift was given.

Difficulties have arisen on many occasions in recent years about presents from foreign dignitaries who come here. Whenever any special difficulty has arisen we have considered these matters separately and issued instructions.

It is thus not easy to generalize except in obvious cases of costly gifts from people outside the immediate circle of intimate friends or family members. It is better to err on the side of not accepting a gift where there is a doubt or of handing it over to Government. I cannot express any opinion about the case you have mentioned without examining it more closely.

When you happen to come to Delhi next, you can certainly see me and give me such information as you have.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Editor, *Salivati Newsletter*, Mumbai.

35. To S.N. Dutt¹

New Delhi
March 24, 1958

Dear Dr Dutt,

I have received your letter of the 22nd March.²

It is not quite clear to me what you would like me to do. As you perhaps know, all our appointments are made by the Union Public Service Commission or by special commissions or selection committees. I can take no action directly. Should you so wish it, you could suggest your name to the Union Public Service Commission.

From your letter it appears that you do not approve of the economic or social policy which we have been following.³

There can, of course, be no question whatever about your relationship with Netaji coming in the way. Indeed, that is something in your favour.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. S.N. Dutt, who described himself as the maternal uncle of Subhas Chandra Bose, requested Nehru to consider him for appointment in one of the public undertakings or in some embassy. He wrote that he was educated at the Calcutta University and the Berlin University, and despite his best efforts he was unable to find an opening anywhere. He added that his relationship with Bose seemed to be a disqualification.

3. Dutt wrote that the middle class, which was the backbone of a nation, was being crushed slowly in the interest of the proletariat and in the name of "a classless society". He also expressed the view that socialism promised much on paper and distributed nothing but poverty.

4. Nehru sent a copy of Dutt's letter to B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, and inquired about the antecedents and credentials of Dutt.

36. To Ram Narain Chaudhary¹

New Delhi
25th March 1958

Dear Ram Narainji,²

I have been so very heavily occupied during the past many weeks that I have been unable to deal with a number of matters, as I should have done. Among these are some relating to the Bharat Sewak Samaj and there is also your invitation to me to visit some camp. I had indicated to you that I might be able to visit this camp about the middle of April.

I have now seen some papers which have accumulated with me during the past week or two. These include copies of correspondence which you have had with Shri Gulzarilal Nanda³ in the course of this month. I have read this correspondence with considerable surprise, more particularly your letters to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.

Both the language and spirit of your letters to him are, I think, wholly improper. Even previously, I have drawn your attention to the tone and language of your letters, as also to other matters.⁴ I had hoped that this kind of thing would not recur. But I see that my advice has had little or no effect.

It is clear that no organization can be run in this way, i.e., without any discipline or mutual consideration. Your letters are not only discourteous in the extreme but are in the nature of an ultimatum.

I have often told you that I appreciate your work and would like it to continue. But often the good work you do is neutralized by your general attitude to others in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. Quite apart from the merits of any particular matter, the manner of approach which you have often adopted appears to me to be quite wrong from any point of view.

I think it is highly improper for you to accuse Nandaji of "tempering" with the minutes. If any record of minutes is to be corrected, there are ways and means of doing so. But you seem to prefer making grave charges involving lack of integrity.

Also you appear to think that the *Soochna Vibhag* of Bharat Sewak Samaj is almost an independent organization. That is not how any institution can function.

1. File No. 2(188)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.
3. Union Minister for Labour and Employment and Planning, and Chairman of Bharat Sewak Samaj.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 830.

In your letter addressed to Nandaji, dated March 18, 1958, you say that "resignation has been ruled out by the President".⁵ This is hardly correct. What I had said to you before was that I would not like you to resign because I want you to continue to work in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. But if it is not possible for you to work in harmony with your colleagues, or to avoid making serious charges against those colleagues, then it is better, I think, that you should resign from the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

In view of these developments, you will agree with me that it is not appropriate for me to visit your workers' camp.

I propose to visit the Bharat Sewak Samaj Office on Monday, the 31st March, at 10.a.m.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru was the President of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

37. Scientific Study of Yoga¹

Nearly thirty years ago I had visited the parent organization of this Centre, the Kaivalyadhama Yoga Centre at Lonavla, near Poona, in the company of my father. While visiting this Centre, I am glad to know that the institution is conducting scientific research in yoga. Yoga is essentially a system of approach and not merely something which was accepted as a dogma. If we are to understand it, we have to approach it in a scientific manner. I am convinced that the system of yoga will not progress unless it is examined and understood in the light of the advance science has made.

Indians have made great progress in many spheres in the past. Our forefathers, who evolved the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine, had a great scientific achievement to their credit. But the achievements of these thinkers and scientists did not remain the preserve of India. They shared it with the people of other countries. Likewise Indian thinkers and scientists had also accepted from the people of other countries what they had achieved in different spheres. Such an exchange took place at the centres of learning like Takshashila.

1. Speech at Ishwarlal Chunilal Yogic Health Centre, Bombay, 28 March 1958. From *The Times of India*, 29 March and *National Herald*, 30 March 1958.

It is wrong to describe Yoga as the Indian way of doing things. Knowledge is not limited by national boundaries. It is absurd to talk of an Indian system of medicine or of western medical sciences. Can there be anything like American chemistry or Russian physics? We must accept with reverence what our forefathers had evolved. But that must be done only after conducting research into them in the light of the advance modern sciences have made. We will be able to progress only if we adopt such a scientific approach.

Although I myself do not know much about yoga, the people of western countries think that yoga is a system that works miracles.

Small institutions tend to lose their souls when they develop and become prosperous. They become "institutionalized". However I hope this would not happen to this yogic centre.

38. To J. Burke Knapp¹

New Delhi

March 29, 1958

Dear Mr Burke Knapp,²

Thank you for your letter of March 14th, which I was happy to receive. It was a pleasure to have you here, and I am glad that you could spend some weeks travelling about India. These visits and personal contacts are, I think, more important than reading books or correspondence. In this world full of misunderstanding and conflict, it is necessary that we should try our utmost to understand and appreciate each other.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Joseph Burke Knapp (1913-2009); American economist; served in many positions in the US Government until 1952; Assistant Director, Economics Department, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1950-52; Director, Western Hemisphere Department, IBRD, 1952-56, and Vice-President, IBRD, 1956-78.

39. To J.R.M. Butler¹

New Delhi
March 30, 1958

My dear Butler,²

You wrote to me on the 27th January, 1958, about Lord Lothian,³ and I sent you a brief reply on February 9th.⁴ I had no great hope then of finding any letters from him. Actually, I have succeeded in discovering quite a number of them. Some of them are interesting reading, and one particularly, dated the 31st December, 1935, is fascinating.⁵ I have read this letter after twenty-two years with absorbing interest, for it brought back to me many of the old controversies and arguments. I wish I could find my reply to it, but I am unable to discover copy of any letter that I wrote to him.

In 1935-36, I was in the Black Forest in Germany with my ailing wife.⁶ I paid two brief visits to England during that period. Some of Lord Lothian's letters were sent to me about that time. The long one, dated the 31st December, 1935, was sent to me at Badenweiler in Black Forest.

Towards the end of 1937, he paid a visit to me in Allahabad. In the summer of 1938, I went to England and spent about a month or more there. It was then that I visited Blickling Hall for a weekend. My daughter accompanied me there, although she had not intended going. She changed her mind at the last time. I had a number of talks with Lord Lothian in England and in India. I am sorry to say that I have no clear recollection of those talks, except that he was trying to

1. JN Collection.

2. James Ramsay Montagu Butler (1889-1975); British politician and academic, President, Cambridge Union, 1910; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1913-73; fought in First World War, 1914-18; Independent Member of Parliament, Cambridge University, 1922-23; Chief Historian for the Official Military Histories of War, 1935-45; Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, 1947-54; works include *A History of England, 1815-1918*; *Lord Lothian*; *Grand Strategy, Vols. II & III* as part of the UK military series, *History of the Second World War*.

3. Marquess of Lothian, Liberal British politician.

4. In the letter (not printed) Nehru had written, among other things, that he had met Lothian in 1932 when he came to India and again in London, and that he had received some letters from him which he would try to trace in his old papers.

5. For Nehru's replies to Lothian's letters of 6 and 31 December 1935, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, pp. 49-51, 62-75.

6. His wife Kamala was in Badenweiler in the Black Forest in Germany till 23 January 1938 when she was moved to Lausanne, Switzerland where she died on 28 February 1936.

convert me to his view that we should accept the Government of India Act, 1935. My chief objection to doing so was that this Act was too limited in its scope and, more especially, it divided up our people into communal groups for voting and other purposes, and thus came in the way of larger unity. Also, that the Princes, the big landlords and other vested interests were confirmed in their respective positions.

In the course of his letters, he has referred to the Marxian diagnosis of history and has presumed that I agreed with it, and further that I did not think that the establishment of socialism was possible by constitutional means. I do not know why he got that impression, as I was never a Marxist in the normal sense of the word and I certainly did not believe in revolutionary dictatorship. My whole background, conditioned under Mahatma Gandhi, was in favour of peaceful processes. It is true that some of these peaceful processes might not have been always constitutional as in Mahatma Gandhi's case. Our argument was that it was a little absurd to talk of constitutional means when there was no free constitution. But we stood for democracy and always for peaceful means.

You can make such use as you like of these letters. For the last two or three years, I have been thinking of publishing a selection of letters received by me from various people. The first idea was that I should publish some letters from Gandhiji to me, then I thought of adding some more. But I have had absolutely no time to give to this process of selection. If ever I have the time, and such a collection comes out, I might include one or two of Lord Lothian's letters.

All good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

GLOSSARY

abala	a weak and helpless woman
abhinandan patra	felicitation address
adab	greetings, salutations
adda	an informal meeting place
amin	an officer of the court
bajra	a kind of millet
benami	a transaction in which property is transferred to one person but paid for by another person
bhutia	a tribe in Sikkim
Bharat Mata ki Jai	Victory to Mother India
bhoodan	literally, donation of land; refers to a movement launched by Vinoba Bhave
Bhṛigu Samhita	an ancient astrological text attributed to sage Brigu
bhumihar	a land-owning caste in North India
chaleesa	a ceremony observed by Muslims on the fortieth day of a person's death
chaprassi	peon, attendant
chowki (police)	police post
devanagari/nagari	script for Sanskrit, Hindi and some other North Indian languages
dharma	duty, religion

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

dhoti	a long piece of cloth worn as a lower garment
diwani	right to collect revenues
ghat	a place, usually on the edge of a river, where dead bodies are cremated
gramdan	donation of a village
gram sabha	village assembly
gramsevak	village extension service officer
gurukul	traditional residential teaching institution maintained by a guru
jagirdari	a system of assignment of a tract of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	Victory to India
jayanti	birth anniversary
jowar	a kind of millet
kavi sammelan	a public function wherein poets recite their compositions
ketu	a planet in Indian astrology
kutchi road	unmetalled road
Mahatma Gandhi ki jai	Victory to Mahatma Gandhi
mai-baap sarkar	a paternalistic government
mandal	sub-division of a district
maunds	a measure of weight (about 38 kilograms)
mohalla	ward, locality
mushaira	a public gathering wherein Urdu poetry is recited

Nai Talim	literally, new education; refers to the Basic Education scheme inspired by Mahatma Gandhi
panch	one of the five elected representatives of the village council
Panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
patwari	village revenue records keeper
pucca	permanent, durable
rahu	a planet in Indian astrology
Raizada	an honorific title
Rajyapal	Governor
rashtra bhasha	national language
sahiba	an affix denoting respect to an upper class woman
samadhi	a place of cremation of a great leader or a saintly person
samiti	committee
samsad	University Court of Visva-Bharati
sarpanch	head of a village council
shastras	religious and philosophical treatises
sangeet sammelani	a musical function
Soochna Vibhag	Information Department
taccavi	money advanced to cultivators by the government
taluka	a territorial sub-division
tehsil	sub-division of a district

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Upacharya	Vice Chancellor
Upanishad	each of a series of Hindu sacred treatises written in Sanskrit and expounding the Vedas
Usar	fallow, waste land
vanaspati	hydrogenated vegetable oil
yuga	era, age
yuga dharma	duty suitable for a particular age
zila	district
zila parishad	district council

NAME INDEX

(Volume and page numbers written in *italics* against names of individuals indicate references to biographical notes in the first series of *Selected Works*. Volume and page numbers in block letters point to references in the Second Series. Biographical notes, given for the first time, are denoted by '*fn*'.)

- Aarey Milk Colony (Bombay), 712
 Abbas, Khwaja Ahmed, (*Vol. 4, p. 586*),
 224 *fn*
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